

THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Edited by

G. Johannes Botterweck

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VOLUME VIII

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מָסַס	<i>mss</i> ; מָסַה <i>msh</i> dissolve, melt (Ringgren)	437
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מִצּוּלָה	<i>m^ešûlā</i> ; מִצּוּלָה <i>m^ešôlā</i> ; צוּלָה <i>šûlā</i> II; צָלָל <i>šālal</i> II depth (Fabry)	514
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EDITORS' PREFACE TO VOLUME VIII

The original plan for the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* provided for the completion of this multivolume work over the span of approximately a decade. Almost immediately such a swift realization proved to be utopian. The abundant influx of new insights in exegesis (e.g., pressing discussions concerning the Pentateuch, the Deuteronomistic history, the prophetic books, etc.), lexicography and semantics, comparative linguistics, ancient Near Eastern studies, and certainly not least archaeology with the discovery of new cultures (e.g., Tell Mardikh-Ebla) again and again forced to a standstill the otherwise unimpeded flow of work on the Dictionary. Many entries that had already been completed had to be reedited. Rightly so, several contributors and subscribers expressed their displeasure.

In the midst of this persistent grappling our venture encountered a serious blow. On April 15, 1981, Professor Gerhard Johannes Botterweck died. His profound knowledge of the Old Testament and its milieu, his vast experience in all practical matters associated with book production, his organizational skills, and above all his theological foresightedness had come to be of inestimable value to our undertaking. All this will be missing in the future. All colleagues acknowledge with gratitude the value of his accomplishments. R.I.P.

Dr. Heinz-Josef Fabry, a student of Professor Botterweck and an editorial colleague since 1971, has become the new co-editor. This should guarantee a continuity in the editorial work in keeping with the established principles.

Deliberation over fundamental matters is therefore unnecessary. The principal goal of the project remains the same (see the Preface to Volume I), to analyze the Hebrew words semantically. The presentation of the fundamental concepts intended by the respective words and terms, the traditions in which they occur, and the different nuances of meaning they have in each tradition stand at the focus of this analytical work, so that in the end one might ultimately bring together the individual building blocks of an Old Testament theology.

Helmer Ringgren/Heinz-Josef Fabry

ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	<i>Atti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti</i> , Rome
AASOR	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> , New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
AB	<i>The Anchor Bible</i> , ed. W. F. Albright-D. N. Freedman, Garden City
ABAW	<i>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , Munich
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , ed. D. N. Freedman, 6 vols. (New York, 1992)
ABL	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> , 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
abr.	abridged
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i> , Melbourne
abs.	absolute
AC	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i> , Brussels
AcThD	<i>Acta theologica danica</i> , Århus, Copenhagen
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AFNW	<i>Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen</i> , Cologne
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> , Graz
ÄgAbh	<i>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen</i> , Wiesbaden
AGSU	<i>Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums</i> , Leiden
AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> , Berlin
AHDO-RIDA	<i>Archives d'histoire du droit oriental — Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i> , Brussels
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-1981)
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i>
AJBA	<i>Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology</i> , Sydney
AJBI	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute (Seisho-gaku ronshū)</i> , Tokyo
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> , Baltimore
AJSL	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> , Chicago
AJT	<i>American Journal of Theology</i> , Chicago
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Hildesheim
Amor.	Amorite
AnAcScFen	<i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i> , ser. B, Helsinki
AnAcScFen, DHL	———. <i>Dissertationes humanarum litterarum</i> , Helsinki
AnBibl	<i>Analecta biblica</i> , Rome
AnIsr	R. de Vaux, <i>Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions</i> (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, ² 1965)
ANEP	<i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures</i> , ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1954, ² 1969)
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT</i> , ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ² 1955, ³ 1969)
AnOr	<i>Analecta orientalia</i> , Rome
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> , Leiden
AO	<i>Der Alte Orient</i> , Leipzig

AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und AT</i> , Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	<i>Altorientalische Bilder zum AT</i> , ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ² 1927)
AOS	<i>American Oriental Series</i> , New Haven
AP	A. E. Cowley, <i>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> (1923, repr. Osnabruck, 1976)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, <i>Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts</i> (Baltimore, 1965)
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	<i>Arbeiten zur Theologie</i> , Stuttgart
ARM	<i>Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes</i> , Paris
ARM.T	———. <i>Transcriptions et traductions</i> , Paris
ArOr	<i>Archiv orientální</i> , Prague
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i> , Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	<i>Assyriological Studies</i> , Chicago
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem</i> , Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	<i>Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen</i> , Münster
ATD	<i>Das AT Deutsch</i> , ed. V. Herntrich-A. Weiser, Göttingen
AThANT	<i>Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i> , Zurich
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i> , Evanston
ATS	<i>Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT</i> , St. Ottilien, Munich
AuS	G. Dalman, <i>Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina</i> , 7 vols. (1928-1942, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUU	<i>Acta universitatis upsaliensis</i> , Uppsala
BA	<i>The Biblical Archaeologist</i> , New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Durham
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	<i>Beiheft zur AfO</i>
BAr	<i>Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques</i> , Paris
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i> , Washington
BA Reader	<i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i> , ed. D. N. Freedman, et al., 3 vols. (1961-1970, repr. Winona Lake, 1975)
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> , New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BBB	<i>Bonner biblische Beiträge</i>
BBET	<i>Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie</i> , Frankfurt, Las Vegas
BCPE	<i>Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études</i> , Geneva
BDB	F. Brown-S. R. Driver-C. A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT</i> (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., ² 1979)
BDBAT	<i>Beiheft zur Dielheimer Blätter zum AT</i>
BdÉ	<i>Bibliothèque d'études</i> , Paris
Benz	F. L. Benz, <i>Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions</i> . StPohl, 8 (1972)
BeO	<i>Bibbia e oriente</i> , Milan
BethM	<i>Beth mikra</i> , Jerusalem
BETL	<i>Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium</i> , Paris, Gembloux
BEvTh	<i>Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie</i> , Munich
BHHW	<i>Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch</i> , ed. L. Rost-B. Reicke, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-1966; index and maps, 1979)
BHK	<i>Biblia hebraica</i> , ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, ³ 1929)

BHS	<i>Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia</i> , ed. K. Elliger-W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-1977)
BHTh	<i>Beiträge zur historischen Theologie</i> , Tübingen
Bibl	<i>Biblica</i> , Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
BIES	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i> , Jerusalem (= <i>Yediot</i>)
BietOr	<i>Biblica et orientalia</i> , Rome
BiLe	<i>Bibel und Leben</i> , Düsseldorf
BiLi	<i>Bibel und Liturgie</i> , Klosterneuberg
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca orientalia</i> , Leiden
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> , Manchester
BK	<i>Biblischer Kommentar AT</i> , ed. M. Noth-H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	<i>Bibel-Lexikon</i> , ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, ² 1968)
BLe	H. Bauer-P. Leander, <i>Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs</i> (1918-1922, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BM	Tablet in the collections of the British Museum
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, <i>The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri</i> (New Haven, 1953)
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i> , Bamberg
BOLZ	<i>Beigabe zur OLZ</i> , Berlin
BOT	<i>De Boeken van het OT</i> , Roermond en Maaseik
BRA	<i>Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums</i> , Halle
BRL	K. Gallig, <i>Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT</i> (1937, ² 1977)
BSAW	<i>Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig</i>
BSt	<i>Biblische Studien</i> , Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i> , London
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i> , Rome
BThH	<i>Biblich-Theologisches Handwörterbuch zur Lutherbibel und zu neueren Übersetzungen</i> , ed. E. Osterloh-H. Engelaed (Göttingen, 1954, ² 1959, ³ 1964)
BuA	B. Meissner, <i>Babylonien und Assyrien</i> , 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1920-25)
BWA(N)T	<i>Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament</i> , Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, <i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i> (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i> , Paderborn
BZAW	<i>Beihefte zur ZAW</i> , Berlin
BZfr	<i>Biblische Zeitfragen</i> , Münster
ca.	circa, about
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (1956-)
CahB	<i>Cahiers de Byrsa</i> , Paris
CahRB	<i>Cahiers de la RB</i> , Paris
CahTh	<i>Cahiers théologiques</i> , Neuchâtel
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	<i>Commentaire de l'AT</i> , Neuchâtel
CB	<i>Coniectanea biblica</i> , OT Series, Lund
CBC	<i>Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible</i> , Cambridge
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> , Washington
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
CIH	<i>Corpus inscriptionum himyariticarum</i> (= <i>CIS</i> , IV)
CIJ	<i>Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum</i> (Vatican, 1936-)
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1862-)

CIS	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i> (Paris, 1881–)
CML	G. R. Driver, <i>Canaanite Myths and Legends</i> (Edinburgh, 1956; ² 1977, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
coll.	collective
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, <i>Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis ephigraphica</i> (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i> , Paris
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> (London, 1896–)
CTA	A. Herdner, <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
CThM	<i>Calwer theologische Monographien</i> , Stuttgart
cyl.	cylinder
D	D (doubling) stem
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne</i> , ed. F. Cabrol-H. Leclercq, 15 vols. (Paris, 1924-1953)
DAWB	<i>Deutsch Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft</i>
DAWW	Denschriften der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Vienna
DB	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> , ed. F. Vigouroux, 5 vols. (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBS	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement</i> , ed. L. Pirot, et al. (Paris, 1926–)
DISO	J. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, <i>Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest</i> (Leiden, 1965)
diss.	dissertation
DissAbs	Dissertation Abstracts International, Ann Arbor
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judean Desert</i> (Oxford, 1955–)
DMOA	<i>Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui</i> , Leiden
DN	Deity name
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DTT	<i>Dansk teologisk Tidsskrift</i> , Copenhagen
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EAEHL	<i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , ed. M. Avi-Yonah-E. Stern, 4 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975-78)
Eb.	Eblaic
EB	<i>Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel</i> , Würzburg
ed.	edition
EdF	<i>Erträge der Forschung</i> , Darmstadt
EDNT	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the NT</i> , ed. H. Balz-G. Schneider, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1990-93)
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	<i>Europäische Hochschulschriften</i> , Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	<i>Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT</i> , Münster
EMiqr	<i>Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it</i> (<i>Encyclopedia Biblica</i>) (Jerusalem, 1950–)
emph.	emphatic
EncJud	<i>Encyclopaedia judaica</i> , 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	<i>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1913-1927)

<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i> , Jerusalem
esp.	especially
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i> , Madrid
<i>EstEcl</i>	<i>Estudios eclesiásticos</i> , Madrid
<i>ÉtB</i>	<i>Études bibliques</i> , Paris
Eth.	Ethiopic
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i> , Louvain
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i> , Montpellier
<i>EvTh</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i> , Munich
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i> , Edinburgh
fem.	feminine
fig.	figure
Fr.	French
fr.	fragment
<i>FRLANT</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i> , Göttingen
<i>FThS</i>	<i>Frankfurter theologische Studien</i> , Frankfurt am Main
<i>FuF</i>	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i> , Berlin
<i>FzB</i>	<i>Forschung zur Bibel</i> , Würzburg
<i>GaG</i>	W. von Soden, <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i> . <i>AnOr</i> , 33 (1952, ² 1969 [with <i>Ergänzungsheft</i> . <i>AnOr</i> , 47])
Ger.	German
<i>GesB</i>	W. Gesenius-F. Buhl, <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT</i> (Berlin, ¹⁷ 1921, ¹⁸ 1987-)
<i>GesTh</i>	W. Gesenius, <i>Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaee Veteris Testamenti</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-1858)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
<i>GK</i>	W. Gesenius-E. Kautsch, <i>Hebräische Grammatik</i> (Halle, ²⁸ 1909) (= Kautsch- A. E. Cowley, <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> [Oxford, ² 1910])
<i>GSAT</i>	<i>Gesammelte Studien zum AT</i> , Munich
<i>GThT</i>	<i>Gereformeerde theologisch Tijdschrift</i> , Aalten, Kampen
<i>GTTOT</i>	J. J. Simons, <i>The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT</i> . <i>StFS</i> , 2 (1959)
Guillaume	A. Guillaume, <i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicography</i> (repr. Leiden, 1965)
H	Holiness Code
<i>HAL</i>	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT</i> (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1994-)
<i>HAT</i>	<i>Handbuch zum AT</i> , ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
Heb.	Hebrew
<i>Herm</i>	<i>Hermeneia</i> , Philadelphia, Minneapolis
<i>HKAT</i>	<i>Handkommentar zum AT</i> , ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
<i>HO</i>	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i> , Leiden
<i>HS</i>	<i>Die Heilige Schrift des AT</i> , ed. F. Feldmann-H. Herkenne, Bonn
<i>HSM</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i> , Cambridge, Mass.
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> , Cambridge, Mass.
<i>HThS</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i> , Cambridge, Mass.
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> , Cincinnati
<i>IB</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Bible</i> , ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
<i>ICC</i>	<i>The International Critical Commentary</i> , Edinburgh
<i>IDB</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); <i>Sup</i> , ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> , Jerusalem

IKZ	<i>Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift</i> , Bern
ILC	J. Pedersen, <i>Israel: Its Life and Culture</i> , 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-1940, ⁵ 1963)
ILR	<i>Israel Law Review</i> , Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
<i>in loc.</i>	on this passage
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i> , Richmond
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, <i>Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung</i> . BWANT, 46[3/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
J	Yahwist source (J ¹ , earliest Yahwist source)
Ja.	Enumeration according to A. Jamme (OSA)
JA	<i>Journal asiatique</i> , Paris
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i> , New York
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
JARG	<i>Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte</i> , Saarbrücken
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JB	Jerusalem Bible (Garden City, 1966)
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> , Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i> , Boston
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> , New Haven, Cambridge, Mass., Philadelphia, Baltimore
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Berlin
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
JE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> , ed. I. Singer, 12 vols. (New York, 1916)
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux,'</i> Leiden
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JES	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i> , Pittsburgh, Philadelphia
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i> , New York
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i> , London
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i> , Stellenbosch
JOS	<i>Journal of Oriental Studies</i>
Joüon	P. Joüon, <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> , 2 vols. SPIB.B, biblica, 14/1 (Eng. trans., Rome, 1991)
JP	<i>Journal of Philology</i> , London
JPES	Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, Jerusalem
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i> , Jerusalem
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> , Philadelphia
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> , London
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the OT</i> , Sheffield
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> , Manchester
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> , Oxford
Jud	<i>Judaica</i> , Zurich
K	<i>Kethibh</i>
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, ² 1966-69, ³ 1971-76)

KAT	<i>Kommentar zum AT</i> , ed. E. Sellin-J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBANT	<i>Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i> , Düsseldorf
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, <i>Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros</i> (Leiden, ¹ 1953, ² 1958, ³ 1967–)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. J. Delitzsch, <i>Comm. on the OT</i> , 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KEHAT	<i>Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT</i> , ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812–1896)
KHC	<i>Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT</i> , ed. K. Marti, Tübingen, Leipzig
KlSchr	<i>Kleine Schriften</i> (A. Alt [Munich, 1953–59, ³ 1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962–1979])
KTU	<i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> , I, ed. M. Dietrich-O. Loretz-J. Sanmartín. AOAT, 24 (1976)
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunde aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin
KuD	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i> , Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, <i>Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten</i> (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, <i>RevQ</i> , 4 (1963–64), 163–234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> , 8 vols. (London, 1863–1893, repr. 1968)
LAPO	<i>Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient</i> , Paris
LÄS	<i>Leipziger ägyptische Studien</i> , Glückstadt
Lat.	Latin
LD	<i>Lectio divina</i> , Paris
Leslau, Contributions	W. Leslau, <i>Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon</i> (Los Angeles, 1958)
LexÄg	W. Helck-E. Otto, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> (Wiesbaden, 1975–)
LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, <i>Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti</i> (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, <i>Lexicon linguae aethiopicae</i> (Leipzig, 1865)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, <i>Lexicon syriacum</i> (Halle, 1928, ² 1968)
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, <i>Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik</i> (Giessen, 1900–1915)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, <i>Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT</i> (Stuttgart, 1958, ² 1966)
lit.	literally
LThK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> , ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg, 1930–38); ed. J. Höfer-K. Rahner, 10 vols. with index, 3 sups. (² 1957–1968, ³ 1966–68)
LXX	Septuagint (LXX ^A , Codex Alexandrinus; LXX ^B , Codex Vaticanus; LXX ^R , Lucianic recension; LXX ^{S[1,2]}} , Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
MAH	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome</i> , Paris
Mand.	Mandaic
MarThSt	<i>Marburger theologische Studien</i> , Marburg
MÄSt	<i>Münchener Ägyptologische Studien</i> , Berlin
masc.	masculine
MdD	E. S. Drower-R. Macuch, <i>Mandaic Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1963)
MEE	<i>Materiali Epigrafica di Ebla</i> , ser. maior, Naples
mg.	margin
Midr.	Midrash
MKAW	<i>Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen</i> , Amsterdam
Moab.	Moabite
Mon.	Monograph

MPG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologia graeca</i> , 167 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866); index, 2 vols. (1928-1936)
MPL	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologia latina</i> , 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864); sup., 5 vols. (1958-1970)
MRS	<i>Mission de Ras Shamra</i> , Paris
MS(S).	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
MThS	<i>Münchener theologische Studien</i> , Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at text(s)
Mus	<i>Muséon</i> , Louvain
MVÄG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i> (Berlin), Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N	name
Nab.	Nabatean
NEB	<i>Die Neue Echter-Bibel</i> , Würzburg
NedGTT	<i>Nederduitse gereformeerde theologiese Tydskrif</i> , Kaapstad
NedThT	<i>Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift</i> , Wageningen
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> , Berlin
NJB	The New Jerusalem Bible (New York, 1985)
no(s).	number(s)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (New York, 1989)
NRTh	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique</i> , Louvain, Paris
N.S.	New Series
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i> , Cambridge
NTT	<i>Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift</i> , Oslo
OBO	<i>Orbis biblicus et orientalis</i> , Fribourg, Göttingen
OBT	<i>Overtures to Biblical Theology</i> , Philadelphia, Minneapolis
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i> , Chicago
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> , Leipzig, Berlin
Or	<i>Orientalia</i> , Rome
OrAnt	<i>Oriens antiquus</i> , Rome
OrBibLov	<i>Orientalia et biblica Lovaniensia</i> , Louvain
OrSuec	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i> , Uppsala
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	<i>The Old Testament Library</i> , Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i> , Leiden
OuTWP	<i>Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika</i> , Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P ^G , Priestly <i>Grundschrift</i> ["basic material"; P ^S , secondary Priestly source])
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
PAPS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i> , Philadelphia
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PCRHP	<i>Publications du Centre de Recherches d'histoire et de philologie. Hautes études orientales</i> , Geneva
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> , London
perf.	perfect
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse

Phoen.	Phoenician
<i>PJ</i>	<i>Palästinajahrbuch</i> , Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
<i>PLO</i>	<i>Porta linguarum orientalium</i> , Wiesbaden
PN	Personal name
<i>PNU</i>	F. Grondahl, <i>Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit</i> . <i>StPohl</i> , 1 (1967)
prep.	preposition
<i>PRU</i>	<i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit</i> , ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer-J. Nougayrol. <i>MRS</i>
ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
<i>PW</i>	A. Pauly-G. Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-1852); sup., 11 vols. (1903-1956); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-1948)
<i>Q</i>	Qere
<i>Q</i>	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
<i>QuaestDisp</i>	<i>Quaestiones disputatae</i> , ed. K. Rahner-H. Schlier (Eng. ed., New York, 1961-)
R (preceded by roman numeral)	text in H. C. Rawlinson, <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia</i> , 5 vols. (London, 1861-1884)
R	Redactor (R ^D , Deuteronomistic; R ^P , Priestly)
R.	Rabbi
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i> , Paris
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950-)
<i>RAcc</i>	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Rituels accadiens</i> (Paris, 1921)
<i>RÄR</i>	H. Bonnet, <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> (Berlin, 1952, ² 1971)
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i> , Paris
<i>RdM</i>	<i>Die Religionen der Menschheit</i> , ed. C. M. Schröder, Stuttgart
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i> , Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
<i>RÉS</i> (with number of text)	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i> (Paris, 1900-)
<i>RevBibl</i>	<i>Revista bíblica</i> , Buenos Aires
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i> , Louisville
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i> , Paris
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (Tübingen, ² 1927-1931, ed. H. Gunkel-L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ³ 1957-1965, ed. K. Galling, 6 vols.)
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i> , Strasbourg, Paris
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i> , Paris
<i>RivBiblCalz</i>	<i>Rivista biblica</i> , Rafael Calzada, Argentina
<i>RLA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> , ed. E. Ebeling-B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932-)
<i>RLV</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte</i> , ed. M. Ebert, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1924-1932)
<i>RoB</i>	<i>Religion och Bibel</i> , Stockholm
RS	Ras Shamra text
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i> , Rome
<i>RSP</i>	<i>Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible</i> , ed. L. R. Fisher, et al., I, <i>AnOr</i> , 49 (1972); II, <i>AnOr</i> , 50 (1975); III, <i>AnOr</i> , 51 (1981)
RSV	Revised Standard Version (New York, 1946, 1952)
<i>RT</i>	<i>Receuil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> , Paris
rto.	recto, on the obverse of a papyrus or tablet

RyNP	G. Ryckmans, <i>Les noms propres sud-sémitiques</i> , 3 vols. <i>Bibliothèque de muséon</i> , 2 (Louvain, 1934-35)
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, <i>Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten</i> (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SAT	<i>Die Schriften des ATs im Auswaid</i> , ed. H. Gunkel–H. Gressmann (Göttingen)
SAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</i> , Vienna
SBFLA	<i>Studii biblici franciscani liber annus</i> , Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBL SBS	<i>SBL Sources for Biblical Study</i> , Chico, Atlanta
SBM	<i>Stuttgarter biblische Monographien</i>
SBOT	<i>Sacred Books of the OT</i> , ed. P. Haupt (London, 1893)
SBS	<i>Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien</i>
SBT	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i> , London, Naperville
ScrHier	<i>Scripta hierosolymitana</i> , Jerusalem
SDAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
SEÅ	<i>Svensk exegetisk Åarsbok</i> , Lund
Sem	<i>Semitica</i> , Paris
ser.	series
Seux	J. M. Seux, <i>Epithètes royales akkadiens et sumériennes</i> (Paris, 1967)
sg.	singular
SHAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
SIDA	<i>Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis</i> , Stockholm
SJ	<i>Studia Judaica</i> , Berlin
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i> , Edinburgh
SKG.G	<i>Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse</i> , Halle
SNumen	<i>Sup to Numen</i> , Leiden
SNVAO	<i>Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo</i>
Sond	Sonderband, Sonderheft
SOTS	Society for Old Testament Studies, Cambridge
SPAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , Berlin
SSN	<i>Studia semitica neerlandica</i> , Assen
st.	status
StAns	<i>Studia Anselmiana</i> , Rome
StANT	<i>Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i> , Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> , 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-1961, ⁵ 1969)
StDI	<i>Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia</i> , Leiden
STDJ	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i> , Leiden, Grand Rapids
StFS	<i>Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata</i> , Leiden
StJLA	<i>Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity</i> , Leiden
STLI	<i>Studies and Texts</i> . Philip W. Lown Institute of Advanced Judaic Studies, Brandeis University, Cambridge, Mass.
StOr	<i>Studia orientalia</i> , Helsinki
StPb	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i> , Leiden
StPohl	<i>Studia Pohl</i> , Rome
StSem	<i>Studi semitici</i> , Rome
StT	<i>Studi e testi</i> , Rome
StTh	<i>Studia theologica</i> , Lund, Århus
StudGen	<i>Studium generale</i> , Berlin

<i>StUNT</i>	<i>Studien zur Umwelt des NTs</i> , Göttingen
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i> (vocibus), under the word(s)
<i>SVT</i>	<i>Supplements to VT</i> , Leiden
<i>Synt</i>	C. Brockelmann, <i>Hebräische Syntax</i> (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
<i>Syr</i>	<i>Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie</i> , Paris
<i>SZ</i>	<i>Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments</i> , ed. H. L. Strack-O. Zöckler (Nordlingen, 1886-1898)
<i>TAD</i>	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> , ed. B. Porten-A. Yarden, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1986).
<i>TAik</i>	<i>Teologinen aikakauskirja</i> , Helsinki
Targ.	Targum
<i>TCL</i>	<i>Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre</i> , 31 vols. (Paris, 1910-1967)
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the NT</i> , ed. G. Kittel-G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-1976)
<i>ThArb</i>	<i>Theologische Arbeiten</i> , Berlin
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT</i> , ed. E. Jenni-C. Westermann, 2 vols. (Munich, 1971-79)
<i>ThB</i>	<i>Theologische Bücherei</i> , Munich
<i>ThLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> , Leipzig, Berlin
<i>ThQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i> , Tübingen, Stuttgart
<i>ThSt</i>	<i>Theologische Studien</i> , Zurich
<i>ThStKr</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i> , Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
<i>ThViat</i>	<i>Theologia viatorum</i> , Berlin
<i>ThZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i> , Basel
Tigr.	Tigriña
<i>TigrWb</i>	E. Littmann-M. Höfner, <i>Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache</i> (Wiesbaden, 1962)
trans.	translation, translated by
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> , ed. G. Krause-G. Müller-H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-1992)
<i>TrThZ</i>	<i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur</i> , Leipzig, Berlin
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT</i> , ed. G. Kittel-G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Stuttgart, 1933-1979)
<i>UCPNES</i>	University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies, Berkeley
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i> , Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
<i>UM</i>	C. H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Manual</i> . <i>AnOr</i> , 35 (1955)
<i>UT</i>	C. H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> . <i>AnOr</i> , 38 (1965, ² 1967)
<i>UUA</i>	<i>Uppsala Universitets årsskrift</i>
v(v).	verse(s)
<i>VAB</i>	<i>Vorderasiatische Bibliothek</i> , 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-1916)
<i>VAS</i>	<i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen</i> , Berlin
<i>VAWA</i>	<i>Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen</i> , Amsterdam
<i>VG</i>	C. Brockelmann, <i>Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen</i> , 2 vols. (1908-1913, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
<i>VIOF</i>	<i>Veröffentlich. Institut für Orientforschung</i> , Berlin
vo.	verso, on the reverse of a papyrus or tablet

VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> , Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
VVAW.L	<i>Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België</i> , Klasse der letteren, Brussels
WbÄS	A. Erman-H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-1931, repr. 1963)
WbMyth	<i>Wörterbuch der Mythologie</i> , ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965-)
WBTh	<i>Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie</i> , Vienna
Wehr	H. Wehr, <i>A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</i> , ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, ³ 1971, ⁴ 1979)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, <i>A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i> , Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i> , Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, <i>Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim</i> , 4 vols. (Leipzig, ² 1924, repr. 1963)
WUS	J. Aistleitner, <i>Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache</i> . BSAW, Phil.-hist. Kl., 106/3 (1963, ⁴ 1974)
WZ Halle	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg</i> , Halle
WZ Leipzig	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Vienna
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> , Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> , Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	<i>Zürcher Bibelkommentare</i> , Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> , Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZKTh	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i> , Innsbruck
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> , Giessen, Berlin
ZRFOP	<i>Zion Research Foundation, Occasional Publications</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i> , Cologne
ZS	<i>Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete</i> , Leipzig
ZThK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i> , Tübingen
ZWTh	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> , Jena
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
<u> </u>	<u>a</u>	א	·
<u> </u>	<u>a</u>	ב	b
<u> </u>	<u>ā</u>	ב	b̄
ה	<u>ā</u>	ג	g
י	<u>āw</u>	ג	ḡ
י	<u>ay</u>	ד	d
י	<u>āy</u>	ד	d̄
<u> </u>	<u>e</u>	ה, ה	h
<u> </u>	<u>e</u>	ו	w
<u> </u>	<u>ey</u>	ז	z
י	<u>ē</u>	ח	h̄
י	<u>ê</u>	ט	t̄
<u> </u>	<u>e</u>	י	y
<u> </u>	<u>i</u>	כ, ך	k
<u> </u>	<u>î</u>	כ, ך	k̄
<u> </u>	<u>iyy</u>	ל	l
<u> </u>	<u>o</u>	מ, ם	m
<u> </u>	<u>o</u>	נ, ן	n
<u> </u>	<u>ō</u>	ס	s
<u> </u>	<u>ô</u>	ע	·
<u> </u>	<u>u, ū</u>	פ	p
<u> </u>	<u>û</u>	פ, ף	p̄
		צ, ץ	s̄
		ק	q
		ר	r
		ש	s̄
		ש	s̄
		ת	t̄
		ת	t̄

לָכַד *lākad*; לֶכֶד *leked*; מַלְכֹדֶת *malkōdet*

Contents: I. The Root *lkd*: 1. Statistics; 2. LXX; 3. Qumran. II. OT Usage: 1. Original Usage; 2. Metaphorical Application; 3. "Capture, Seize"; 4. Cast Lots; 5. Occurrences in Job.

I. The Root *lkd*. The verb *lkd* exhibits the basic meaning "capture, catch" and is used in the OT with reference to both animals and human beings. In Akkadian the same root *lakādu(m)* means to "run," while Akk. *kašādu(m)* corresponds to Heb. *lkd*.¹ The Aramaic term *l^ekad* in the Targumim (Est. 1:8; Eccl. 7:27) shifts the original meaning to "seize, take hold of." The stem has a similar meaning in Phoenician,² while Arab. *lakida* means "stick, cleave to."

1. *Statistics.* The root *lkd* occurs altogether 117 times in the OT: 83 times in the qal, 32 times in the niphal, and twice in the hithpael. By far the most numerous occurrences of *lkd* are in the historical writings, especially in the Deuteronomistic history and, probably influenced by these, in Jeremiah. The overall distribution of the verb breaks down as follows: 7 occurrences in the Pentateuch, 55 in the Deuteronomistic history, 10 in Chronicles, 1 in Nehemiah, 3 in the Psalms, 4 in Job, 5 in Proverbs, 1 each in Ecclesiastes and Lamentations, 4 in Isaiah, 21 in Jeremiah, 2 each in Daniel and Amos, 1 in Habbakuk. In addition, Prov. 3:26 attests the noun *leked*, "snare," derived from the verb, and Job 18:10 the noun *malkodet*, "trap." The verb *lkd* also occurs in the Hebrew text of Sir. 9:3d and in MS. D in 37:11b.

2. *LXX.* The LXX generally renders the root *lkd* with *lambánein* and its compounds *katalambánein*, *prokatalambánein*, and *syllambánein*, although there is no apparent reason for the differences prompting the choice of the simple or compound forms.

3. *Qumran.* The root *lkd* occurs 3 times in the Qumran texts: In 1QpHab 4:4, the term refers to the taking of fortifications, and in 1QH 2:29; 8:34, to a foot being caught in a snare (or net).

II. OT Usage.

1. *Original Usage.* The root *lkd* probably originally referred to the capturing of wild animals: according to Jgs. 15:4 Samson captured three hundred foxes. Besides human beings, predatory animals also occasionally occur as the subject of such capturing, e.g., a lion in Am. 3:4. According to Am. 3:5, birds are captured in a trap or snare. It is not surprising that at an early stage the original meaning of *lkd* was transferred to the capture of human beings in war, the common elements being the use of force and the

1. *AHW*, I (1965), 459b-461b, 529a.

2. *DISO*, 138.

deprivation of freedom; cf. Josh. 11:17; Jgs. 7:25; 8:12,14; 2 S. 8:4; 2 Ch. 22:9; 33:11; Job 36:8; Jer. 6:11; Lam. 4:20.

2. *Metaphorical Application.* The use of *lkd* is transposed into the religious and especially the ethical sphere above all in the prophetic writings and Wisdom Literature. Prov. 6:2 uses *lkd* metaphorically to refer to the obligation arising through promises and pledges.

Both God and sin in various guises appear as the subject of the verb, which is placed primarily in the service of divine judgment. According to Jer. 5:26, the sin of Jerusalem's inhabitants is that they seek to capture human beings, and according to Jer. 18:22 the prophet is threatened with capture. The inhabitants of Jerusalem (Jer. 6:11; 8:9), Moab (48:44), and Babylon (51:56) are threatened with capture as a part of divine judgment. According to Isa. 8:15, God himself will become a snare entrapping Jerusalem's inhabitants, and according to Job 5:13 God captures the wise in their own craftiness. With *lkd* he thus initiates the act-consequence relationship.³ Thus it happens that at God's own initiative the wicked are caught in their own net (Ps. 9:16[Eng. v. 15]; 35:8). Prov. 5:22 means the same thing when the blasphemer is ensnared by his own iniquity (cf. Jer. 18:22). Thus the psalmist, too, can hope that his antagonists will be trapped in their own pride (Ps. 59:13[12]). Prov. 11:6 makes the same kind of statement in asserting that the treacherous are ensnared by their own lust. This idea also forms the background to the observation that a man taken in by feminine guile has gone astray from life (Eccl. 7:26); Sir. 9:3 similarly warns against the snares of a loose woman.

3. "*Capture, Seize.*" In the majority of cases *lkd* refers to capturing and conquering cities and countries (altogether 71 times). We first encounter the verb in this meaning in the Pentateuch in Nu. 21:32; 32:39,41f.⁴ In Nu. 32:39-42, *lkd* describes the conquest of the territory east of the Jordan, particularly Gilead. This pericope is probably one of the oldest Pentateuchal traditions.

The verb occurs 3 times in the recapitulation of the events starting with Israel's departure from Horeb and ending with their arrival in the territory east of the Jordan (Dt. 2:34f.; 3:4). In the first two instances it stands in context with → **הָרָם** *hāram* and serves as the prerequisite for the consecrated extermination of the entire male population. This explains why *lkd* (usually with *h̄rm* or *nkh*), judged against its frequency and meaning, becomes virtually a terminus technicus for the conquest of the land as portrayed in Joshua. This connection with *h̄rm* can already be discerned in its first occurrence in Josh. 6:20f., the conquest of Jericho. The taking of Ai (Josh. 8:19,21) also precedes its consecration to destruction (8:24). In 10:28,32,35, this zeugma becomes a standard expression. Josh. 10:37 reports that the same fate befell Hebron, and

3. Cf. G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 264-66, 384-87, 411-13.

4. According to M. Noth, *Numbers*. OTL (Eng. trans. 1968), 165f., "Num. 21:32aβ, with an expression which is out of context and incomplete, must be an addition."

likewise v. 39 for Debir and all its towns. Finally, 10:42 uses *lkd* to summarize Joshua's subjugation of the entire southern region (= southern Palestine).

Josh. 11:10-12 reports further that Israel dealt similarly with Hazor and its royal cities in the north (= northern Palestine). In Josh. 15:16f. (cf. Jgs. 1:12f.), *lkd* refers to the taking of Kiriath-sepher. The conquest concludes with the taking of Leshem and the destruction of its inhabitants (Josh. 19:47). Jgs. 1:18 adds that Judah took three Philistine cities; according to 9:45 the usurper Abimelech took Shechem, although ultimately the siege and taking of Thebez was his undoing (vv. 50-57).

In 2 S. 5:7, *lkd* describes David's taking of the stronghold of Zion (cf. 1 Ch. 11:5), and in 2 S. 12:26-29 his siege and taking of Rabbah of the Ammonites. In addition to 1 K. 9:16; 16:18; and 2 K. 12:18(17), mention should be made especially of the conquest of Samaria in 2 K. 17:6 (cf. 18:10) and the fall of the northern kingdom. The verb *lkd* occurs with similar meaning in 2 Ch. 12:4; 13:19; 15:8; 17:2; 28:18; 32:18; Isa. 20:1. Influenced by the Deuteronomistic history and in retrospect of Samaria's fate, Jeremiah uses the same term to announce the threat of Jerusalem's own conquest by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 32:3,24,28; 34:22; 37:8; 38:3) as Yahweh's irreversible judgmental decree. The same fate then overtakes Babylon itself (Jer. 50:2,9,24; 51:31,41).

Preparatory measures for a successful siege include seizing vital water sources and cutting them off from the enemy; this action, too, is described by *lkd* in Jgs. 3:28; 7:24; 12:5.

4. *Casting Lots*. An additional, more narrow and specialized meaning for *lkd* is attested in Joshua and 1 Samuel: "to cast lots, to take by lots." In the pericope Josh. 7:14-18, *lkd* occurs 8 times with this specific meaning, 4 times each in the qal and niphil. The specialized use of *lkd* here suggests that the conquest of Ai depends on the complete consecration to destruction of all booty. Thus according to the laws of holy war a unique kind of "conquest" and "capture" must be applied to the guilty Achan; he along with his entire property is subjected to the most severe punishment: utter annihilation by fire. The text is reporting specifically a covenant transgression. The translation "cast lots, take by lots" is derived from the sense of the text. The Hebrew text itself does not attest the equivalent for "lots"; rather, the entire process is expressed by the single verb *lkd*, and thus the specifics of the inquiry and proceedings cannot be discerned.

In 1 S. 10:20f., *lkd* in the niphil is used 3 times to refer to Samuel's official appointment of Saul as the king of Israel. In a manner similar to Josh. 7:14-18, this determination by lots also proceeds from the larger unity of the entire people down to the actual chosen individual. Here too, however, there is no indication of the exact nature of this oracular determination by lots. The verb *lkd* suggests that the power of God stands behind Saul's appointment as king, a power deciding through almost physical intervention. 1 S. 14:47 uses the same root to describe Saul's assumption of kingship (cf. the same situation in Dnl. 6:1[5:31]; 7:18, where Aram. *qabbēl* is used). Finally, in 1 S. 14:41f. the casting of lots serves as a final means of determining who has transgressed against Saul's oath (v. 24) not to eat food until evening. After inquiries to God yield no answer (v. 37), the casting of lots decides as the ultimate authority; it

falls on the royal house itself, whereas the people go free. Further casting of lots finally specifies Jonathan, who exhibits no hesitation about accepting death. Only the intervention of the people on his behalf spares his life.

5. *Occurrences in Job*. The 2 occurrences of *lkd* in the hithpael recall the general occurrences of *lkd* by expressing the same kind of tenacity or firmness otherwise resulting from an act of seizing or grasping. Thus Job 38:30 can say of the surface of water that frost causes it to become hard as a stone. Job 41:9(17) says that the impenetrable scales of the crocodile are firmly fastened and cannot be separated.

This confirms that the background of the broad and various uses of *lkd* is always the idea of the application of force and of the resulting firmness or stability.

Gross

לָמַד *lāmad*; לִמְּוֹד *limmūd*; מִלְמַד *malmād*; תַּלְמִיד *talmîd*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East. II. OT Usage and Qumran: 1. Qal; 2. Piel; 3. Late Occurrences; 4. Qumran; 5. Derivations. III. Summary. IV. LXX.

I. Ancient Near East. The verb *lmd* is used in Ugaritic texts to mean “learn, practice” or “instruct.”¹ The corresponding pass. ptcp. *lmd*, “apprentice,” occurs several times.² Apprentices clearly constituted a broad category in ancient Ugarit. In Akkadian the verb *lamādu* had approximately the same meaning as *yd* in Hebrew: “experience, acquire, learn, understand, comprehend, know (a woman),” D “instruct, teach.”³ A *lāmid pirišti* was a “knower of mysteries,” a soothsaying priest, possibly an ecstatic.⁴ Peculiarly, *talmīdu* means not only “apprentice” but also “(broken-in) plow.”⁵

lāmad. W. Barclay, *Educational Ideals in the Ancient World* (1959, repr. Grand Rapids, 1974); H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (Wiesbaden, 1957); L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im antiken Orient*. *MVÄG*, 36/2 (1932); H.-J. Fabry, “Gott im Gespräch zwischen den Generationen,” *Katechetische Blätter*, 107 (1982), 754-760; H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* (Tübingen, 1958); J. C. Greenfield, “Ugaritic *mdl* and Its Cognates,” *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 527-534; E. Jenni, “לָמַד *lmd* lernen,” *THAT*, I, 872-75; A. Klostermann, “Schulwesen im alten Israel,” *Theologische Studien. Festschrift T. Zahn* (Leipzig, 1908), 193-232; A. Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël*. *OBO*, 39 (1981); E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im NT* (Berlin, 1950/51); H. Torczyner (Tur Sinai), *Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels* (Berlin, ²1930); H. Yalon, “The Meaning of לָמַד,” *Tarbiz*, 36/4 (1966-67), 396-400.

1. *KTU*, 1.6 VI, 55; 1.18 I, 29; 1.6 VI, 54; 1.18 VI, 29.

2. *WUS*, no. 1469.

3. *AHw*, I (1965), 531f.; *CAD*, IX (1973), 53ff.

4. *AHw*, I, 531b; *CAD*, IX, 55.

5. *AHw*, III (1981), 1311.

The term is used in Semitic languages with slight variations of meaning. The Arabic term *lamada* means "subject oneself,"⁶ and Eth. *lamada* means "learn, accustom oneself." These meanings suggest that in the ancient Semitic world learning and teaching were not conducted totally without disciplinary measures.⁷ Yet another semantic development occurs in Old South Arabic and Syriac. In Old South Arabic the word means "pull over, paste over,"⁸ while in Syriac it means "cleave to."⁹

II. OT Usage and Qumran.

1. *Qal*. The Hebrew verb *lmd* means "learn" in the *qal* and "teach" in the *piel*. The underlying meaning appears to be "have experiences," perhaps also¹⁰ "accustom oneself to something, become familiar with something." It is easy to see that this familiarization often took place with the aid of a whip (esp. in Proverbs).¹¹

As might be expected, the verb occurs most frequently in the prophetic writings, the Psalms, and Deuteronomy. The relatively infrequent mention of learning in the historical writings is due to the fact that ancient Israel had no organized system of education of the kind familiar to us from ancient Sumer and Babylonia. Israel had nothing comparable to the "tablet house" of the Mesopotamian cultures. Instruction was usually provided by one's father (Dt. 6:20ff.).¹² In contrast, the frequent mention of learning in the poetic writings and Deuteronomy results from the fact that these writings understand it religiously. Here it usually does not refer to the appropriation of general knowledge or of knowledge applicable to daily life, but rather to the acquisition of specialized insights.

Whenever "disciples" are mentioned, the reference is not to pupils in a school, but rather usually to the followers of a prophet (2 K. 2:3ff.; Isa. 8:16; 50:4).

The semantic element "learn" manifests itself particularly in the *qal*. An old admonition in Isa. 1:17 exhorts the people to "learn to do good." Similar expressions also occur in later sections of the book. Through God's judgment the people will "learn righteousness," whereas the wicked do not learn righteousness (Isa. 26:9f.). Those who go astray will come to understanding, "learn (RSV 'accept') instruction (*leqah*)," and fear Israel's God (Isa. 29:24). In God's future human beings will never again lift up swords or learn to wage war (Isa. 2:4 par. Mic. 4:3). The book of Jeremiah also conceives learning religiously: "Thus says Yahweh: 'Do not learn the way of the nations, or be dismayed at the signs of the heavens'" (Jer. 10:2).¹³ Foreign nations are

6. Cf. Guillaume, 4.

7. Cf. the basic meaning proposed by HAL, "prick, spur on."

8. ContiRossini, 171.

9. *LexSyr*, 367.

10. So L. Koehler.

11. Cf. also M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "'Ephraim is a well-trained heifer' and Ugaritic *mdl*," *Bibl*, 41 (1960), 64-66.

12. Cf. the discussion of Fabry.

13. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 410.

given the opportunity to “diligently learn the ways of my people”; only then will they be incorporated into the holy people (Jer. 12:16). In the song of the lioness, Ezekiel speaks about the young lion who learned to catch prey (Ezk. 19:3,6), a metaphor for young Israel.

Deuteronomy emphasizes the importance of learning. Learning should especially be directed to God’s law and regulations, whose significance is repeatedly underscored. “Hear, O Israel, the statutes and ordinances that I am addressing to you today; you shall learn them and observe them diligently” (Dt. 5:1). Deuteronomy views this kind of learning as essential for life: “Assemble the people for me, and I will let them hear my words, so that they may learn to fear me as long as they live on the earth, and may teach their children so” (Dt. 4:10). Similar statements occur in Dt. 14:23; 17:19; 31:13, whereas 18:9 shifts the emphasis of the admonition elsewhere: “When you come into the land that Yahweh your God is giving you, you must not learn to imitate the abhorrent practices of those nations.”

In Wisdom Literature learning is directed primarily to the acquisition of proper insight: “I have not learned wisdom, nor have I knowledge of the holy ones” (Prov. 30:3). This is also clear in Ps. 119: “I will praise you with an upright heart, when I learn your righteous ordinances” (v. 7); “it is good for me that I was humbled, so that I might learn your statutes” (v. 71); and “your hands have made and fashioned me; give me understanding that I may learn your commandments” (v. 73).

2. *Piel*. The verb is often used in the *piel* with the meaning “teach someone something”; here, too, the religious understanding predominates. As with the *qal*, the Psalms and Deuteronomy attest the most occurrences. Among the prophets only Jeremiah uses the verb with any frequency; otherwise it hardly occurs in the prophetic writings, perhaps because they considered teaching useless and without significance.

The term is introduced in a thoroughly characteristic fashion in Dt. 4:1: “So now, O Israel, give heed to the statutes and ordinances that I am teaching you to observe, so that you may live to enter and occupy the land that Yahweh, the God of your ancestors, is giving you.” Virtually the same words and sense recur in Dt. 4:5,10,14; 5:31; 6:1. The negative form of the admonition occurs in Dt. 20:17f.: “You shall annihilate them — the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites — just as Yahweh your God has commanded, so that they may not teach you to do all the abhorrent things that they do for their gods, and you thus sin against Yahweh your God.”

Dt. 11:19 is concerned with teaching children, and says of God’s words: “Teach them to your children, talking about them when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise.” Yahweh decrees that one should teach what is known as the Song of Moses to the Israelites: “Now therefore write this song, and teach it to the Israelites; put it in their mouths, in order that this song may be a witness for me against the Israelites” (Dt. 31:19). Shortly thereafter we read: “That very day Moses wrote this song and taught it to the Israelites” (v. 22). 2 S. 1:18 is also concerned with the teaching of a song, in this case a lament composed by David: “He

ordered that it be taught to the people of Judah.” Otto Eissfeldt,¹⁴ however, thinks this refers to “training in the use of tools of war.” In another Davidic song we read: “He trains my hands for war, so that my arms can bend a bow of bronze” (2 S. 22:35 par. Ps. 18:35[Eng. v. 34]). Jgs. 3:2 also states clearly that Yahweh taught the Israelites how to wage war.

Ps. 25 speaks of a different teaching activity: “Make me to know (*yd'* hiphil) your ways, O Yahweh; teach me (*lmd* piel) your paths. Lead me in your truth, and teach me, for you are the God of my salvation” (vv. 4,5). “Good and upright is Yahweh; therefore he instructs sinners in the way. He leads the humble in what is right, and teaches the humble his way” (vv. 8f.). Ps. 34:12(11) reflects this same wisdom tradition: “Come, O children, listen to me; I will teach you the fear of Yahweh.” Ps. 51:15(13) mentions the instruction of sinners: “Then I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners will return to you.” The words “for instruction” in the superscription to Ps. 60, a lament and petition, are more puzzling. Perhaps this is referring to the kind of teaching of God’s deeds and great works of which Ps. 71:17 speaks: “O God, from my youth you have taught me, and I still proclaim your wondrous deeds. So even to old age and gray hairs.”

Ps. 94 also refers to being taught by God: “He who disciplines the nations, should he not chastise, he who teaches knowledge to humankind?” (v. 10); “happy are those whom you discipline, O Yahweh, and whom you teach out of your law (*tôrâ*)” (v. 12). In both cases *lmd* stands together with → יָסַר *yāsar*; in v. 12 one should note that Yahweh’s → תּוֹרָה *tôrâ* serves as the medium of instruction.

In the unique Ps. 132, a so-called “song of ascents” (*šîr hamma‘alôt*) which functioned perhaps as a festival liturgy, one encounters the idea that the king and his sons were taught by Yahweh: “Yahweh swore to David a sure oath . . . : ‘One of the sons of your body I will set on your throne. If your sons keep my covenant and my decrees that I shall teach them, their sons also, forevermore, shall sit on your throne’ ” (Ps. 132:11f.). In Ps. 144:1 as well, the teaching is directed to the king, and the teacher is God, who teaches the king how to wage war: “Blessed be Yahweh, my rock, who trains my hands for war, and my fingers for battle.” This reflects older conceptions that — as we saw above — also appear in Ps. 18:35(34).

As expected, God’s instruction in Psalm 119, a wisdom psalm, extends to the laws and statutes which among the wise were always the primary object of all teaching: “Blessed are you, O Yahweh; teach me your statutes!” (v. 12; cf. vv. 26,64,66, 108,124,135,171). A different idea occurs in v. 99: “I have more understanding than all my teachers, for your decrees are my meditation.” Obviously God is not conceived as the teacher here, something unusual for this psalm.

Among the prophets the verb is used in Hos. 10:11 to characterize Ephraim: He was like a “trained [i.e., tamed] heifer.” The same metaphor is used in Jer. 31:18, although

14. “Zwei verkannte militärtechnische Termini im AT,” *VT*, 5 (1955), 235-38 = *KlSchr*, III (1966), 356-58.

Ephraim is there compared with an untamed calf. Human commandments learned by rote (*lmd* pual) are rejected in Isa. 29:13.

Although in the book of Jeremiah teaching is conceived in an extremely wide and varied sense, it is nonetheless almost always directed toward the religious dimension in life. The people had forgotten God and grown accustomed to transgression (*lmd* piel; Jer. 2:33). Their neighbors had taught the people to swear by Ba'al (12:16). Indeed, their ancestors had taught the chosen people to follow the ba'als (9:13[14]). They had taught their tongues to speak lies (9:4[5]). Thus did Yahweh's word come to the lamenting women: "Teach to your daughters a dirge, and each to her neighbor a lament" (9:19[20]). It had to end with disaster: "What will you say when they set as head over you those whom you have trained (*lmd* piel) to be your allies?" (13:21). Though the people were persistently taught, they did not listen (32:33). Though chastisement had to come, one day a new covenant would be made: "No longer shall they teach one another, or say to each other, 'Know Yahweh,' for they shall all know me" (31:34). External teaching (*lmd*) is replaced by inward knowledge (*yd*).

3. *Late Occurrences.* In later poetic writings as well as in the late historical writings the idea of learning and teaching loses something of the special significance the verb exhibited in the qal and piel in the older literature. Although the word is used in a more general sense, the reference to teaching and learning of the law still often resonates. In Proverbs one is instructed to avoid strange women (Prov. 5:13). The instruction mentioned in Cant. 8:2 (MT contra LXX and Syr.): "I would lead you and bring you into the house of my mother, who instructed me" (*t^elamm^edēnî*), apparently refers only to the youth's daily life. Cant. 3:8 speaks of the swordbearers who were trained in war (*m^elumm^edē milhāmā*). Qoheleth is called a wise person who "taught the people knowledge" (Eccl. 12:9).

It is said that Ezra set his heart on teaching the people Yahweh's law and justice in Israel (Ezr. 7:10). King Jehoshaphat also sent people to the cities of Judah to teach the people the law (2 Ch. 17:7,9). In David's time, people — sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman — were trained in singing for Yahweh (1 Ch. 25:7). In Dnl. 1:4, the instruction of the young Israelites is intended to teach them the letters and language of the Chaldeans. In Job 21:22, Job asks who could claim to teach God, considering that God himself rules over all creation.

4. *Qumran.* The verb occurs several times in the Qumran writings. The War scroll emphasizes that God will drive out the enemies; he had, after all, from time immemorial taught the generations to wage war (1QM 10:2). He will also teach limp hands how to fight (14:6). Even the horses had to be prepared for war (6:12) and the riders well trained in riding (6:13). The people were a people of the saints of the covenant, instructed in the laws (10:10).

The Qumran psalms speak of learning wisdom; this is learning brought about by God, and wisdom placed into the heart (1QH 2:17). 1QS 3:13 emphasizes that the *maškil* should both instruct (*byn* hiphil) and teach (*lmd* piel) all the sons of light. All who entered into the covenant were to promise that they would teach their adversaries

(1QS 10:26–11:1). The Rule of the Congregation decrees that each person in Israel be instructed in the precepts of the covenant from youth onward in the book *hgw* (1QSa 1:6f.).

5. *Derivations.* The term *limmûd* refers to a pupil who receives instruction or is otherwise introduced to something. In Isa. 8:16, the reference is to the prophet's disciples among whom the prophet will seal the torah.¹⁵ Deutero-Isaiah mentions someone who has been taught by God and can teach others himself (Isa. 50:4). This disciple is identified with Yahweh's servant. The same book, however, speaks of other disciples as well, *limmûdê YHWH*, whose *šālôm* will be great (Isa. 54:13).

The ancient prophets knew, however, that a person could also be a "disciple of evil" (Jer. 13:23).¹⁶

The Qumran writings speak of "disciples of God" (1QH 2:39). Yet another psalm recalls Isa. 50:4. The psalmist compares his own tongue with the *limmûdîm* of God who are to instruct the heart (1QH 7:10, 13f.). The Damascus document mentions the *limmûdê 'el*, "those taught by God" (CD 20:4), a self-characterization of the community itself.

The term *malmâd* is attested only in Jgs. 3:31. There it refers to the means whereby Ehud (MT 'Shamgar') slew six hundred Philistines: an oxgoad of the kind used by drovers, i.e., of the kind used to teach oxen to move on (cf. the basic meaning above!).

The term *talmîd* occurs only in 1 Ch. 25:8, which speaks of temple musicians who were taught to sing for Yahweh. A *talmîd* was a person trained in this manner.

III. Summary. The verb *lmd* refers to learning and instruction of all sorts, and appears to have been the customary word for such activity and experience from an extremely early period. From his father or mother a young man could learn either what was useful or necessary for life, or particular skills such as how to wage war. Animals were also capable of learning, e.g., a young lion from an older one, or a young heifer from a human being. This everyday usage of the word, however, did not determine its characteristic OT usage.

The predominating idea is that God is the ultimate teacher. In the earliest period he is viewed as the teacher of any special skill. In time, however, this view shifted to one of God as the teacher of the Torah and of all the regulations applying to ethical and cultic life. He was the source of all instruction concerning these vital questions. This also meant, however, that he was the teacher of all wisdom, and was the only one capable of mediating this insight into the heavenly mysteries. Whoever was a *limmûd YHWH* was instructed by the highest authority and was thus in a position to instruct others as well.

15. Cf. W. G. E. Watson, review of J. Jensen, *The Use of tôrâ by Isaiah*. *CBQ Mon.*, 3 (1973), *Bibl.*, 56 (1975), 275.

16. According to *KBL*^{1,3} the occurrence of the word in Jer. 2:24 is due to scribal error.

IV. LXX. The LXX is remarkably consistent in its rendering of *lāmad* and its derivatives: *didáskein* and *manthánein* predominate, although *deiknýein* and *paideía* are used in a few instances. *Malmād* is rendered by the technical terms *apotrópous* and *áotron*.

Kapelrud

לֵאָג *lā'ag*; לֵאָג *la'ag*; *לֵאָג *lā'ēg*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Semantic Field; 4. Versions. II. 1. Mockery from One's Enemies; 2. Yahweh as Subject; 3. Mockery from the Pious.

I. 1. Etymology. Apart from Biblical Hebrew, the root *l'g* is attested with certainty only in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Middle Hebrew. Perhaps the Arabic term *la'ağa*, "burn, be painful," also belongs to this group, and may even suggest the basic meaning. In late Biblical Hebrew *l'g* appears to have been displaced by Aram. *l'b*, "mock."¹ It is generally agreed that *l'g* originally meant "stutter, stammer."² This meaning is attested in Isa. 28:11; 33:19 (probably also Hos. 7:16) and is suggested by Syr. *l'g*, "stutter," Syr. and Middle Heb. *lagleg*, "stutter," Mand. *l'g*, "barbarian," Arab. *lağlağ*, "stutter," Eth.-Tigr. *lā'la'a*, "stutter, stammer"; this is also confirmed to a certain extent in secondary forms and modifications of the root (*l''* I, "speak confusedly, without thinking," *l'z*, "speak incomprehensibly," *lg*, "stammer").³ The semasiological derivation "stutter" > "mock," however, is not convincing. The meaning "stutter" and similar variations belong to an independent root which in view of its numerous secondary forms in Northwest and Southern Semitic idioms one can characterize as onomatopoeic.

2. Occurrences. Among the 27 occurrences of the root, 18 attest the verbal form, 7 the noun *la'ag*. The uncertain term **lā'ēg* attests 2 further occurrences (Isa. 28:11; Ps. 35:16).⁴

The verb *lā'ag* occurs overwhelmingly (12 times) in the qal (2 K. 19:21; Isa. 37:22;

lā'ag. O. Michel, "Verspottung," *BHHW*, III (1966), 2098f.; H. D. Preuss, *Die Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT*, *BWANT*, 92[5/12] (1971) 141-153; L. Ruppert, *Der leidende Gerechte und seine Feinde* (Würzburg, 1973), 111-148; W. Vischer, "Der im Himmel Thronende lacht," *Freude am Evangelium. Festschrift A. de Quervain*, *BEvTh*, 44 (1966), 129-135.

1. *HAL*, II (1995), 532, on the basis of M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*, *BZAW*, 96 (1966), no. 147; cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, *HAT*, XXI (1955), 336, on 2 Ch. 36:16.

2. Cf. *LexHebAram*; Guillaume, 27.

3. According to *KBL*² metathesis to *l'g*.

4. But cf. *HAL*.

Jer. 20:7; Job 9:23; 11:3; 22:19; Ps. 2:4; 59:9[Eng. v. 8]; 80:7[6]; Prov. 1:26; 17:5; 30:17). Additional occurrences of the qal forms emerge if in Ps. 25:2 one reads LXX לעגו instead of לעצו, and in Ps. 35:16 LXX לעגו לעגו instead of לעגי מעוג. The hiphil occurs 5 times (Job 21:3; Ps. 22:8[7]; Neh. 2:19; 3:33[4:1]; 2 Ch. 30:10; cf. also 2 Ch. 36:16; on *l'b* see above I.1). The niphil occurs only once (Isa. 33:19), and this is the only passage where the verb is attested with the meaning “stammer” or something similar. The noun *la'ag*, built on the form *qaṭl*, occurs almost always in the singular (Job 34:7; Ps. 44:14[13]; 79:4; 123:4; Ezk. 23:32; 36:4; with suf. Hos. 7:16). Only Isa. 28:11 (*la'agê*, stative const., pl. of *la'ag*,⁵) and Hos. 7:16⁶ attest the meaning “stammering.”

By far, then, the root occurs most frequently in the poetic books or poetic genres of the OT. Wisdom and cultic poetry (8 times each) and, influenced by them, also various prophetic genres (5 times) are well represented. Only at a late period, and then noticeably infrequently (2 Ch. 30:10 with 36:16; Neh. 2:19; 3:33[4:1]; always hiphil), does *l'g* also appear in narrative prose.

Later use (Sir. 4:1; 34:22; 1QpHab 4:2,6; 1QM 12:7; emended text 1QH 4:16) shows no change over against the OT.

3. *Semantic Field.* The meaning of *l'g*, “mock,” is illuminated by numerous synonyms and parallel terms in the various contexts. Verbs and nouns accompanying *l'g* include those of → שחק *śāḥaq*, “laugh” (2 Ch. 30:10; Ps. 2:4; 59:9[8]; Prov. 1:26; Jer. 20:7; 1QpHab 4:1f.,6f.; *śāḥaq*, Ezk. 23:32), → שמח *sāmah*, “rejoice” (Job 22:19; Ps. 35:19,24; Prov. 17:5; 1QpHab 4:1f.), → בזה *bāzâ*, “despise,” בוז *bûz*, “contempt” (2 K. 19:21 par. Isa. 37:22; 2 Ch. 36:16; Neh. 2:19; Ps. 22:7[6]; 123:3; Prov. 30:17; Ezk. 36:4 [read *lābôz*]; 1QpHab 4:1f.; 1QM 12:7f.); → הרף *hārap*, “revile” (2 K. 19:21f. par. Isa. 37:22f.; Ps. 22:7f.[6f.]; 44:14,17[13,16]; 79:4; Prov. 17:5; Jer. 20:8), → קלס *qālas*, “scoff, mock” (Ps. 44:14[13]; 79:4; Jer. 20:8; 1QpHab 4:1f.; 1QM 12:7f.), → גדף *gādap*, “revile” (2 K. 19:21f. par. Isa. 37:22f.; Ps. 44:17[16] [with v. 14(13)]), and → כלם *kālam*, “rebuke, humiliate” (Ps. 44:16[15]; Ezk. 36:6 [with v. 4]); cf. further *tā'a'*, “make fun of, mock” (2 Ch. 36:16; 1QpHab 4:2), and *hātal*, “scoff at” (1 K. 18:27; Job 17:2).

The semantic field also includes the typical gestures of mockery: *hēnîa' rō'š*, “shake one's head” (2 K. 19:21 par. Isa. 37:22; Ps. 22:8[7]; cf. Ps. 44:15[14]; 80:7[6]; also Job 16:4; Ps. 109:25; Jer. 18:16; Lam. 2:15; Sir. 13:7; 12:18; Mk. 15:29), *hāraq šinnayim*, “gnash one's teeth” (Job 16:9; Ps. 35:16; cf. 37:12; 112:10; Lam. 2:16; 1QH 2:11), *qāraṣ 'ayin*, “wink with one's eyes” (Ps. 35:19; cf. Prov. 6:13; 10:10), and *hiptîr baššāpâ*, “make a wry mouth, pull a face” (Ps. 22:8[7]).

The noun *la'ag* is often accompanied by an expression indicating that an individual or collective “becomes” the object of mockery or is “made” into such an object. The expressions *hāyâ la'ag* (Ps. 79:4), *hāyâ l'la'ag* (Ezk. 23:32; 36:4), and *šîm la'ag* (Ps.

5. Cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia. HKAT* (1968), 173.

6. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 152.

44:14f.[13f.]) find parallels in combinations with *herpâ*, *bûz*, *qeles*, *māšāl*, and others (esp. frequent in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations, Nehemiah, and Psalms).

The subject and object of “mockery” characterized by *l'g* vary according to context. As a rule it is human “enemies”⁷ or hostile nations and neighbors who “mock” Israel/Judah/Jerusalem, a psalmist, or a prophet. Less frequently it is God or his representatives who mock the enemies.

4. *Versions.* The LXX renders the verb *lā'ag* 6 times with *myktērizein* and twice with *ekmyktērizein*, although without distinguishing between the qal and hiphil. The noun *la'ag* is rendered accordingly 3 times with *myktērismós*.⁸ The verb is rendered 4 times with *katagelán*, “laugh at, deride,” twice with *ekgelán*, “laugh out loud,” and once each with *katachaírein*, “express malicious/excessive pleasure,” *exouthenoún* and *katamōkásthai*, “mock.” Although the Targumim use the same root for *l'g*, it is rendered in the majority of instances by the synonymous *l'b*. The renderings of the Vulg. and Jerome coincide almost exactly (19 times) with *subsannare/subsannatio* (from *sanna*, “mocking or mimicking grimace”); renderings deviating from this (*despicere*, *de-/inridere*, and others) usually correspond to *katagelán* in the LXX.

II. 1. *Mockery from One's Enemies.* In the great majority of instances human enemies are the subject of mockery: either enemies of an individual (psalmist or prophet) or of all Israel/Judah/Jerusalem. Ps. 22:8(7) (“all who see me mock at me; they make mouths at me, they shake their heads”) and 35:16 (“like the godless⁹ [NRSV ‘impiously’] they mock and mock [so LXX], gnashing at me with their teeth”) represent a well-known motif in the individual lament.¹⁰ Jer. 20:7 (“I have become a laughingstock all day long; everyone mocks me”) also belongs within the framework of this genre. Such talk of mockery from one's enemies occupies a firm position in the lament of the people as well.¹¹ Next to texts lamenting ongoing mockery (“our soul has had more than its fill of scorn” [Ps. 123:4]; “we have become a taunt to our neighbors, mocked and derided by those around us” [Ps. 79:4], incorporated into the prophetic oracle of salvation in Ezk. 36:4, and also as an addition to the oracle of wrath in Ezk. 23:32) we find others in which the scorn of one's enemies is lamented as a punishment imposed by God himself (“you have made us . . . the derision and scorn of those around us” [Ps. 44:14(13); 80:7(6)]). Despite any differences, the ideas of the “scorned righteous person” and “scorned Israel” are closely related.

The occurrences in Nehemiah's memoirs (Neh. 2:19; 3:33[4:1]) refer to the derision of hostile neighbors concerning the Jews' reconstruction plans.

7. → לִּי אֵיבָה *'āyah* (*'āyah*) (I, 212-18).

8. On *myktērizein*, which actually means “turn up one's nose,” cf. G. Bertram, “μυκτηρίζω,” *TDNT*, IV, 796-99.

9. So H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT*, II/2 (1968), *in loc.*

10. Cf. H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen. HAT*, II/2 (1933), §6, no. 8 (esp. 198-99).

11. *Ibid.*, §4, no. 7, esp. 126.

The notion of the suffering prophet is given its classic formulation in the Deuteronomistic history (cf. 2 K. 17:13-15), although it is also documented in 2 Ch. 30:10 (Hezekiah's couriers, who exhort all Israel to return to Yahweh, are scorned and mocked); 36:16 ("they kept mocking [*l'b*] the messengers of God, despising [*bzh*] his words, and scoffing [*t'*] at his prophets").

The occurrences in Wisdom Literature constitute a group unto themselves. Drawing from the teachings of Amenemope,¹² Prov. 17:5 warns against mocking the poor (cf. also Sir. 4:1). The drastic warning against mocking one's aged parents in Prov. 30:17 is related to the commandment concerning parents in Ex. 20:12 par.¹³; cf. also the advice against mocking the wise in Sir. 31(34):22.

2. *Yahweh as Subject.* "Mockery" is attributed not only to human beings, but to God as well. The oldest example is Ps. 2:4: "He who sits in the heavens laughs; Yahweh has them in derision." Laughter and mockery are the expression of unquestionable superiority over against the activities of earthly kings.¹⁴ In the lament of an individual oppressed by both the deeds and words of his enemies (Ps. 59:9[8]) we read: "But you laugh at them, O Yahweh; you hold all the nations in derision." This statement, which functions as a motif of trust, is so similar to Ps. 2 that one can probably assume it was borrowed from that psalm.¹⁵ Ps. 37:13, a wisdom psalm, also expresses this notion that Yahweh "laughs" at the wicked; thus Yahweh's own "counter-mockery"¹⁶ negates the mockery of the wicked (v. 12). Personified Wisdom threatens just as does God: "Because I have called and you refused [to listen] . . . I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when panic strikes you" (Prov. 1:24,26). The tyrannical mockery of which Job accuses his friends' God is quite different: "When disaster brings sudden death, he mocks at the despondency of the innocent" (Job 9:23).¹⁷

3. *Mockery from the Pious.* It is noteworthy that only rarely does *l'g* refer to mockery by the "pious" or "righteous." Although Job 22:19 speaks of the justified mockery of the righteous at the inevitable fate of the wicked, it is not without significance that Eliphaz is the one representing such wisdom. Textual corruption makes it unclear in just what sense Job is associated with "mocking" or "mockery" in the speeches of Zophar (Job 11:3) and Elihu (34:7); the same is true of one of Job's own speeches (21:3). In the individual laments the righteous person anticipates the time when he can mock the exposed impotence of his enemies (e.g., Ps. 35:26f.; 52:8[6]; 58:11[10]; 64:11[10]). There are, however, no corresponding utterances in the thanksgiving psalms. Only the oracle to Sennacherib (2 K. 19:21-28 par. Isa. 37:22-29), secondarily

12. *ANET*³, 424.

13. → **לִּבְדָּב** *kābēd* (VII, 13-22).

14. Cf. the comms. and Vischer, who refers to the Ugaritic texts *KTU*, 1.6 III, 16; 1.4 IV, 27-30; V, 20-27; 1.12 I, 12f.; 1.17 VI, 41; 1.3 II, 24-27.

15. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988) *in loc.*

16. Preuss, 144.

17. Following F. Horst, *Hiob. BK*, XVI/1 (41983), *in loc.*; cf. Job 12:21.

incorporated into the two stories of Jerusalem's deliverance from the Assyrians (2 K. 18:13–19:37 par. Isa. 36f.), exhibits the wording of genuine mockery with Zion/Jerusalem as the subject: "She despises you, she scorns you — virgin daughter Zion; she tosses her head — behind your back, daughter Jerusalem" (2 K. 19:21 par. Isa. 37:22). Human mockery thrives on "seeing" the impotence of the person mocked (cf. *rā'â* in Ps. 22:8[7]; 31:12[11]; 35:21; 52:8[6]; 69:33[32]; Lam. 1:7f.). The daughter Zion can credibly mock even within her own impotence only because she trusts in the one whose own power gives him reason to mock the Assyrian. In the same spirit the community of Qumran engages in mockery (1QM 12:7f.).

Barth†

לַעֲנָה *la'ânâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Usage.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *la'ânâ*, a word occurring 8 times in the OT (additionally Lam. 3:5 conjectured, not Sir 31:29 emended), is unclear. Possibly it arose from the phoneme *l'* (+ *n*), which in initial position almost always gutturally expresses disinclination, aversion, and repulsive disgust; a negative element of repugnance or revulsion thus accompanies the word. This suggests a possible relationship with Nab. *l'n*, *l'nh* and Arab. *la'ana*, *la'n*, "to curse; imprecation."¹

II. Meaning. The traditional meaning "wormwood" is quite uncertain. The LXX, unable to give a specific, concrete meaning, thus circumscribed the term according to the context 3 times with *pikría*, "bitterness"; twice with *cholē*, "gall"; and once each with *odynē*, "sorrow, grief," and *anánkai*, "calamities" (Am. 5:7 is not translated). The Targum offers *gîd* (sometimes pl.; not Dt. 29:17[Eng. v. 18]; similarly also Syr. and the rabbinic writings), usually translated with "absinth." Aquila renders the word 3 times (Prov. 5:4; Jer. 9:14[15]; 23:15) with *tó apsínthion*, and the Vulg. accordingly with *absinthium* in all instances except Dt. 29:17(18) (cf. Targumim). It remains questionable whether this indeed refers to "wormwood," specifically the plant *ar-*

la'ânâ. G. Dalman, *AuS*, II (1932), 318; H. Frehen, "Wermut," *BL* 44², 1887f.; R. K. Harrison, "Healing Herbs of the Bible," *Janus*, 50 (1961; repr., Leiden, 1966); I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, I/1 (Vienna, 1926), 379–390; W. McKane, "Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath," *VT*, 30 (1980), 478–487; H. N. Moldenke and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible. Chronica Botanica*, 28 (New York, 1952), 48–50; C. H. Peisker, "Wermut," *BHHW*, III (1967), 2167; G. E. Post and J. E. Dinsmore, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai* (Beirut, ²1932/33), 66, 534; M. Zohary, *Plant Life of Palestine: Israel and Jordan. Chronica Botanica*, 33 (New York, 1962) 134.

1. *DISO*; Wehr.

temisia absinthium or, since this hardly occurs in Palestine, to *artemisia herba alba*, which for its own part has long been considered a medicinal herb; similarly, any identification of this with *la'ânâ* is highly questionable. G. Piovano² suggests *artemisia judaica*. The OT occurrences of the word yield three qualifying features for *la'ânâ*: 1. It designates (probably in the vernacular) a plant or herbal substance (Dt. 29:17[18] par. *rô'sh*; cf. Hos. 10:4). 2. The implication is that this substance is genuinely or (judged by its bitterness) presumably³ poisonous or at least dangerous. In 6 or 7 instances (Lam. 3:5 conj.) *la'ânâ* occurs together with *rô'sh*, "poison"; in some instances mortal (life-threatening) consequences are anticipated (Jer. 23:15; Prov. 5:4 par. "sword";⁴ Lam. 3:5 with death motifs). Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan translates Dt. 29:17(18): "bitter as deadly absinth(?)" (*k'gdn' dmwt*; cf. also He. 12:15). 3. It is presupposed that *la'ânâ* is eaten, perhaps taken (also) in liquid form (Prov. 5:4 par. flowing honey; cf. Jer. 23:15; 9:14[15] *'kl*; in contrast, *rô'sh* is drunk); considering its bitterness and accompanying danger, this seems to have occurred primarily by mistake or out of ignorance (cf. 2 K. 4:38-41). In light of this, these occurrences suggest some poisonous plant or substance rather than a kind of *artemisia* and "wormwood."⁵ Just which plant or herbal poison is meant has not yet been determined.⁶

III. Usage. The parallel use of *la'ânâ* with *rô'sh* in 6 of 8 occurrences suggests the two terms were proverbially associated with one another (cf. "poison and gall"). This is consistent with the wisdom milieu of several passages as well as with the use of the word itself as an image, metaphor, or symbol. The *tertium* in these cases is the hidden danger and deleterious effects inhering in seemingly quite harmless, beneficial things. The sweet words of the temptress are like virgin honey and seem smoother than oil, but in reality are as dangerous as *la'ânâ* and a two-edged sword (Prov. 5:4). The concrete reference can still be discerned in Dt. 29:17(18). Those who have fallen away from the Yahwistic faith are characterized in a general fashion as roots that bring forth (*prh*) poison and *la'ânâ*. Even in passages in which God initiates the eating and drinking of such poisonous substances, however, this concrete concept still resonates. Such is the case in Jeremiah's oracle of woe to the false prophets. They, the "prophets of Jerusalem," will have to consume "false" (in the sense of "poisoned") food as punishment, since — according to the *lex talionis* — "falseness"⁷ has gone forth from them into all the land (Jer. 23:15 and, dependent on it, 9:14[15]; cf. also 8:14). Is this a reference to carrying out a death sentence by means of poison? Similar ideas occur in the laments of Lam. 3 (vv. 5,15,19). The two passages from Amos (cf. also Hos. 10:4) should probably be understood such that in the metaphorical form of his accusation (Am. 6:12)

2. "Contributo alla flora sinaitica," *Giornale botanica italiana*, 69 (1962), 239-241.

3. "Noxium vulgo creditum est," *GesTh*, 758.

4. → חרב *hereb* (V, 155-165).

5. McKane, 483-85.

6. Cf. M. Zohary, *Geobotanical Foundations of the Middle East. Geobotanica Selecta*, 3 (Stuttgart, 1973), II, 391ff.

7. *h'ânuppâ*, → חנף *hānēp* (V, 36-44).

and cry of woe (5:7) the prophet is expressing the general assertion that the inherent goodness and beneficence of the traditional system of justice (*mišpāt*) as well as the overall impact of the traditional social order (*šēdāqā*) have been perverted⁸ into their opposites. This came about presumably because of their unnatural and irrational subjection to the strictures of a new social situation (Am. 6:12a). The judicial system itself thus becomes incapable of guaranteeing justice, and its essence is perverted. The social contract is ignored, and the good fruits it once brought forth for everyone are now as pernicious as poison.

Seybold

8. → הפך *hāpak* (*hāphakh*) (III, 423-27).

לקח *lāqah*; לקח *leqah*

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. Meaning; 3. Occurrences in the OT. II. Usage in the OT: 1. Initiative for Subsequent Action; 2. Taking Things at One's Disposal; 3. Taking a Wife; 4. Taking Away, Carrying Off; 5. God's Taking; 6. Poetic and Special Usage. III. *leqah*.

I. 1. *Root*. *lqh* is an especially popular root in OT Hebrew; although it is common to the Semitic languages (Ugar. *lqh*, Akk. *lēqû*,¹ Phoen., Moab. *lqh*,² Aram. *l^eqah*, OSA *lqh*,³ Arab. *laqiha*, Eth. *laqha*, "lend, borrow"⁴), its understanding is not necessarily dependent on linguistic comparisons.⁵ Herbert H. Schmid has provided the excellent lexical foundation⁶ from which further discussion must proceed.

2. *Meaning*. The fundamental meaning "take" displays considerable flexibility. Compared to roots occasionally used synonymously, this basic meaning does not appear

lāqah. A. Cody, "Exodus 18:12: Jethro Accepts a Covenant with the Israelites," *Bibl*, 49 (1968), 153-166, esp. II: "Jethro 'Accepts' the Sacrifice (and the Covenant)," 159-161; G. Deling, "λαμβάνω," *TDNT*, IV, 5-15; J. C. Greenfield, "*našû, nadānû* and Its Congeners," *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 19 (1977), 87-91; S. Kogut, "Double Meaning of the Biblical Root לקח," *Lešonénu*, 34 (1969/1970), 320 [Heb.; Eng. summary]; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 161-215, esp. 182 = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976); A. Kretzer, "λαμβάνω," *EDNT*, II, 336-38.

1. *AHW*, I (1965), 544.

2. *DISO*, 139.

3. ContiRossini, 173.

4. Leslau, *Contributions*, 29.

5. Cf. *HAL*, II (1995), 534.

6. "לקח *lqh* nehmen," *THAT*, I, 875-79.

to be characterized as much by the idea of expending energy as is, e.g., *h̄zq* hiphil, “seize” in the sense of “support, strengthen, grab hold of,” or *nāśāʾ*, “lift up”; neither, however, despite the few, seemingly contradictory occurrences, does the idea of force or violence seem to apply as with → *בזז* *bzz*, or → *לכד* *lākad*. Rather, the extremely frequent use of this verb to anticipate a subsequent verb that actually describes the intended act (almost as a *verbum relativum*) suggests that the primary emphasis is on the responsibility of the subject for that act. As will be seen, it frequently evokes the idea or aspect of initiative regarding a person’s actions.

3. *Occurrences in the OT.* The verb occurs 939 times in the qal⁷ and is especially frequent in narrative writings and regulations concerning offerings (together accounting for three fourths of all occurrences). Significantly, it occurs neither in Canticles (contextually inappropriate) nor in Ecclesiastes and Daniel (replaced, according to Schmid, by other roots in later languages). The niphāl (10 times) and pual (as passive of qal, 15 times) have a clearly limited meaning: “be taken, fetched, or brought away.”⁸ The hithpael (twice) has the specialized meaning “flicker back and forth” (referring to flames). Other specialized meanings include *malqôḥayim*, “gums” (Ps. 22:16[Eng. v. 15]), *melqāḥayim*, “snuffers” (6 times), *miqqāḥ*, “taking [of a bribe]” (Aram. inf., only 2 Ch. 19:7), *maqqāḥôt*, “wares” (Neh. 10:32[31]; from **malqāḥôt*), and *malqôaḥ*, “booty belonging to the victor in war,” distinguished from what has been stolen or plundered (Nu. 31:11f., 26f., 32; Isa. 49:24f.; *šālāl* probably refers to the actual booty, *baz* what has been plundered). The term *malqôaḥ* was incorporated into Egyptian as a terminus technicus (*mrqh.t*).⁹ The personal name *liqhî*, although textually secure, is yet unclear in its specifics.¹⁰ Only the noun *leqaḥ* requires further discussion.¹¹

II. Usage in the OT. In the qal the meaning of *lāqah* extends from “take, seize, grab,” “take for oneself” with the result “take away,” to a more militant sense of “appropriate for oneself,” although also “accept, receive,” and finally “get, fetch.” Although the object of the verb can be either persons or things, documentation of this particular feature does not reveal anything essential concerning the meaning. Of more significance is an understanding of the peculiarities in the way the verb is actually employed.

1. *Initiative for Subsequent Action.* Often *lāqah* designates the initiative for subsequent action. 2 K. 11:2 (par. 2 Ch. 22:11) praises the meritorious action of Jehosheba, who took Joash from among the king’s sons and hid him. Similarly, in 2 K. 11:4, 19 (par. 2 Ch. 23:1, 20) Jehoiada took Judah’s captains in preparation for the revolt against

7. Schmid.

8. HAL.

9. HAL, II, 594; WbÄS, II, 113.

10. Cf. HAL.

11. See III below.

Athaliah. According to Jgs. 6:27, Gideon took ten men in order to destroy an altar of Ba'al secretly. Laban took his brothers along in pursuit of Jacob (Gen. 31:23). Jacob took a stone to set up as a boundary marker, and Laban and his kinsmen took stones for a heap to serve as a marker (Gen. 31:45f.). Jacob took a stone to consecrate as a massebah (Gen. 28:18). Samuel took the young, previously unknown Saul before those invited for a feast (1 S. 9:22). Saul took a yoke of oxen and cut them into pieces to call the people together for holy war (1 S. 11:7). Gideon took the elders of Succoth in order to scourge them with thorns because of their lack of support (Jgs. 8:16). Joseph took five of his brothers to present to Pharaoh (Gen. 47:2). The brothers took Joseph and cast him into the empty cistern; they took his robe and dipped it in blood in order to deceive their father (Gen. 37:24,31). Boaz took ten men to the gate in order to conduct legal business (Ruth 4:2). All the people of Judah took Azariah and made him king (2 K. 14:21; Jehoahaz 23:30; cf. 2 Ch. 26:1; 36:1).

One can easily add to these examples. Although almost all regulations concerning offerings fall into this category, several of the more subtle expressions deserve special mention. Abraham took the wood appropriated for the burnt offering and laid it on Isaac — underscoring the assertion: “God himself will provide” (Gen. 22:6-8). Preparing to kill Isaac as directed, Abraham took a knife meant for eating rather than for sacrificial slaughter (*ma'akelet*; Gen. 22:10). After the flood Noah took of *every* clean animal and offered burnt offerings (Gen. 8:20). Before the miraculous deliverance at the Reed Sea, the people complain to Moses: “You have taken us away to die in the wilderness” (Ex. 14:11). The Moabite king Balak took Balaam to pronounce a curse on Israel; Balaam, however, took (from God?) the command to bless (Nu. 23:11,20). Gen. 15:9f. is particularly noteworthy. Although Yahweh orders Abraham to take for Yahweh a series of sacrificial animals, the directive says nothing about the required ritual itself, which Abraham apparently already knows. Do the words “take for me” together with the list of animals indicate that the reference is not to an offering at all, but rather to some special ritual?

2. *Taking Things at One's Disposal.* Only a short distance separates the usage just discussed from the act of taking things standing at one's disposal. Terah took Abraham and Nahor, Abraham took his wife and possessions, Lot his family, Esau his wives, and Joseph his sons (Gen. 11:31; 12:5; 19:15; 36:6; 48:1,13), either for a trip of some sort or to go to one's father. King Abimelech took herds and servants in order to appease Abraham for having taken Sarah (Gen. 20:2,14). Abraham took a skin of water and other provisions for the exiled Hagar to eat along the way (Gen. 21:14). Abraham took Ishmael to circumcise him (Gen. 17:23). Abraham and Saul took servants with them (Gen. 22:3; 1 S. 9:3). Saul took along three thousand men to pursue David (1 S. 24:3[2]). 1 S. 8:11-17 warns against the consequences of being at the disposal of a king. According to 2 S. 20:6, David assigns command over the elite royal troops to Joab's brother Abishai: “Take!” Potiphar took Joseph and placed him into the security of the royal prison (Gen. 39:20). As a condition of the preliminary allegation of espionage, Joseph took Simeon as a hostage (Gen. 42:24). Jethro took a burnt offering for Elohim (Ex. 18:12).

The meaning does not change when God is the subject of the action. According to Ps. 75:3(2), God prescribes the appointed time (*mô'ēd*). He is opposed by prophets who take their tongues to utter pronouncements (Jer. 23:31). Yahweh Elohim takes Adam and places him in a garden, etc. (Gen. 2:15,21,22).

A few examples come from the legal tradition. The community is instructed to take from the altar any person guilty of (willful) murder even though normally the altar is a place of asylum (Ex. 21:14; Dt. 19:12; in the case of intentional capital crimes, the community elders under whose jurisdiction the perpetrator is found are to take him and hand him over to the avenger of blood). A man who spurns his wife and alleges that she is not a virgin shall be taken by the elders and whipped (Dt. 22:18).

3. *Taking a Wife*. This term apparently includes the terminus technicus for marriage: to take a wife/take as one's wife (e.g., Gen. 4:19; 11:29; 20:2f.; 24:3f.). The man must take the initiative, since legally the woman becomes a member of her husband's family through marriage. Gen. 16:3 describes a subcategory. If the primary wife brings maid-servants into the marriage, she is empowered to give one of these maids to her husband as a wife (cf. also Gen. 30:9). Gen. 21:21 notes that the apparently impressive woman Hagar (cf. Gen. 16:7-14) took a wife for her son.

Merely taking a woman, however, is a base act (Gen. 34:2). Subsequent marriage can rectify the situation, but is not compulsory. David, too, took Bathsheba before he was able to marry her (2 S. 11:4). In neither instance is force mentioned (contra NRSV). The term occurs so frequently, however, that when the context is unequivocal it can be replaced by simple taking. The regulation pertaining to military service is noteworthy. If a man is betrothed to a woman but has not yet "taken" her, he is given leave from military service until he has insured the continuation of his name (Dt. 20:7). To "take a daughter," an expression reflecting Persian customs, is related (Est. 2:7,15; it is doubtful whether adoption was known in Israel itself).

4. *Taking Away, Carrying Off*. When the action results in taking away or carrying off something, neither the *modus* (e.g., force, illegality, etc.) nor the element of privation seems to be emphasized, but rather that of seizure or acquisition for oneself (although the verb does occur in Jer. 20:5 par. "plunder" and 1 S. 2:16 expressly adds "by force"). Gen. 31:34; 1 Ch. 7:21 probably refer to something like stealing, and Gen. 27:35,36 emphasize the illegality of the appropriation. In principle, however, one must deduce the mode from the context; thus precisely in Gen. 27 the illegality does not result in any disadvantage for Jacob, since the patriarchal blessing is at stake, a blessing that could only be bestowed once.

Gen. 31:1 is typical. Laban's sons believe that Jacob has acquired everything that belonged to Laban; only the simple fact is of significance here, and no illegality is alleged. Leah's words to Rachel (Gen. 30:15) are also interesting: "Is it a small matter that you have taken away my husband?" This is not a matter of taking away, but rather only of the fact that Rachel was more attractive to Jacob, and that Leah thus pointedly avoids treating her with a gift of mandrakes as well. Similarly, Gen. 31:34 asserts that

Rachel was threatened by mortal danger (v. 26) because she had taken — and thus possessed — the teraphim.

Taking in time of war should also be included here. The prerogative of the victor enables David to take the crown for himself after his victory over the Ammonites (2 S. 12:30). Similarly, 2 K. 15:29 lists the cities that Tiglath-pileser III took for himself after his victorious campaigns. According to Gen. 34:28, Jacob's victorious sons took the Shechemites' livestock from the fields, while according to v. 29 they also robbed them, namely, of human beings and all that was in their houses. 1 K. 20:34 reports that the king of Syria wanted to return the Israelite cities that his father had taken for himself (cf. also Jgs. 11:13,15; 1 Ch. 2:23).

Gen. 38:23 is also highly instructive. Judah tries through a friend to retrieve the valuable pledges he left to be redeemed after lying with a (presumed) cult prostitute (*qēdēšā*); when the woman cannot be found, he says: "Let her take them, lest we be laughed at." Chasing after pledges given to a harlot only results in ridicule. This would also suggest that Gen. 48:22 is not intended violently. The father Israel took a "shoulder" (mountain slope near Shechem?) from the hand of the Amorites for sword and bow, and thus as security for the pass at Shechem.

In judgment it can be stated (2 S. 12:11) that it is Yahweh who takes David's wives and who gives them to a neighbor, because David had taken the wife of Uriah. Entirely characteristic is the word of Hosea (Hos. 13:11) that Yahweh gave and took Israel's kings in his anger!

5. *God's Taking*. The most frequent assertion made of Yahweh is that he will fetch or take his people back from the dispersion (Dt. 30:4; Jer. 3:14; Ezk. 36:24; 37:21). This is consistent with the fact that Yahweh had taken Israel as his people from Egypt (Ex. 6:7) or Sinai on. This doubtlessly expresses the kind of naive understanding of election occurring also in Gen. 24:7 (Abraham); Josh. 24:3 (your father); 1 K. 11:31 (Jeroboam I); Jer. 43:10 (Nebuchadnezzar is taken to smite Egypt); Hag. 2:23 (Zerubbabel); 2 S. 7:8; 1 Ch. 17:7; Ps. 78:70 (David); Nu. 3:12,41,45; 8:16,18 (Levites). The way the same expression is used in the calling of Amos (Am. 7:15), however, shows that the emphasis is always less on a particular concept of election than on that element of surprise associated with being taken by God out of completely different circumstances. In laments Yahweh is variously implored to take the petitioner's life or *nepeš*, since a person should not violate or profane life (e.g., 1 K. 19:4; Jon. 4:3). In judgment, on the other hand, Yahweh announces to Ezekiel the symbolic act of taking away Ezekiel's delight (i.e., his wife; Ezk. 24:16). In Ezk. 3:14; 8:3, God's taking refers to visionary translation to a different place, and Gen. 5:24; 2 K. 2:3 speak of Enoch and Elijah being transported directly to God. Is this also the reference in Ps. 49:16(15); 73:24?¹²

Relatively speaking, however, God only rarely appears as the subject of this verb (according to Schmid just over 50 times). Thus the verb is more likely to reveal

12. → כָּבֹד *kābôd* (VII, 22-38).

something about the OT understanding of human beings than to constitute a theonomic expression.

6. *Poetic and Special Usage.* Several poetically striking examples should not go unmentioned. In a kind of self-imprecation Job remarks (Job 3:6): “That night [of one’s birth] — let thick darkness seize it!” A similarly somber turn is taken by the wisdom assertion in Job 12:20. God takes away the power of discernment (*ta’am*) even of the elders. Eliphaz rebukes the lamenting Job: “Why does your heart carry you away?” (Job 15:12). The expression “take revenge” occurs only poetically (Jer. 20:10; of God: Isa. 47:3). Concerning Jeremiah’s own poesy: “Let your ears receive (*lqh*) the word of his [Yahweh’s] mouth” (Jer. 9:19[20]). And finally, two striking images from wisdom: Anything acquired by violence takes away the *nepeš* of its possessor (Prov. 1:19; cf. 11:30; 22:25); evildoers are like thorns — they cannot be taken with the hand (2 S. 23:6).

The particular focus of the prohibition against taking interest (Lev. 25:36) or profit (Ezk. 18:8,13,17) prompt its mention here. In contrast, Samuel’s assertion (1 S. 12:3f.) that while in office he took nothing from anyone is exemplary.

III. *leqah*. The term *leqah* probably does not mean “teaching” or “persuasiveness,”¹³ but rather that which a person has been able to acquire in the way of wisdom or teaching and is thus in a position to pass on to others. This seems to be the case especially in Prov. 7:21 in its summarization of the seductive speech of the loose woman. Prov. 16:23 expresses this in the following words: “The mind of the wise makes their speech judicious, and adds understanding (*leqah*) to their lips.” Is Prov. 16:21 then to be read chiastically? “The wise of heart is called [one who is] perceptive, and such understanding (*leqah*) constitutes pleasant speech [lips].” This sense emerges quite naturally for Dt. 32:2; Job 11:4; Prov. 4:2; the sense of one’s own acquisition of learning is reflected in Prov. 1:5; 9:9; Sir. 8:8. That is to say, *leqah* is *qabbālā*, “what is received”¹⁴ in the most literal sense.

Seebass

13. So HAL; Prov. 7:21.

14. Cf. HAL.

לָקַח *lāqat*

Contents: I. Etymology; Occurrences. II. OT Usage.

I. Etymology; Occurrences. The root *lqt* occurs in most Semitic languages with the meaning “gather in, pick.” The verb occurs 30 times in the OT, 13 times in the qal, 15 in the piel, and once each in the pual and hithpael. A clear distinction between

the qal and piel is probably not possible; the book of Ruth uses both the qal (Ruth 2:8) and the piel (all other occurrences) to refer to picking (actually gleaning) grain. According to Ernst Jenni,¹ the qal refers to simple gathering, while the piel, as a resultative, includes the nuance of completed or total gathering.

II. OT Usage. In all cases the verb refers to gathering in the literal sense. Jacob's kinsmen gather stones for a stone heap at Galeed (Gen. 31:46); flowers are gathered (Cant. 6:2); the prophet's disciples gather herbs for soup (2 K. 4:39); children gather wood so that their parents can present a burnt offering to the queen of heaven (Jer. 7:18); Adoni-bezek, defeated by the Israelites, looks back at the time when seventy kings picked up the scraps under his table (Jgs. 1:7); Jonathan's lad fetches the arrow his master has just shot (1 S. 20:38); Joseph gathers all the money the Egyptians have given in payment for grain and gives it to Pharaoh (Gen. 47:14).

Two groups of examples deserve special attention. First, Lev. 19:9; 23:22² prescribe that at harvest one is not to glean subsequently (*lqt* piel with *leqet*), i.e., gather up the grain that has fallen to the ground; rather, this should be given to the poor and the *gerîm*. According to Lev. 19:10, the same holds true for grapes that have fallen to the ground during harvesting. This probably reflects an originally cultic custom that subsequently became a commandment concerning welfare for the poor.³

Reflecting this practice, Ruth gleans the grain on Boaz' field (Ruth 2:2,3,7,8, 15,19,23); Boaz even grants her certain gleaning privileges (v. 16). It is uncertain whether Ruth directly presupposes Lev. 19:9, since according to Ruth 2:2 she intends to glean only if she can secure the permission of the owner. In any case, a simple daily task thus serves to reveal Boaz' benevolence and becomes a part of God's guidance.⁴

The image of the harvest recurs in Isa. 17:5f. The fate of the northern kingdom is compared to a harvest at which among other things the reaper gleans grain in the Valley of Rephaim and knocks olives from the trees so that only a pitiful amount remains to be gleaned.

Second, *lqt* is used in the context of gathering manna (Ex. 16:4,5,16,18,21f.,26f.; Nu. 11:8). One gathers in the manna, but is permitted to gather only as much as one needs; if one gathers more, it spoils and becomes useless. The people are directed to God's care and must depend on that care completely. The same idea resonates in Ps. 104:28: "When you give to them, they gather it up; when you open your hand, they are filled with good things." God provides adequately for human beings; they can depend on that.

The only occurrence of the pual, Isa. 27:12, again uses the image of harvest, although here in the positive sense. God will gather in the dispersed Israelites like grain and lead

1. *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 188f.

2. According to K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, IV (1966), 247, citing Lev. 19:9.

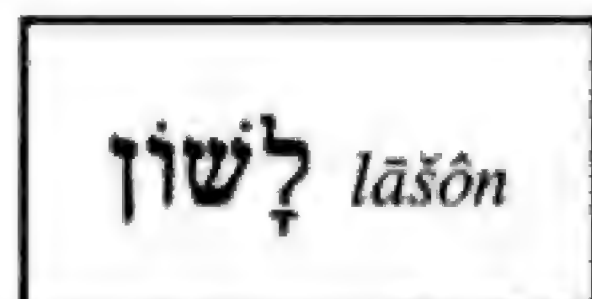
3. *Ibid.*, 257.

4. G. Gerleman, *Ruth. BK XVIII* (1965), 10, where v. 12 is cited.

them back to their land. Usually, the verb → קָבַץ *qābaṣ* piel is used in such contexts, though a few times also 'āsap.

The hithpael occurs only in Jgs. 11:3. All sorts of "worthless fellows" gather around Jephthah and depart with him.

Ringgren



Contents: I. Etymology, Linguistic Considerations. II. Ancient Near East. III. Physiology. IV. Figurative Usage: 1. Metaphors; 2. Metonymy. V. Semantic Field. VI. Religio-Ethical Considerations.

I. Etymology, Linguistic Considerations. Despite variations in the individual languages, the word meaning "tongue" is common to the Semitic languages and attested even beyond them: Ebla *li-sa-nu*, Akk. *lišānu*,¹ Ugar. *lšn*,² Phoen. (in Greek transliteration) *λασσον*,³ Arab. *lisān*, Palaeo-Aram. *lšn*,⁴ Biblical Aram. *liššān*, Jewish Aram. *l'šānā*, Syr. *leššānā*, etc.⁵

A consideration of Egyp. *nś*, Copt. *las*, and Berber (Hamitic) *ils*⁶ strongly suggests

lāšōn. J. Behm, "γλωσσα," *TDNT*, I, 719-727; W. Brueggemann, "Tongue," *IDB*, IV, 670; W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen*. *OBO*, 12 (1976); E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1963), 83-89; A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Eng. trans., New York, 1894; repr. 1969), 354f.; J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung*. *BZAW*, 62 (1933), 21; K. Goldammer, *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen* (Stuttgart, 1960), 230-37; H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*. *AnAcScFen*, 7/1 (1911), 25ff., 185; A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Leipzig, ²1929), 92-95; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964), 45-47, 68, 104; H. Kees, "Herz und Zunge als Schöpferorgane in der ägyptischen Götterlehre," *StudGen*, 19 (1966), 124-26; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964), 25, 164; H. Lesêtre, "Langue," *DB*, IV (1908), 72-74; M. Lurker, *Wörterbuch biblischer Bilder und Symbole* (Munich, ²1978), 374f.; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Eng. trans., repr. Nashville, 1967), I, 199f., 227-29; II, 3f.; J. L. Palache, *Sinai en Paran* (Leiden, 1979), 107; R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic* (1908, repr. New York, 1971), 172f.; P. Volz, *Hiob und Weisheit*. *SAT*, III/2 (1911), 175f., 181-84; H.-D. Wendland, "Zunge," *BThH* (²1959), 733f.; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 77-78.

1. *AHw*, I (1965), 556.

2. *WUS*, no. 1484.

3. *DISO*, 140.

4. *Idem*.

5. *HAL*, II (1995), 536; *LexSyr*, 371; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico. II: Anatomia e Fisiologia," *AANLR*, VIII/19 (1964), 252, 270.

6. Cf. J. H. Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa* (Bloomington, Ind., 1963), 63.

that Proto-Semitic attested an originally two-consonant word here which in Palaeo-Semitic was expanded by the suf. *-ān* (which in Hebrew became *-ōn*).⁷ One cannot determine whether for the initial form **lš* one should postulate a verbal root *lš*, *lšš*, *lšh/y*, or *lwš* with the meaning “to lick”;⁸ in any case, the initial consonant *l*, which also occurs in verbs describing some activity of the tongue (*lqq*, *lhk*, *lhš*, *l’z*), seems to have resulted from onomatopoeia, and has apparently entered into the combination with *š* for the same reason.⁹ Not surprisingly, nothing further is gained for a closer understanding of the concepts associated with *lāšôn* by considering its nominal forms *qaṭāl* (> *qāṭōl*¹⁰) or *qiṭāl*.¹¹ In its own turn, the suf. *-ān/-ōn* added to **lš* is ambiguous.¹² In the present instance this might subsume the onomatopoetic designation for the organ itself under the *nomina instrumenti* (cf. *pa’amôn*, *gillāyôn*), i.e., the tongue as the instrument of speech. (This might then also be the case with the term *gārôn*, “throat,” whose expansion from the original **gr* by means of the reduplicated construction *gargeret*, “neck,” has been demonstrated.) These considerations are of no significance if one views *lāšôn* as a primary noun derived from a verbal stem.

The word occurs 117 times in the OT, 5 of those in the plural form (always written defectively) *lēšōnôt*. Although it exhibits dual gender, no substantive difference between the masculine (Ps. 35:28; Lam. 4:4) and feminine construction (Job 27:4; Ps. 137:6) emerges. The feminine form, however, does predominate.

The figurative usage “tongue of the sea” (see below) is construed only as masculine.

The thesis that the original gender was masculine, while the feminine understanding arose only after the word came to refer to the instrument of speech,¹³ is hardly tenable in view of linguistic comparisons, statistical findings, etc. The original gender was more likely feminine,¹⁴ and the masculine usage then arose in individual instances (e.g., through contamination: from *lēšōnî tehgeh* [Ps. 71:24] and *pî . . . yehgeh* [Ps. 37:30] there developed *lēšōnî yehgeh* [Job 27:4]).

In construct combinations the attendant *nomen rectum* functions either as *genetivus subjectivus* designating the person possessing the *lāšôn* (*lēšôn kašdîm*, “language of the Chaldeans”; *lēšôn ’illēm*, “tongue of the mute”), or, much more frequently, as *genetivus qualitatis* designating the particular characteristic of the *lāšôn* (e.g., *lēšôn šeqer*, “deceitful speech [NRSV ‘lying tongue’]”). This distinction, however, cannot always be strictly maintained: *lēšôn limmūdîm* (Isa. 50:4), literally, “tongue of the [instructed] disciples,” means “practiced tongue.”

7. *BLe*, §469.

8. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, II, 763: Arab. *lassa*, “to lick”; cf. also E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, II/1 (Leipzig, 1895), 123.

9. Cf. W. Eilers, “Zur Funktion von Nominalformen,” *WO*, 3 (1964), 81.

10. E.g., *BLe*, *loc. cit.*

11. *VG*, I, 350.

12. *BLe*, §§498-500.

13. K. Albrecht, “Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter,” *ZAW*, 16 (1896), 78f.

14. Cf. König, II/2 (1897), 162ff., 175; D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax*, I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 71-81.

The vocalization is at times contestable. Considering parallelism and similar passages in Proverbs, *lāšôn nokriyyâ* (Prov. 6:24) might be emended to *l'šôn nokriyyâ* (thus not "foreign speech," but rather "speech of a foreign woman").¹⁵ Also *lāšôn r'emyyâ* (Ps. 120:2) should be emended to *l'šôn r'emyyâ*, "tongue of deceit," on the basis of the par. *š'pat šeqer* and Job 27:4. Instead of the subst. *r'emyyâ* (as *nomen rectum*), the punctuators thought the homonymous adjective was intended ("slack, loose," as in the expression *qešet r'emyyâ*, "the slack, loose bow").¹⁶

Two denominative verbal forms with the root *lšn* (Prov. 30:10 hiphil; Ps. 101:5 poel)¹⁷ mean "use the tongue (maliciously)," i.e., accuse or slander someone.

For the most part, the LXX translates with *glōssa*, the Vulg. with *lingua*. The literal meaning of both words, "tongue," underwent metonymical expansion to include such meanings as "speech, speech idiom," and as such they were able to offer a fairly consistent rendering of the Hebrew term. Occasionally the LXX will use other equivalents for *lāšôn* in the sense of "language": *diálektos* (Dan. 1:4), *léxis* (Est. 1:22), *phōné* (Isa. 54:17: "and every voice that rises against you in judgment" instead of the crass personification of the Hebrew: "and every tongue . . ."). For the metaphorical "tongue of fire" in Isa. 5:24, the LXX uses *ánthrakos*, "charcoal, burning embers," and for "tongue of land" (Josh. 15:2) *lophiá*, "mountain ridge." At Josh. 7:21, the Vulg. renders the "tongue [bar] of gold" with *regula aurea*, "bar/ingot of gold."¹⁸

II. Ancient Near East. In many cultures the tongue symbolizes the human capacity for speech, human language, and its power. Venerated and feared, it becomes the object of magic and its accompanying ritual.¹⁹

The Akkadian word *lišānu*²⁰ refers to the body part of both human beings and animals. The human tongue as the organ of eating and speaking is mentioned in medical texts, that of animals in sacrificial instructions. Great power is attributed to the tongue: the dragon has seven tongues, the snake a forked tongue.²¹ A person's mouth and tongue speak for him in prayer; he petitions Ishtar for protection. The goddess's mouth and tongue are good and enjoy religious veneration.

As a designation for the important organ of speech, *lišānu* also acquires the meaning "speech, discourse." The gods had a *lišānu*, i.e., "held converse."²² The king constructs a network of streets so that *lišānu*, communication and exchange, will be possible between peoples.²³ Akk. *lišānu* is also the concrete statement itself, then

15. Cf. Vulg. *lingua extraneae*; Syr. *dlšnh dnwkryt*.

16. Cf. *KBL*², 894; *BDB*, 941.

17. *BLe*, §281.

18. For further variations, see below.

19. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (New York, ³1935), index s.v. "tongue"; J. Campbell, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology* (New York, 1959, repr. 1968), 211.

20. *CAD*, IX (1973), 209-215.

21. Cf. the Ugaritic dual form *lšnm*; *WUS*, no. 1484.

22. *EnEl*, III, 133; *ANET*, 66.

23. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*. *BAfO*, 9 (²1967), 26, VII, 41.

further the written text. In a legal matter, whoever *lišānu* agrees with the facts is declared in the right; the *lišānu* of an inscription may not be altered.²⁴ An evil tongue wreaks havoc both in private and juridical life; the word thus also acquires the meaning of "malicious rumor, slander." The petitioner implores: "in spite of the evil mouth (and) the evil tongue of men, may I be in good standing before you [the deity]."²⁵

Since the tongue is the instrument of such malice, punishment is carried out on it either concretely or through magical curse. The recalcitrant son, the person who defaults on a contract, and the rebel all are to have their tongues cut out. This gruesome practice is illustrated in pictorial representations in which Assyrians carry this out on prisoners of war.²⁶

Whenever speech is incomprehensible, either because of its puzzling complexity or its provenance in a foreign language, attention is directed anew to the instruments of speech, and *lišānu* acquires the meaning "language," particularly "foreign language, special (or technical) language." The meaning of *lišānu* is then expanded to "language group, nationality, people." A *bēl lišāni*, "master of the tongue," is someone who understands a foreign language (or "the conjurer"²⁷). Akk. *ša lišāni* is a person who knows of something held secret. Finally, *lišānu* can thus refer to the person himself from whom such information is expected.

Akkadian also attests metaphors referring to the tongue of a flame, of a weapon (a blade or sword), or of a ploughshare, and to a tongue (bar, ingot) of gold.

The Egyptian word *ns*²⁸ refers to the tongue of both human beings and animals. As the organ of speech it is frequently mentioned together with the heart, i.e., as the tandem of utterance and reflection. Extraordinary power is attributed to both organs. In Memphite theology Ptah is considered the head of the nine gods, since he functions as their heart and tongue, organs which control all the other members and serve as the organs of creation. The heart thinks and the tongue commands whatever they want. Thoth is viewed as the tongue of Re or Atum. Extraordinary debilitation results from having one's tongue cut out.²⁹

The splendid, skilled tongue on the one hand, and the deceptive, slandering tongue on the other are used as epithets for various persons.³⁰ One god can be viewed as the tongue, i.e., the mouthpiece, of another god.³¹

Any tongue should be the tongue of truth. A person should proceed just as cautiously with the tongue as with the reflections of the heart. The wisdom teacher also recognizes:

24. CAD, IX, 212.

25. *Ibid.*, 211.

26. F. Vigouroux, "Armées Etrangères," *DB*, I (1895), 989f.

27. Cf. Holma.

28. *WbÄS*, II, 320.

29. G. Posener, *Festschrift S. Schott* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 110f.

30. *Book of the Dead*, 172, 178.

31. H. Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen*. AO, 21/1f. (1920, repr. 1983), 119.

"If the tongue of a man (be) the rudder of a boat, the All-Lord is its pilot."³² "The tongue is a sword to [a man] and speech is more valorous than any fighting."³³ "A man may fall to ruin because of his tongue."³⁴

Several of the Ahikar-sayings speak metaphorically about the tongue: "God shall twist the twister's mouth and tear out [his] tongue"; "soft is the tongue of a king, but it breaks a dragon's ribs."³⁵ Aramaic inscriptions mention *hrb* and *lšn*, sword and tongue, together (directed against the royal house?),³⁶ and the admonition is issued not to send a *lšn* among people or into one's house, i.e., not to sow discord.³⁷

III. Physiology. The literal meaning of the word *lāšôn*, namely, as the designation of the physical organ in human beings and animals, emerges clearly in several biblical passages, although these are comparatively few compared to instances in which the word is used metaphorically. The tongue is located behind the opening to the mouth (*peh*) in the mouth's cavity (*hēk*) (Job 33:2); it can be stuck out of an open mouth (Isa. 57:4). A person can hold something on or under it (Prov. 31:26; Cant. 4:11) and can lap water with it the way a dog laps (Jgs. 7:5). A great thirst causes the tongue to cleave to the roof of the mouth (Lam. 4:4); when water is scarce it becomes parched (Isa. 41:17) and rots in one's mouth the way one's eyes rot in their sockets (Zec. 14:12).

Animals also have a *lāšôn*. The viper kills with its tongue (Job 20:16), a person tries in vain to bind a cord on the tongue of the crocodile (Job 40:25[Eng. 41:1], and the dog sharpens his tongue menacingly (Ex. 11:7).³⁸

With regard to human beings, however, the tongue is viewed primarily as the most important organ of speech. The *lāšôn* mutters (*hgh*, Isa. 59:3), speaks (*dbr*, Ps. 12:4[3]), and sings aloud (*rnn*, Ps. 51:16[14]; Isa. 35:6). Already in physiological descriptions we find that in the context of the organism as a whole the *lāšôn* is delineated more sharply than the other body parts and in particular more sharply than the other parts of the mouth and throat (e.g., *gārôn*, "throat" in Ps. 5:10[9] and "neck" in Isa. 3:16). The role of the *lāšôn* in speaking is viewed as being more active than that of the other organs: "See, I open my mouth; the tongue in my mouth speaks" (Job 33:2). The mouth is filled with laughter, the tongue with shouts of joy (Ps. 126:2). Thus when the tongue is motionless, a person falls silent (Ezk. 3:26); conversely, a person who falls silent out of reverence is holding his own tongue motionless (Job 29:10).

32. Instruction of Amenemope, XVIII, 5f.; *ANET*, 424.

33. Instruction for King Merikare, 33; *ANET*, 415.

34. Instruction of Ani, VII, 9; *ANET*, 420.

35. *ANET*, 429.

36. *KAI*, 214, 9.

37. *KAI*, 224, 17/18, 21; cf. also R. A. Brauner, *A Comparative Lexicon of Old Aramaic* (Philadelphia, 1974), 323ff.

38. Just what is meant by this expression is not really clear. Heb. *ḥāraṣ l'šônô*, lit., "sharpens [points] his tongue," could refer either to the tongue hanging out or to the dog's growling or barking. The Vulg. reads *muttire*, "utter a low sound, grumble." Cf. *HAL*, II, 356; *BDB*, 358. Josh. 10:21 offers no help, since its text is uncertain; see *BHS*.

The expression for this silence is *dāḥaq-lēšônô lēhikkô*, “the tongue cleaves to the roof of the mouth,” as was the case above during great thirst. These are the two main functions which the tongue now is no longer carrying out: the taking in of nourishment, and speaking. The self-imprecation in Ps. 137:6 more likely refers to the petitioner falling silent than to dying of thirst: “Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you [Jerusalem].” That is, I would rather fall completely silent than to fail to speak of Jerusalem.

IV. Figurative Usage.

1. *Metaphors.* The striking physical form of the tongue itself prompts the metaphorical usage of *lāšôn* for things with a more or less similar structure. The spit of land extending into the Dead Sea and serving thus as a boundary marker is called *lāšôn* (Josh. 15:2, written defectively). It can also be called *lēšôn hayyām* (Josh. 15:5), since it is the “tongue” actually belonging to the Dead Sea: *lēšôn yām-hammelāḥ* (Josh. 18:19). The topographically opposite phenomenon is intended in Isa. 11:15, which speaks of Yahweh’s threat to destroy (or dry up³⁹) the *lēšôn yām-miṣrayim*. This refers to a water-filled bay in Egypt, namely, the Gulf of Suez.

The expression *lēšôn zāḥāḇ* (Josh. 7:21) refers to the approximately tongue-shaped bar of gold.⁴⁰ The expression *lēšôn ’ēš* (Isa. 5:24) was probably originally prompted less by external similarity in form (e.g., the licking of the flame) than to the flame’s devastating activity. Since this personified fire devours (*’kl*) whatever it seizes, a consuming tongue is attributed to it.

2. *Metonymy.* The metonymical expansions of meaning which the word *lāšôn* underwent are of greater consequence. Since they are more deeply seated in the word’s overall semantic fabric than are the metaphors, they obligate the interpreter to undertake the important and often difficult task of determining the exact nuance of meaning.

As the designation for the most important organ of speech, *lāšôn* can also refer to what is actually produced in speech (*producens pro producto*), i.e., the words uttered in a particular context. One should beware of the smooth tongue of the foreign woman (Prov. 6:24), i.e., of the flattering words of the temptress. A soft tongue (Prov. 25:15), i.e., gentle persuasion, can break down the most obdurate resistance. The expression *ma’ānēh lāšôn* (Prov. 16:1) refers to the formed utterance in contrast to what is conjured in reflection. The *maḥālîq lāšôn* (Prov. 28:23) produces flattery, and *lēšôn ’ārûmîm* (Job 15:5) describes Job’s responses, which his friends dismiss as sophisticated and wily.

A person’s characteristic manner of speaking is an expression itself of that person’s character and personality; indeed, in the view of antiquity it is virtually identical with the person’s character. This is an example of “synthetic thinking,”⁴¹ which “does not

39. See BHK.

40. H. Weippert, “Geld,” *BRL*², 89; M. Weippert, “Metall und Metallbearbeitung,” *BRL*², 221; *AOB*, 126.

41. *ILC*, I-II, 170-76.

distinguish sharply between an organ and its function on the one hand, . . . and a person's manner of being and deportment on the other."⁴² Combined with various qualifications *lāšôn* can thus be used to refer to a given lifestyle identified by a certain manner of speech. The expression *l'šôn šeqer* (Prov. 21:6) stands for the falseness and deception with which wealth is acquired, *l'šôn mirmâ* (Ps. 52:6[4]) for the malicious slander propagated by the petitioner's powerful enemy, and *lāšôn m'dabberet g'dōlōt* (Ps. 12:4[3]) for boastful arrogance. On the positive side, *l'šôn šaddîq* (Prov. 10:20) refers to the prudence of the pious person, and *l'šônô t'dabbēr mišpāṭ* (Ps. 37:30) to his support of justice. These and similar passages show from context that *lāšôn* does not represent a one-time utterance, but rather a manner of being, albeit one actualized in speech.

Thus one and the same expression may have various meanings depending on the context. "Speaking against me with lying *lāšôn*" (Ps. 109:2) means "lying to me and deceiving me." "Yahweh hates . . . haughty eyes [and] a lying *lāšôn*" (Prov. 6:16f.), however, means that "Yahweh hates arrogance and mendacity."

The Hebrew term can also refer in a general fashion to the specific function of the tongue, namely, the human capacity for speech as such, or to the specific capacity of those schooled in speech. The statement "to me every knee shall bow, every *lāšôn* shall swear" (Isa. 45:23) asserts that every cultic gesture will direct itself to Yahweh, and every person capable of speech (i.e., every person) will swear loyalty to him. The speech facility of a person who is slow of speech and of tongue (Ex. 4:10) or who has a stammering tongue (Isa. 32:4) is considered deficient. That person is not an *ʾiš d'ḥārîm*. The expression "they use (*lqh*) their *lāšôn*" (Jer. 23:31) describes how the professional prophets employ their practiced facility of the tongue. Jeremiah's adversaries want to smite him with the *lāšôn* (Jer. 18:18⁴³), i.e., finish him off with cleverly formulated accusations.

Finally, *lāšôn* can also refer to a dialect, i.e., any of the symbolic systems in which human speech is actualized. The nations separated themselves according to their *l'šônōt* (Gen. 10:5,31), and each people has its own *lāšôn* (Neh. 13:24). Men will come from all *l'šônōt haggōyim* (Zec. 8:23), i.e., from all the language groups of the nations. Here the term *lāšôn* becomes identical with that of nation: ". . . to gather all *gōyim* and *l'šônōt*" (Isa. 66:18), i.e., all peoples and nations.

One's own *lāšôn* is familiar (Est. 1:22), while a foreign language is an "alien (lit., 'other') *lāšôn*" (Isa. 28:11). Foreigners seem to have an awkward tongue (Ezk. 3:6); the incomprehensibility of their language causes them to seem especially menacing (Dt. 28:49).

The foreign enemy is *niḥ'ag lāšôn* (Isa. 33:19) and comes with *la'agê sāpā*, par. *lāšôn* (Isa. 28:11). Interpreters generally understand the meaning of *l'g* here as "stammer," drawing support from Syriac and the *hapax legomenon* *ʾlg* (Isa. 32:4): To the native inhabitants the person speaking a foreign language will appear to be stammering.

42. W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvTh*, 24 (1964), 387.

43. The textual emendation suggested by BHS is unnecessary.

In these two passages, however, it is not really necessary to posit a divergent meaning for the otherwise richly attested term *l'g*, "mock, deride." The incomprehensible sounds of a foreign language can elicit mockery from us, just as in their own turn they seem to scoff at us. Here we must also recall the close relationship between a song of mockery on the one hand and magic on the other, and between magic and a foreign language.⁴⁴ The enemy thus comes to us with barbarous speech that seems to mock one's own *lāšôn*.

A foreign language must be learned. Thus Daniel and his companions are instructed in the letters and language of the Chaldeans (Dan. 1:4). The noteworthy sequence *sēper* and then *lāšôn* is hardly accidental. Est. 1:22 also mentions *k'ṭāb* first, then *lāšôn*. The acquisition of strange letters and writings (for Daniel those of Sumerian) precedes any actual mastery of the language.

A person who masters the specialized idiom of magical incantation is called a *ba'al hallāšôn* (Eccl. 10:11). He can charm snakes or explain the miracles they effect (LXX *tō epádonti*, "to the conjurer").⁴⁵ It is less likely that *lāšôn* here refers to the snake's tongue,⁴⁶ whereby the magician would be described as master of the snake's tongue. The Vulg. understands this as "secret slanderer."

V. Semantic Field. We must yet determine the position of the word *lāšôn* in relationship with the other words in its semantic field. In its metaphorical usage this word is partially synonymous with → פֶּה *peh*, → שָׂפָה *śāpâ*, and the less frequently used *hēk* and *gārôn*. When *lāšôn* appears in *parallelismus membrorum* with one of these synonyms, it usually appears in the second part of the verse, suggesting that it is less stereotypical and thus more expressive.⁴⁷

The word *peh* often fades to an abstract concept (cf. expressions such as *'al pî*). It is significant that *pî YHWH* became a frequently used expression for divine instruction, whereas Yahweh's *lāšôn* is mentioned only once (Isa. 30:27), and there in a stark portrayal of a theophany (an analogous relationship obtains between Yahweh's *yād*, i.e., "power," over against Yahweh's *raglayim* [Ps. 18:10(9)]). Moreover, *lāšôn* does not refer to the sense of taste (*peh*, *hēk*) nor to a loud outcry or the act of swallowing or devouring (*gārôn*). As the symbol of speech *lāšôn* is characterized more by movement and activity than are the synonyms. Speech issues from a person's mouth and lips (Dt. 23:24[23]; 8:3), and the tongue can rise up (Isa. 54:17). Whereas the mouth and lips testify unwillingly against the speaker, he himself chooses the tongue (Job 15:5f.). In the case of speech impediment a person's lips are veiled, and the tongue slow (Ex. 6:12; 4:10).⁴⁸ A man's lips are with him; he prevails with his tongue (Ps.

44. See Erman-Ranke.

45. Cf. Sir. 12:13 LXX; ANET, 326.

46. So H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger*. KAT, XVII/4 (1963), 185.

47. On what have been called "parallel pairs," see M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," RSP, I, 73-78; *peh-lāšôn*, 309f., no. 455; *śāpâ-lāšôn*, 368, no. 579.

48. → כָּבֵד *kābēd* (VII, 13-22).

12:5[4]). A babblers is a man of lips (Job 11:2); the malicious inciter is a man of the tongue (Ps. 140:12[11]).

A dialect as such can also be called *sāpā* where it is viewed as a unity (Gen. 11:1,6; Zeph. 3:9). For a plurality of languages, however, this word offers no plural form. A splintering into different languages is designated by *lašôn* or *l'šônôt* (Est. 3:12; Gen. 10:20). This is also the case in a Qumran text (1QM 10:14): *blt lšwn wmprd 'mym*, "confusion of tongues and division of peoples."

VI. Religio-Ethical Considerations. The religio-ethical estimation of *lašôn* addresses a person's linguistic behavior and agrees in substance with statements addressing that behavior under a different rubric.⁴⁹ In statements about *lašôn*, however, a negative or positive estimation prompts stronger accentuation, resulting in assertions that can hardly be formulated more evocatively: "Death and life are in the power of the *lašôn*" (Prov. 18:21; cf. Sir. 37:18).

The concept of the enormous power of the tongue unites dynamistic-magical beliefs⁵⁰ with empirical wisdom of the world. The proverb just cited evokes equally the curses and blessings conjured by the *lašôn* on the one hand, or the disaster or deliverance brought about in a practical sphere of life on the other. In any case, OT understanding inseparably associates the *lašôn* with thought (Ps. 52:4[2]) and action (Isa. 3:8). The tongue is as powerful as a weapon (Isa. 54:17 par. *k'li*, "instruments of war") and can be used to smite a person (Jer. 18:18). It is like a sharpened knife (Ps. 52:4[2]), a scourge (Job 5:21; Sir. 28:17), and a sharp sword (Ps. 57:5[4]; Sir. 28:18). It can be bent like a bow and becomes a sharpened arrow (Jer. 9:2,7[3,8]). On the other hand, the tongue can heal like balsam and be a tree of life (Prov. 12:18; 15:4).

One should not overestimate the frequent linguistic occurrence of the tongue as the subject of a verbal clause. It plots the malicious deed (Ps. 52:4[2]), speaks wickedly (Isa. 59:3), rises in judgment (Isa. 54:17), and makes great boasts (Ps. 12:4[3]), although it also expresses praise (Pss. 35:28; 119:172). One cannot really speak of any quasi-independent activity on the part of the *lašôn*.⁵¹ "My *lašôn* speaks" (Job 33:2) is a circumscription for "I speak with my *lašôn*" (Ps. 39:4[3]).

The wisdom writings in particular warn against imprudent and false *lašôn*; both the psalms and the prophets lament the malicious *lašôn* of blasphemers. In isolated passages we find those significant statements about one's own sins of the tongue. Neither the smooth-tongued flatterer (Prov. 28:23) nor the tongue of the slanderer (25:23) finds favor. Whoever whispers to a master something ill about a servant (*lšn* hiphil) will bring down the servant's curse upon himself (Prov. 30:10). A lying tongue does not last long (Prov. 12:19), and a perverse tongue will come to an evil end (17:20; 10:31). Riches accumulated with a lying tongue prove to be a mere fleeting vapor, or even a snare of death (Prov. 21:6). Wickedness tastes good to the blasphemer. Though he wants

49. See V above.

50. Mowinckel.

51. Behm, Wendland.

to hide it under his tongue, it will be transformed into the bitter poison of asps, and he will be killed by the viper's tongue (Job 20:12-16).

The tongue of blasphemers is the expression of their vile nature and deeds. They feel almighty (*gbr*) with their *lāšôn*: "Who is our master?"; their *lāšôn* makes great boasts (Ps. 12:4f.[3f.]). They set their mouths against the heavens, and their *lāšôn* struts through the land (Ps. 73:9). The villains make their tongue smooth so that their throat becomes an open sepulchre (Ps. 5:10[9]). They conceal injustice and violence beneath their tongues, then deviously crush the poor and the innocent (Ps. 10:7-9). The inclination of the powerful blasphemer to employ a deceiving tongue results from his loving evil more than good (Ps. 52:4-6[2-4]). The stringent condemnation of this kind of *lāšôn* is illustrated by the fact that it is mentioned in the same breath with theft, adultery (Ps. 50:18f.), and murder (Prov. 6:17; Isa. 59:3). Thus the *ʾiš lāšôn* (Ps. 140:12[11] par. *ʾiš-hāmās [rāʾ]*) is to be understood as someone who incites criminal activity and violence.⁵²

The prophets condemn their people for precisely this sin. Everyone's tongue became accustomed to lying (Jer. 9:4[5]); they direct their *lāšôn* against one another like a bow and arrow (vv. 2,7[3,8]). Their *lāšôn* is deceitful in their mouth (Mic. 6:12), and they thus direct their *lāšôn* and their deeds against Yahweh (Isa. 3:8). The historical psalm asserts the same thing. Past generations were not dedicated to God and his covenant, although they deceived him with their *lāšôn* (Ps. 78:36). They pretended not to understand the words of the prophet, as if they were a foreign people with slow, alien *lāšôn* (Isa. 28:11). In the face of this strife of tongues (*rîḥ l'šônôt*, Ps. 31:21[20]), God is the only refuge. The righteous person entreats God to give him shelter and deliver him from the deceitful tongues (Ps. 120:2).⁵³ May God split those tongues (*plg*, as in Gen. 10:25, which refers to the [linguistic?] division of the nations) and bring the blasphemers to ruin because of their own tongues (Ps. 55:10[9]; 64:9[8]⁵⁴). According to a Qumran psalm (1QH 5:15), God will draw the adversaries' tongue back like a sword into its sheath before they can smite anyone. For a lying tongue is an abomination to Yahweh (Prov. 6:16f.).

Thus the virtuous person will examine his own *lāšôn* to determine whether it has been deceitful (Job 27:4). The righteous person knows that he must guard his tongue not only to keep himself out of trouble (Prov. 21:23), but also to keep evil away from it (Ps. 34:14[13]). Only a person who has never slandered another with his *lāšôn* (*rgl*, Ps. 15:3; cf. Sir. 5:14; *lšn*, Ps. 101:5) may dwell in God's tent.

In this way the *lāšôn* can become what it should be: the means of communication between human beings and between human beings and God. A wise tongue deepens a person's insight (Prov. 15:2), and a gentle tongue persuades (25:15). The *lāšôn* of the righteous is precious silver (Prov. 10:20), for it speaks justly (Ps. 37:30). In the hour

52. The translation "braggart" (H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* [Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989], though a similar interpretation already arises in Sir. 9:18 LXX, Vulg.) enfeebles the function of *lāšôn*.

53. Thus our interpretation; cf. F. Delitzsch, *The Psalms. KD*, V, III, 268f.

54. Cf. BHK.

of miraculous deliverance the *lāšôn* of stammerers will speak clearly (Isa. 32:4), and that of the mute will sing for joy (35:6). In Thanksgiving Psalms the *lāšôn* proclaims Yahweh's steadfastness and righteousness (Ps. 35:28; 51:16[14]; 71:24; 126:2). Yahweh, who knows a person's every deed, also knows every word on his *lāšôn* (Ps. 139:4). Texts from Qumran portray this similarly: "The spirit that lies in man's speech you did create, you have known all the words of man's tongue" (1QH 1:28f.); "God made the *lāšôn* and knows its word" (4Q185). He gives the tongue to the prophet (Isa. 50:4; 1QH 7:10 interprets: "a tongue according to God's commandments"); the appropriate answer of the tongue comes from God (Prov. 16:1). Here no room is left for determinism. Although a person can willfully take his own *lāšôn* and proclaim what is false (Jer. 23:31), whoever is seized by Yahweh's spirit senses that Yahweh's word is upon his *lāšôn* (2 S. 23:2).

Kedar-Kopfstein

לִשְׁכָּה *liškā*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences in the OT. II. 1. Sacrificial Hall; 2. Jerusalem Temple (Preexilic); 3. Function and Use; 4. Differentiation by Personal Names; 5. Priests' Chambers. III. Qumran. IV. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The Ugaritic term *lṭk*¹ in the expression *blṭk bt* might be related to Heb. *liškā*,² particularly since the remnants of the poorly preserved tablets also mention gates (*pṭḥ*), windows (*ḥlnm*), and rooms (*ḥdr*); one would, however, anticipate a feminine form. Also, since only sparse evidence is attested for the letter *ṭ*, and since a noticeably large space occurs between *blṭk* and *bt*, the precise reference cannot be determined with any certainty.³ A Punic attestation of *lyškt* in a fragmentary inscription from Maktar⁴ is likewise uncertain.⁵ The Middle Hebrew (mishnaic) and Jewish-

liškā. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes*, II: *Von Ezechiel bis Middot*. *StFS*, 3 (1980), esp. 721-26, 729f., 739-748; K. Elliger, "Die grossen Tempelsakristeien im Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (42,1ff.)," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh*, 16 (1953), 80-102; K. Gallinger, "Die Halle des Schreibers: Ein Beitrag zur Topographie der Akropolis von Jerusalem," *PJ*, 27 (1931), 51-57; J. Maier, "Die Hofanlagen im Tempel-Entwurf des Ezechiel im Licht der 'Tempelrolle' von Qumran," *Prophecy. Festschrift G. Fohrer. BZAW*, 150 (1980), 55-67.

1. *UT*, no. 1151, 8.

2. Cf. *PRU*, II, 182; M. Dahood, "Hebrew Lexicography: A Review of W. Baumgartner's *Lexikon*, Volume II," *Or*, 45 (1976), 345.

3. *KTU*, 4.195, 8 has not incorporated this reading.

4. J. G. Fevrier, "Communication," *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1950, 111f.

5. Cf. *DISO*, 138.

Aramaic (e.g., targumic) evidence is dependent on the biblical occurrences of the word *liškā*.

The question concerning the relationship between Heb. *liškā* and Gk. *léschē* is also of interest. It is highly unlikely that *léschē* is a Semitic loanword in Greek;⁶ since there is some etymological evidence within Greek itself,⁷ the Hebrew and Greek forms probably do not share a common root from Asia Minor.⁸ Thus it is possible that the word was imported from the Greek by foreign peoples.⁹ The alteration *l* → *n* in the initial position of *liškā/niškā* (as in Neh. 3:30; 12:44; 13:7, and 11QT), however, should not be taken as an indication of uncertainty in the rendering of a foreign word; rather, it reflects the familiar East Aramaic (esp. in the Talmud) transition from *l* to *n* and *vice versa*.¹⁰

2. *Occurrences in the OT.* As the designation for part of a building in the sense of room, cell, chamber, hall, chapel, etc., *liškā* occurs altogether 47 times in the OT: 8 times in Jeremiah (only in chs. 35 and 36), 23 times in Ezekiel (in the temple plans, chs. 40ff.), 14 times in the Chronicler's history (where the secondary form *niškā* also occurs 3 times), and also in 2 K. 23:11; 1 S. 9:22. In Ezk. 45:5, the *'ešrîm l'šākôt*, despite attestation in Syriac, Targumim, and Vulg., should be emended according to the LXX to *'ārîm lāšābet*. Additionally, the LXX version of 1 S. 1:18 implies a fuller (though not necessarily better) text over against MT. After her prayer and conversation with Eli, Hannah returns to the "hall" (*eis tō katályma [autēs] = halliškātâ*). This Hebrew recension may also have spoken in 1 S. 1:9 of the *liškā* (*blškh* instead of *bšlh*) in which the sacrificial meal was taken (analogous to 1 S. 9:22).¹¹

It is not surprising that P does not mention the *l'šākôt*, since P maintains the fiction associated with the wilderness sanctuary, namely, that no ancillary buildings were necessary.¹²

6. Cf. H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (1895, repr. Hildesheim, 1970), 94f.

7. Cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Indogermanische Bibliothek*, ser. 2, II (Heidelberg, 1970), 107f.

8. Contra E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I/2 (1913, repr. Darmstadt, 1981), §476, p. 705 n.

9. Cf. C. H. Gordon, "Homer and Bible," *HUCA*, 26 (1955), 60f.; *idem*, "The Role of the Philistines," *Antiquity*, 30 (1956), 23f. Gordon suggests that *liškā/léschē* evidences "Minoan heritage in architecture" mediated through the Philistines. On a possible semantic connection and an interpretation of *léschē* as a "drinking-hall," cf. J. P. Brown, "The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine," *VT*, 19 (1969), 151ff.

10. Cf. R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin, 1965), 50f., §27.

11. Cf. following A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige. SZ*, III (1887), esp. K. Budde, *Die Bücher der Samuel. KHC*, VIII (1902); and more recently R. de Vaux, *Les Livres de Samuel* (Paris, 1961), *in loc.*

12. For a different view, see M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), 24, 193.

II. 1. *Sacrificial Hall*. A *liškā* can refer to a room in a sanctuary in which sacrificial meals are celebrated (1 S. 1:9 LXX; 9:22; cf. also Jer. 35:2; Ezk. 42:13). 1 S. 9:22 implies that there was room for *ca.* thirty participants. Presumably the definition offered by *KBL*² and *KBL*³ (with reference to Arab. *līwān*)¹³ is applicable to such a room: seating benches for the celebrants were located along three walls, while the fourth side opened up toward a court (cf. Vulg. 1 S. 9:22: *triclinium*, and the translation of *liškā* in LXX by *exédra* [18 times] and in Vulg. by *exedra* [6 times]). Archaeological evidence for such rooms used for sacrificial meals is attested for many temples in the ancient Near East.¹⁴

2. *Jerusalem Temple (Preexilic)*.

a. Information from the preexilic period is sparse concerning ancillary rooms designated as *liškā* connected with the Jerusalem temple. In the account of measures taken in connection with Josiah's cultic reform, 2 K. 23:11 reports that Josiah removed the horses for the chariot (LXX; MT 'chariots') of the sun, and that these horses were located in the *liškā* of the *šārīs* Nathan-melech. If this refers to living horses and not to reproductions (made of metal?), then the *liškā* of Nathan-melech, located next to the entrance to the temple (and thus at the eastern edge of the platform in the *parwārīm*), served as a horse stall.

b. Jer. 35:2,4 reports that Jeremiah brought the abstinent Rechabites into the *liškā* of the "sons of Hanan" (so MT), the son of Igdaliah, the man of God, in order to offer them wine to drink. This *liškā* seems to refer to a larger room serving as the meeting place for a prophetic school, the disciples of Hanan. Our understanding of its location is not really enhanced by the text's subsequent, more specific information, namely, that it was located near the *liškā* of the *šārīm* (or does this [and Ezk. 40:44], following MT, refer rather to *šārīm*, i.e., singers' guilds, as in 1 Ch. 9:33?), above the *liškā* of Maaseiah the son of Shallum, keeper of the threshold.

c. Jer. 36:10,12,20f. refer¹⁵ to a single building, more specifically an official state building distinguished by its access both to the temple outer court and to the palace court. If one follows the MT, however, then the reference is on the one hand to a *liškā* of Gemariah, the son of the scribe Shaphan (v. 10), in the upper court at the new temple gate, and on the other to the *liškā* of the scribe (v. 12) Elishama (vv. 20f.) in the royal palace, which may have had some official status.

d. If as 1 Ch. 28:12 suggests the *l'šāḱōt* surrounding the outer courts can be traced back to David's own directive, and if as 2 Ch. 31:11 suggests Hezekiah had such chambers prepared, then we can deduce at least that the preexilic temple had ancillary rooms that served in particular as treasury rooms and storage halls.

13. Cf. S. Renart, *Lexikon der arabischen Welt* (Zurich, 1972), 665.

14. Cf. J. Starcky, "Salles de banquets rituels dans les sanctuaires orientaux," *Syr*, 26 (1949), 62-67.

15. So Galling.

3. *Function and Use.* The creation of these chambers along the outer wall of the temple area might have been a result of Babylonian influence, although these chambers may have resulted simply from the construction technique of building casemates along the city wall.¹⁶ On the other hand, the plural form in Neh. 13:9 may not be interpreted such that the priest Eliashib had apportioned to Tobiah, the Ammonite enemy of Nehemiah, a “suite” of smaller chambers, i.e., a *liškā* partitioned into several rooms (cf. v. 5, *liškā g^edôlâ*); rather, “Tobiah’s chamber had so tainted the adjoining rooms with its uncleanness that they, too, had to be cleansed.”¹⁷

A portion of the *l^ešākôṭ*¹⁸ was used as treasury rooms (1 Ch. 28:12; Ezr. 8:29) or as storerooms for offerings (Ezk. 42:12), tithes of fruit, grain, wine, and oil (Neh. 10:39f.[Eng. vv. 38f.]; similarly 12:44; 13:9), taxes and tithes (2 Ch. 31:11f.) or frankincense (Neh. 13:9), and especially for storing the sacred cultic vessels (Neh. 13:9; according to the current text, also 1 Ch. 28:12, where an addendum [vv. 14-18] enumerates the individual pieces).¹⁹ According to Ezk. 46:19f., one of the rooms among the holy chambers for the priests facing north served as an offering kitchen for cooking the guilt and sin offerings and for baking the cereal offering (cf. also 1 Ch. 28:12f., where *m^ele^lket^l ^abôdaṭ bêt-YHWH* also probably refers to the boiling and cooking of the offering, just as Mishnah *Mid.* i.4 speaks of a *liškā* of the guild of “them that made the Baken Cakes” [*liškt byt ^wśh ḥbtyn*]). According to Ezk. 40:38, there was a *liškā* opening toward the front hall of the inner north gate reserved as a washing room for rinsing the entrails and lower legs of the burnt offering.²⁰ The Mishnah tractate *Middoth* contains additional, very precise instructions concerning the use of specific cells. For example, there was one chamber in which priests who were unfit for other service because of physical blemishes looked for worms in the wood used for the altar fire, since such worm-infested wood would have defiled the sacrifice (ii.5).

At very least, 1 Ch. 9:33 reveals that the *l^ešākôṭ* served as places where temple personnel stayed. One can understand *ball^ešākôṭ p^etûrîm* such that when the singers were not actually in service, they could linger in these cells; or, since they were free from other service, they lived in these cells in order to be on call day and night.²¹ Or one can insert *lô*²² and proceed on the assumption that the text is specially praising these singers by emphasizing that they enjoyed no respite even in the cells, in contrast to the other Levites, who were able to relax in the temple sacristies when not actually in service.

4. *Differentiation by Personal Names.* It is noteworthy that several of these rooms associated with the Jerusalem temple are identified more specifically by the personal

16. Cf. Busink, 725f.

17. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia*. HAT, XX (1949), 204.

18. Maier, 58f., calculates 210 individual rooms for the complex of the outer court, and as many as 856 according to the Temple Scroll.

19. Cf. Mishnah *Mid.* ii.6a, which mentions cells for storing musical instruments.

20. Cf. Mishnah *Mid.* v.3: *liškt ḥmdyḥyn*.

21. J. W. Rothstein and J. Hänel, *Das erste Buch der Chronik*. KAT, XVIII/2 (1927), 179.

22. So W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*. HAT, XXI (1955), 90f.

names of their builder and/or present owner (or tenant) (cf. 2 K. 23:11; Ezr. 10:6; Jer. 35:4; 36:10,20f.; differently in Neh. 3:30²³).

The *liškā* of Johanan the son of Eliashib mentioned in Ezr. 10:6 has acquired special renown in scholarship. In particular, Albin van Hoonacker²⁴ and scholars subscribing to his hypothesis²⁵ viewed it as an important argument for reversing the chronological sequence Ezra-Nehemiah into Nehemiah-Ezra. According to Ezr. 10:6, Ezra withdraws at the end of the day into the *liškā* of Johanan the son of Eliashib to spend the night in mourning and fasting. Since according to Neh. 12:10f.,²² a grandson of the high priest Eliashib bears the name Johanan, and since in both Neh. 12:23; Ezr. 10:6 this Johanan is called "son of Eliashib," the suspicion cannot be so quickly dismissed that the two passages are speaking of the same man. If, however, Eliashib was the high priest not only at the beginning of Nehemiah's activity (Neh. 3:1), but also after Nehemiah's return from Babylon (Neh. 13:4), one may assume that the time in which his grandson occupied a *liškā* at the temple is to be put after the twelfth year of Nehemiah, and that thus what is reported in Ezr. 10:6 cannot have preceded the construction of the wall.

Wilhelm Rudolph,²⁶ however, justifiably objects that it is by no means certain that the untitled Eliashib (Ezr. 10:6) really was the high priest, nor that the untitled (according to Neh. 12:23) Johanan was his grandson. The names Eliashib and Johanan occur frequently in the postexilic period and are attested for various persons; thus there is "not the slightest reason to assume a reference to the high-priestly family in Ezr. 10:6, particularly since at least in the preexilic temple private individuals also owned temple cells,"²⁷ as already evident from the notices in 2 K. 23:11; Jer. 35:4; 36:10 presented earlier.

If in Neh. 3:30 the *niškā* of Meshullam the son of Berechiah is to be understood as a secular edifice, namely, the priests' dwelling outside the temple area, then it is not clear which particular architectural features prompted the designation of the building as *niškā*. Although the description of the wall construction can indeed be followed from vv. 28-31 the length of the temple area, it is not likely that v. 30 is referring to a temple cell. Rather, as in vv. 20f. concerning the house of the high priest Eliashib, the reference is probably to a priest's dwelling which was not (cf. v. 28) located in the vicinity of the temple.

5. *Priests' Chambers.* The large complex of temple sacristies in Ezekiel's temple vision²⁸ stands completely under the sign of a more fully developed theology of

23. See below.

24. "Néhémie et Esdras: Une Nouvelle hypothèse sur la chronologie de l'époque de la restauration," *Mus*, 9 (1890), 151-184, 317-351, 389-401.

25. H. Cazelles, *Histoire politique d'Israël. Petite Bibliothèque des sciences bibliques*, AT 1 (Paris, 1982); *idem*, ed., *Introduction critique à l'AT* (Paris, 1973).

26. *HAT*, XX, 67f.

27. So Rudolph.

28. Our understanding presupposes the interpretation of Elliger.

holiness. The three-story building (Ezk. 42:5f.) provides not only for optimal utilization of space for the varied needs associated with a temple cult,²⁹ it also serves above all to segregate the sacred area. Already “the layout of the buildings which reveal their bridging function in their terrace-like ascent from the lay sphere to the priestly sphere”³⁰ shows the sharpened concept of holiness in the architectural plan, as illustrated particularly in the expanded layers within Ezk. 40ff. Here the priests must change garments before leaving the interior of the temple area and proceeding out to the lay people (42:13; 44:19); this also prompts the cultic designation of the buildings as *liškôt haqqōdeš* (42:13; 44:19; 46:19). “From this qualification of the sacristies as a sacred place there arise the subsequent regulations about behavior in this area, which at the end of v. 13 is once again specifically described as *מקום קדוש* [*māqôm qāḏōš*].”³¹ “At the same time, however, the danger which threatens to arise in this intensified guarding and delimiting of the sacred is not overlooked.”³²

III. Qumran. This word occurs in the Qumran texts 12 times in the form *nškh* or *nškwt*, although only in the Temple scroll³³ in the section about the outer court (11QT 40:5–45:6).³⁴

IV. LXX. The LXX rendering vacillates between *exédra* (18 times in Ezekiel), *gazophylákion* (11 times, esp. Ezra-Nehemiah), and *pastophórion* (8 times, esp. 1-2 Chronicles). In addition to these, *oîkos* also occurs 6 times as an equivalent. Isolated equivalents such as *katályma* (1 S. 9:22), *aulé* (Jer. 35:2[LXX 42:2]), or *skēnē* (Ezr. 8:29) only attest the uncertainty in the search for the exact meaning. Jerome prefers the loanword *gazofilacium* (altogether 37 times) to *exedra* (6 times). Translations occurring only once, such as *triclinium* (1 S. 9:22), *cubiculum* (Ezr. 10:6), or *horreum* (2 Ch. 31:11), interpret the word on the basis of context. In the NT, Jn. 8:20 uses *gazophylakeíon* to refer to a *liškā* specially identified as a treasury room, while the same word in Mk. 12:41,43; Lk. 21:1 probably refers rather to an alms box.³⁵

Kellermann

29. See II.2 above.

30. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 401.

31. *Ibid.*, 400.

32. *Ibid.*, 401.

33. Cf. Y. Yadin, *Megillat hammiqdaš*, I-III A (Jerusalem, 1977); J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll. JSOT Sup*, 34 (Eng. trans. 1985).

34. Cf. Maier, *Festschrift G. Fohrer*, 58.

35. Cf. St.-B., II (1924), 37-41.

מֵעֹד *m^eōd*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. 1. Relationship Between the Various Functions; 2. Adverbial Function. IV. Substantive: 1. Doubtful Cases; 2. *b^ekol m^eōdekā*.

I. Etymology. The root *m'd* with word constructions comparable in meaning to that of Heb. *m^eōd* occurs in several Semitic languages. These findings supersede attempts by earlier lexicographers to understand *m^eōd* as a compound from the prefix *m* and the root *'ūd* (after the Arabic, meaning approximately “weigh on, burden something; a burden”).¹ Mitchell Dahood's suggestion² that *m'd* represents a dialect variation of *m'z*, “of old,” is unacceptable.

Akkadian³ attests a verb *mādu* (*ma'ādu*), “be or become much, numerous,” an adj. *mādu* (*ma'du*), “much, numerous,” a subst. *'ma'dû* (*mādû*), “large quantity, plenty,” and an adv. *mādiš*, “very.” Ugaritic⁴ attests the form *m'd*, which means “much” (*m'd ksp*, “much silver”) and “very” (*'z m'd*, “very strong”), as well as the subst. *m'd*, “large quantity.” It is doubtful that the form *m'dy* is actually a suffixed noun (“my fullness”).

Dahood has suggested repointing on the basis of Ugar. *m'd* into *mā'ēd*, and to translate as “Grand One” or “God Almighty” (thus in Ps. 21:2[Eng. v. 1]; 46:2[1]; 92:6[5]; 96:4; 97:9; 105:24; 109:30; 119:8,96,138,140,167; 142:7[6]; 145:3).⁵ This was picked up by David Noel Freedman (on Ps. 78:59)⁶ and Lorenzo Viganò (on Gen. 13:13).⁷ One can object with Oswald Loretz,⁸ however, that in the passages under discussion stichometric considerations already make any repointing difficult. On the other hand, David Marcus⁹ has pointed out that Ugar. *m'd* means “many, much,” but

m^eōd. M. Lambert, *Traité de grammaire hébraïque* (Hildesheim, 1972), 388-391; J. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 146f.; G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 206f., 225f.; E. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius Hebraeae*, VI (1948, repr. New York, 1960), 2745-2750 [Heb.].

1. *GesThes*, 35-37; P. A. de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im aramäischen, arabischen und hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*. AGWG, 35 (1889, repr. Osnabrück, 1972), 128.

2. “Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV,” *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 413.

3. *AHW*, II (1972), 573f.; *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 4f., 19-27; X/2 (1977), 163.

4. *WUS*, no. 1498; *UT*, no. 1406; M. Dahood, “Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs,” *RSP*, I, no. 342a, 415.

5. “Comparative Philology Yesterday and Today,” *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 79; *Psalms III*. AB, XVIIA (1970), 473; more cautiously in “Hebrew Lexicography: A Review of W. Baumgartner's *Lexikon*, Volume II,” *Or*, 45 (1976), 346.

6. “God Almighty in Psalm 78:59,” *Bibl*, 54 (1973), 268 = *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy* (Winona Lake, 1980), 347.

7. *Nomi e titoli di YHWH alla luce del semitico del Nord-Ovest*. *BietOr*, 31 (1976); cf. M. Dahood, “Northwest Semitic Notes on Genesis,” *Bibl*, 55 (1974), 77f.

8. “*'d m'd* ‘Everlasting Grand One’ in den Psalmen,” *BZ*, N.S. 16 (1972), 245-48; *idem*, “Die Umpunktierung von *m'd* zu *mā'ēd* in den Psalmen,” *UF*, 6 (1975), 481-84.

9. “Ugaritic Evidence for ‘The Almighty/The Grand One’?” *Bibl*, 55 (1974), 404-7.

never "great." Hence a divine epithet with the meaning suggested above cannot be derived from the Ugaritic evidence.

Arabic attests the verb *ma'ada*, "begin to grow."

II. Occurrences. The word *m'ēḏ* occurs 253 times in the OT in this particular form, 6 times in the superlative doubling *m'ēḏ m'ēḏ*, 24 times in the prepositional forms *bim'ēḏ m'ēḏ* (6 times), *'ad m'ēḏ* (17), *'ad lim'ēḏ* (once), and twice as a suffixed substantive.¹⁰ The LXX usually translates with *sphódra*, "extremely, very (much)" (including an imitation of the doubling: *sphódra sphódra*), less often with *lían*, "very much indeed, too much." The Vulg. renders the word quite often with *valde*, "to a large extent, very (much)," although also with *nimis*, "beyond measure, much too much." In several instances we also encounter a semantically accurate translation: *vehemens* (Jgs. 12:2), *festinus* (1 S. 20:19), etc.

III. 1. Relationship Between the Various Functions. The lexica¹¹ assume an originally substantival meaning for the word *m'ēḏ* and derive from it the meaning of the adverbial function. This view is justified from a diachronic perspective, since the word was probably originally a noun (nominal construction *gutl*¹²), as suggested by linguistic comparisons and the accompanying prepositions (*b^e*, *'ad*). In the present context, however, *m'ēḏ* functions almost exclusively as an adverb; thus a synchronic description must take this function as its point of departure and only then attempt to determine its substantival meaning.

2. Adverbial Function. When used in the accusative as an adverb (in the Qumran texts often [even against MT] as *m'ēḏâ*¹³), the word serves to strengthen or amplify a statement. The work of a single day of creation is described as *tôḥ*, while the work as a whole is described as *tôḥ m'ēḏ* (Gen. 1:31). Since the content of the word itself is neutral, it can be employed equally for positive or negative emphasis (Jer. 24:2,3). The term *m'ēḏ* can strengthen or amplify adjectives (Jgs. 3:17), finite verb forms (Jgs. 6:6), imperatives (Jer. 2:10), infinitives (2 S. 14:25), adverbs (Zec. 14:14), and entire sentences (Jgs. 12:2; Jer. 18:13). It also occurs after verbs of movement (1 S. 20:19; Jer. 49:30), where it must be understood in the sense of "promptly, straightaway," and after negations (Isa. 64:8[9]; Dt. 17:17), where it means in effect "completely," "exceedingly."

This word is very flexible as regards its position within sentence structure (cf. the rather distant positioning in Josh. 9:13; Jgs. 12:2; 1 K. 11:19; etc.), although in general it stands after the word to be emphasized or after the essential part of the statement (e.g., after the verb and its subject) (cf. Ezk. 37:10; 1 K. 2:12; 1 Ch. 21:13). Accord-

10. See IV.2 below.

11. BDB, 547; GesB, 392; HAL, II (1995), 538; E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910), 203.

12. Cf. BLe, §460.

13. Cf. E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)*. STDJ, 6 (1974), 413f., 498-500.

ingly, the extremely rare initial positioning of *m'ōd* (Ps. 47:10[9]; 92:6[5]; 97:9) functions as an effective amplification of the emphasis itself within poetic style.

IV. Substantive.

1. *Doubtful Cases.* In some occurrences the word seems to exhibit nominal characteristics. Thus in Ps. 119:138 it might be taken as a virtual adjective to *'mûnâ*, and in Ps. 31:12(11) as a parallel to *herpâ* and *paḥad* (cf. also Isa. 47:9; Ps. 46:2[1]). In all these verses, however, it is simpler not to undertake any textual emendation. Rather than assuming some extraordinary meaning that might have been familiar to the original audience, one should interpret this as distant positioning and refer *m'ōd* to a preceding verb.

2. *b'kol m'ōdekā.* The only (and significant) instance of a clearly substantival use occurs in Dt. 6:5 (and in the text dependent on it, 2 K. 23:25). Apparently, however, this does not represent a recovery of one of the word's original meanings which had dropped from current usage, but is rather a linguistically daring expansion of the use of the familiar emphatic particle. The addition of the personal suffix and the parallel positioning with *lēbāb* and *nepeš* effectively substantivize the word. The translation tradition that interprets the word as "power, might" (LXX *dýnamis*, *ischýs*; Vulg. *fortitudo*, *virtus*; rabbinic writing, however, suggests *māmôn*, "wealth," a possibility that must likewise be considered¹⁴) is basically on target. In Deuteronomy, however, we must reckon with an "intensity of inwardness," although also with "a certain intellectualization."¹⁵ The desire to describe the engagement of a person's whole personality, with all the positive features of which it is capable "in great measure," generated this neologism: "You shall love Yahweh your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and *b'kol m'ōdekā* (with your utmost efforts; NRSV 'with all your might']" (Dt. 6:5).

Kedar-Kopfstein

14. Ber. 61b.

15. Von Rad.

מֹזְנַיִם *mō'zēnayim*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. West Semites. II. OT Usage: 1. Concrete Meaning in Symbolic Prophetic Acts; 2. Maxims About Honesty in Commerce; 3. *peles*, *qāneh*, *zygós*; 4. Symbol of God's Cosmic Rule; 5. Human Worth in Job.

mō'zēnayim. G. Bertram, "ζυγός in the LXX," *TDNT*, II, 896-98; B. Kisch, *Scales and Weights: A Historical Outline* (New Haven, 1965), 26-78; C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten*. *MÄSt*, 35 (1976), esp. 67-83; H. Weippert, "Waage," *BRL*², 355.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt*. The Egyptian term *wdn*, which is perhaps related to *wzn*, means "heavy";¹ a "balance, scale" is called *mh3.t*, referring primarily to the "standing scale,"² or *īwśw*, probably the "hand[-held] scale."³ The standing scale appearing at the judgment of the dead is especially well known. The heart of the deceased is weighed against the symbol of Maat before the throne of Osiris and the forty-two attendant judges. Here Thoth functions as scribe, and Anubis operates the scale.⁴ The strict honesty of the scalemaster is emphasized. Thus we read in the *Protests of the Eloquent Peasant*: "Do the hand-scales (*īwśw*) err? Does the stand-balance (*mh3.t*) incline to the side? Is even Thoth indulgent?"⁵ At the judgment of the dead "Maat represents the universal ethical norm established by God against which the human being is measured with the testimony of his personal life."⁶

2. *Mesopotamia*. The Akkadian term *zibānītu*, "balance, scale" (Syr. *zēban*, "purchase"? *wzn*?), also refers to the constellation Libra;⁷ another term is *gišrinnu* (Sum. *giš-erín*).⁸ According to *CAD*,⁹ these refer to two different kinds of scales, whereby *zibānītu* was equipped with a special component or mechanism **zibānu*.¹⁰

3. *West Semites*. The Ugaritic term *mznm* derives from *wzn* (cf. Arab. *wazana*, "weigh"); the Hebrew orthography with *ʾ* results from the combination with *ʾōzen*, "ear,"¹¹ or with *ʾāzēn*, "implement, tool" (Dt. 23:14[Eng. v. 13]¹²; RSV "weapons"). Although the dual form actually refers to the two balance pans together, it is used *pars pro toto* for "scales." The term *mznm* occurs in the Nikkal-Kotharot text¹³ in a context concerned with determining the bridal price, i.e., in a domestic context as in Jer. 7:18. In Ugarit the scale (*mznm*) is mentioned among other household items.¹⁴

The meaning of the Punic term *m'zn*¹⁵ is disputed: "implement, tool" or "scale,

1. *WbÄS*, I, 390.

2. *WbÄS*, II, 130.

3. *WbÄS*, I, 57. For illustrations of standing scales, cf., e.g., *ANEP*, 111, 122, 133 (for gold); for a hand-held scale, cf. E. Siphron, "מִזְנֵי," *EMiqr*, IV, 540.

4. *ANEP*, 639; on its operation see Seeber.

5. *LI*, 148ff.; *ANET*, 409.

6. Seeber, 75.

7. *AHw*, III (1981), 1523.

8. *AHw*, I (1965), 293.

9. *CAD*, XXI (1961), 100.

10. For an illustration of a standing scale, cf. *ANEP*, 350. The hand scale reproduced there (no. 117) is actually Hittite; cf. M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Stuttgart, 1954), 9, pl. 76.

11. So C. H. Gordon, *UT*, no. 801.

12. *HAL*, I (1994), 28.

13. *KTU*, 1.24, 34, 35, 37.

14. *KTU*, 4.385, 5; for a reproduction of a scale from Ras Shamra see O. R. Sellers, "Balances," *IDB*, I, 343.

15. *KAI*, 81.3.

balance"?¹⁶ Egyptian Aramaic attests *mwzn*,¹⁷ Biblical Aramaic *mō'zēnayyā*, and Jewish Aramaic *môdēnā* and *môzanyā*, "scales, balance" (also Christian-Palestinian and Mandaic). According to E. Y. Kutscher,¹⁸ the orthography *m(w)znym* in 1QIs^a 40:12 is an aramaism. The piel form *'izzēn* (Eccl. 12:9) is denominative.

Archaeological finds include scales from Lachish¹⁹ and Beth-zur.²⁰ Otherwise only balance pans²¹ and weights (with a margin for error of up to 6%²²) have been found.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Concrete Meaning in Symbolic Prophetic Acts.* The clearly concrete references to *mō'zēnayim* also occur in theologically significant contexts. In Jer. 32:10, Jeremiah weighs the silver used in the purchase of a field, and in the course of symbolic gestures in Ezk. 5:1 the prophet parts his hair with balances into three parts as a symbol of the people's coming fate.

2. *Maxims About Honesty in Commerce.* The inculcation of the use of "honest balances" (*mō'zēnê-šedeq*) and "honest weights" (*'abnê-šedeq*) (Lev. 19:36; Ezk. 45:10) actually also includes honesty toward one's fellow human beings in the larger sense. More frequently, however, we hear of false or deceptive balances (*mō'zēnê mirmâ*: Hos. 12:8[7]; Am. 8:5; Prov. 11:1; 20:23). In Prov. 20:23, these parallel *'eben wā'eben*, "false (NRSV 'differing') weights," and in 11:1 the false scale contrasts with *'eben šelēmâ*, a "full (RSV 'just,' NRSV 'accurate') weight." Mic. 6:11 reproves the evil-doers for their dishonest business: false scales (*mō'zēnê reša'*) and false weights (*'abnê mirmâ*); Yahweh cannot consider such a person pure or innocent.²³

3. *peles, qāneh, zygós.* Prov. 16:11 asserts: "Yahweh has *peles* and *mō'zēnê mišpāṭ*"; although *peles* probably refers to a specific component of the scale (arm? needle?), it functions here as a metonym for the entire scale (as also in Isa. 40:12).²⁴ The Hebrew text presents this insistence on correct scales as a divine command; since the verse stands in a series of royal sayings, however, the king may be intended as the person responsible before God for honest commerce. In Isa. 46:6, the term *qāneh*, "scale beam," similarly stands for the scale as a whole. Sir. 42:4 recommends honesty in *zygós* and *státhmia* (= *mō'zēnayim* and *peles*²⁵).

4. *Symbol of God's Cosmic Rule.* In Deutero-Isaiah the balance symbolizes God's cosmic rule. Who (if not God) has weighed the mountains in the *peles* and the hills in

16. *DISO*, 141.

17. *DISO*, 144.

18. *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll. STDJ*, 6 (1974), 187.

19. O. Tufnell, *Lachish*, III (London, 1953), pl. 62.

20. O. R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth Zur* (Philadelphia, 1933), II, pl. 44.

21. See Weippert, 355.

22. D. Diringer, "The Early Hebrew Weights Found at Lachish," *PEQ*, 74 (1942), 86.

23. Read piel → זָכָה *zākhā* (*zākhāh*), esp. II.2 (IV, 62-64).

24. According to Weippert, 355, *mō'zēnayim* could be a hand balance and *peles* a standing balance.

25. Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem, 1965), 22.

a *mō'zēnayim* (Isa. 40:12)? According to Isa. 40:15, the nations are no more than dust on the scales;²⁶ this verse is cited both in Wis. 11:22 and 2 Mc. 9:8. This is already an example of weighing human beings, although the concern is with their power, not their merits. The words in Dan. 5:27 are directed to Belshazzar, king of Babylon: "You have been weighed on the scales and found wanting."

5. *Human Worth in Job*. According to Job 6:2, a person's misfortunes are laid in the balances and weighed (*nāšā'*, "lift up onto the balance pan"²⁷): It is heavier than the sand of the sea (v. 3). Job 31:6 is the only relatively unequivocal example of weighing a person's merits: If God weighs Job in a just balance, he will recognize Job's integrity (*tummā*²⁸). This is a matter of "the destiny and worth of man."²⁹ In contrast, according to Ps. 62:10(9) human beings are too light in the balances and cannot assert themselves. This particular usage develops the ideas of the Egyptian Book of the Dead further and leads naturally to Sir. 21:25; 28:25a, which speaks of words being weighed in the *zygós* and *státhmos*. Finally, the soul itself is laid upon the scales (1[Eth.]En. 41:1; 61:8; 2[Slav.]En. 49:2; 4 Esd. 4:36; Apoc. Elijah 13:4; and Jer. *Pe'ah* 1.16b; 37). The OT *mō'zēnayim* as a symbol of general human righteousness toward one's fellow human beings is thus further related both to the person himself and to God.

North

26. Thus D. W. Thomas, "'A Drop of a Bucket'? Some Observations on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah 40₁₅," *In Memoriam Paul Kahle*, BZAW, 103 (1968), 217, not "clouds" as suggested by H. Torczyner, "The Firmament and the Clouds: Rāqī' and Sheḥāqīm," *StTh*, 1 (1948), 190.

27. Cf. F. Stolz, 'שׁ nś' aufheben, tragen," *THAT*, II, 110.

28. → ממן *tāmam*.

29. Bertram, 896, with reference to Ps. Sol. 5:4.

מנ m'n

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX. II. OT Usage: 1. Normal Usage; 2. Theological Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology*. Outside Hebrew, the root *m'n* is attested only in Syriac (*mē'n*, "disgust someone, spoil something for someone") and Old South Arabic (*m'n*¹). Although Ethiop. and Tigré *manana*, "refuse," is semantically similar, its etymology is uncertain. Alfred Guillaume² assumes the presence of metathesis and refers to Arab. *mana'a*, "hold up, hinder."³

1. See W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexicon," ZAW, 75 (1963), 311.

2. Guillaume, 10, 27.

3. Cf., however, → מנא *māna'* (VIII, 396-401).

2. *Occurrences.* Only the piel form occurs in the OT. Of 45 occurrences, 6 refer to Pharaoh's refusal to let the Israelites go, and 12 are found in the book of Jeremiah. Otherwise the distribution is of little interest.

3. *Meaning.* Isa. 1:19f. is especially useful for determining the meaning. There → אָבָה *'ābā* (*'ābhāh*), "be willing," and *mē'ēn* are antithetical, the latter being explicated further by → מָרָה *mārā*, "be rebellious" (similarly also 4QpPs^a 2:3). The verb is usually translated by "refuse" or "be unwilling," whereby it is not always clear whether the reference is to simple unwillingness or the actual act of refusing. In 6 instances the verb stands absolutely; otherwise it is complemented by an infinitive with or without *l^e*.

4. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates the term with negated forms of *(e)thélein* (18 times), *boulesthai* (9), or *eisakoúein* (4), although other translations occur in isolated instances.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Normal Usage.* Most of the occurrences in the narrative writings are theologically neutral. Joseph refuses to accept the offer of Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39:8). Jacob does not want to bless Manasseh even though Manasseh is the first-born (Gen. 48:19). Edom refuses to grant the Israelites passage through his land (Num. 20:21). Yahweh does not want to allow Balaam to go to Balak (Num. 22:13), and Balaam refuses to go along (v. 14). The people refuse to listen to Samuel, and wish instead for a king (1 S. 8:19). Because Asahel pursues Abner and refuses to leave him alone, Abner kills him (2 S. 2:23). A disciple of the prophets refuses to strike his fellow (1 K. 20:35). Naboth refuses to give the king his vineyard (1 K. 21:15). Elisha refuses to accept the reward offered by Naaman (2 K. 5:16). Queen Vashti refuses to appear before the king's guests (Est. 1:12).

Three times it is asserted that someone refuses to eat: 1 S. 28:23 (Saul refuses to eat what the diviner of spirits offers him); 2 S. 13:9 (Amnon); and expressed more poetically in Job 6:7: "My *nepeš* does not want to touch the food." One wisdom proverb declares that the sluggard does not want to work (Prov. 21:25).

In several instances *m'n* is used with *nḥm* niph'al. Jacob refuses to be comforted over Joseph's alleged death (Gen. 37:35). A lament proclaims: "My soul refuses to be comforted" (Ps. 77:3[Eng. v. 2]). Rachel, who laments her sons (i.e., the fallen northern kingdom), also refuses to be comforted (Jer. 31:15).

In a few instances the verb is used in the context of marital law. It refers to a father's refusal to give his daughter away as a wife (Ex. 22:16[17]) or to a man's refusal to consummate the levirate marriage (Dt. 25:7).

2. *Theological Usage.* Accounts of the exodus record several references to Pharaoh's refusal to let the Israelites go (Ex. 4:23; 7:14,27[8:2]; 9:2; 10:3,4). This is a matter of resistance to God's will which must remain futile and ultimately serve Yahweh's own glorification. A similar expression occurs in Jer. 50:33 in reference to the enemies who keep Israel in captivity.

The word acquires special theological resonance when it refers to unrepentance or the refusal to hear God's word. Such occurrences are especially numerous in Jeremiah. Lustful Israel refused to be ashamed; although God warned it with drought, it continued with its harlotry (Jer. 3:3). Although God smote the people, they still refused to accept correction (*mûsār*); they made their faces hard as stone and refused to repent or return (*šûb*, 5:3). The same term, *šûb*, is used with *m'n* in 8:5 as well; they turn away (*šûb polel* + *m'šubâ*), hold fast to their deceit (*tarmîṭ*), and refuse to repent. They abide in deceit and refuse to know God⁴ (9:5[6]). With regard to obduracy and the worship of idols, the fathers or the people itself refuse to hear God's word (11:10; 13:10).

In the great vision of Yahweh's cup of wrath (Jer. 25⁵) we read that although the people do indeed refuse to accept the cup, they will be forced to drink it (v. 28). The human act of refusal is powerless against Yahweh's wrath. Jer. 15:18 has a slightly different angle of vision. There the prophet laments: "My wound refuses to be healed." Jer. 38:21 is different yet. If Zedekiah insists on refusing to surrender, he should well consider the consequences Jeremiah foretells.

This refusal to repent also appears in Hos. 11:5. Because the people refused to return or repent, they will be enslaved once again. The refusal to listen appears again in Zec. 7:11 in a litany of expressions for obstinacy. They refused to hearken (*qšb* hiphil), turned a stubborn shoulder,⁶ and stopped their ears. Cf. also the confession of sin in Neh. 9:17. The fathers refused to listen, were not mindful (*zākar*) of God's wonders, and stiffened their necks. The historical reflections in Ps. 78 speak of obstinacy and disobedience, and offer the following summary: "They did not keep God's covenant, but refused to walk according to his law" (v. 10). Here law and covenant are virtually synonymous as expressions of religious obligation.

In Isa. 1:19f., the prophet presents the people with the choice between willingness and refusal, between heeding and recalcitrance. Ultimately this choice will determine the people's fate.

In the prophetically informed⁷ wisdom discourse in Prov. 1:20-33, we read in vv. 24f.: "I have called and you refused, have stretched out my hand and no one heeded (*qšb* hiphil), . . . you have ignored all my counsel and would have (*'ābâ*) none of my reproof." This accumulation of expressions for unwillingness corresponds to the prophetic texts cited above.

Finally, Prov. 21:7 declares that the wicked refuse to do *mišpāṭ*.

Ringgren

4. → יָדָבַד *yāda'* (V, 448-481).

5. → כֹּס *kôs* (VII, 101-4).

6. On this kind of stiff-necked obstinacy, cf. B. Couroyer, "'Avoir la nuque raide': Ne pas incliner l'oreille," *RB*, 88 (1981), 216-225.

7. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD*, XVI/1 (1980), 17.

מָאָס *mā'as*

Contents: I. Root, Occurrences, Usage, and Meaning. II. Secular Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. Human Beings as Subject; 2. God as Subject. IV. Uncertain Occurrences. V. Qumran. VI. LXX.

I. Root, Occurrences, Usage, and Meaning. The root *m's* does not appear to be indigenous to the older textual evidence of the Semitic languages. It occurs in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, and there is some possibility that Arab. *ma'asa*, "reject," is related to Heb. *m's*. Attempts to derive it from Akk. *mašû*, "forget,"¹ or *mêšu*, "disregard, undervalue,"² are etymologically difficult, although from the perspective of semantics a relationship might be assumed. The biblical occurrences accord with these findings, since in the overwhelming majority of cases *m's* occurs in texts from the exilic and postexilic periods. Regarding the few earlier passages in which the root occurs, one must determine whether they genuinely come from the preexilic period or belong rather to the history of interpretation and adaptation of preexilic textual statements. It is noteworthy that *m's* does not occur in the older strata of the Pentateuch (3 times in Lev. 26 and twice in Numbers), not even in Deuteronomy, although it does occur in certain passages in the Deuteronomistic history (once in Judges; 9 times in 1 Samuel; 3 times in 2 Kings). A certain concentration of occurrences can be observed in material from the tradition of Jeremiah (11 times) and Ezekiel (6 times). Neither should we overlook the accumulation of occurrences in Wisdom Literature (11 times in Job, twice in Proverbs) in which the root is used in contexts exhorting the acceptance of one thing and the rejection of another. Testimonies of piety also presuppose situations involving decision. This is true both of the occurrences in the Psalms (7 times) and in the prophetic traditions (besides Jeremiah and Ezekiel [see above] also First Isaiah [8 times], Deutero-Isaiah [once], Hosea [3 times], Amos [twice]). The root *m's* also plays an important role in laments (3 times in Lamentations; cf. also the occurrences in the discourses in Job).

Determining the basic meaning of *m's* is not so easy, since the various contexts require choosing from a wide assortment of possible translations. The Greek translation (LXX) seems to have dealt with this problem by using a surprisingly large

mā'as. H. Gross, "Verwerfung," *BL*², 1845f.; J. J. Jensen, "The Age of Immanuel," *CBQ*, 41 (1979), 220-239; L. J. Kuypers, "The Repentance of Job," *VT*, 9 (1959), 91-94; N. Lohfink, "Zu Text und Form von Os 4,4-6," *Bibl*, 42 (1961), 303-332; J. Reich, *Studien zum theologischen Problem der Menschenverachtung im AT* (diss., Leipzig, 1968) (reviewed in *ThLZ*, 96 [1971], 234-36); H. Wildberger, "מָאָס *m's* verwerfen," *THAT*, I, 879-892; *idem*, "Die Neuinterpretation des Erwählungsglaubens Israels in der Krise der Exilszeit," *Wort-Gebot-Glaube. Festschrift W. Eichrodt. AThANT*, 59 (1970), 307-324.

1. *AHW*, II (1972), 631.

2. *Ibid.*, 649.

number of equivalents.³ In addition, *m's* occurs in functional theological contexts in which it circumscribes activity either from the perspective of God toward human beings or from that of human beings toward God. Although in a few passages *m's* is also used to refer to events in daily life, one cannot show that this secular usage reflects its original meaning. If one evaluates the older occurrences and attempts to extrapolate a meaning encompassing all the nuances of understanding, one might arrive at the English equivalent "to esteem, regard lightly." From this "basic meaning" one can then easily derive all the other variations, such as "reject," "despise," "refuse," "abhor," and many others. Lester J. Kuyper⁴ sees the entire semantic scope of *m's* exhibited in the passages from Job, from "reject" to "regard of little value" to "disregard, disrespect" and "despise, abhor." Accordingly, *m's* describes a subjective attitude toward a person or thing acquired on the basis of some decision. This decision is itself based on certain standards and criteria which in most cases are explicitly mentioned or are at least clearly and intelligibly presupposed. The subjective nature of the decision, however, is not suspended. The root *m's* functions in contexts addressing personal relationships.

In the OT this root occurs only in verbal forms; no nominal constructions are attested. Only the qal and niph'al are attested (the latter only 3 times). Two OT passages use the niph'al of a root *m's* possibly as a secondary form of *mss* with the meaning "pass away," "dissolve" (Ps. 58:8[Eng. v. 7]; Job 7:5).⁵

II. Secular Usage. A proverb employed theologically in Ps. 118:22 provides a point of departure for understanding the secular usage of *m's*. Construction workers select stones for their building, the determining factor doubtlessly being that of appropriateness, usefulness, etc. The process of "regarding of little value," "rejecting," and "throwing away" corresponds to that of selecting.⁶ Inappropriate stones are rejected, cast aside, and left behind, while others are accepted. This process of alternatives is circumscribed by *bhr* and *m's*. The proverb itself is effective because of the surprising and unexpected esteem now accorded to the discarded stone, both in the face of its rejection by the builders and despite the decision which has already been made to discard it (Ps. 118:23: "This is Yahweh's doing").

Initially, the notion of the "rejected silver" also lacks theological tenor, the reference being to silver that has not passed the test of purity after the refining process (Jer. 6:30). A decision concerning acceptance and rejection, however, can also be directed toward a human being. Deutero-Isaiah describes God's compassion toward his people with the evocative imagery of the (re-)acceptance of a wife who has been "cast off" (*m's* niph'al) (Isa. 54:6; cf. v. 4). Admittedly, *m's* is not typical of the terminology of marriage or divorce law (cf. Dt. 24:1ff.), since it is characterized by

3. See Wildberger, *THAT*, I, 880f.

4. P. 94.

5. See IV below.

6. → בָּחַר *bāḥar* (*bāchar*), "choose," "select" (II, 73-87).

a strong emotional element. In a late text in Isaiah (Isa. 33:8), *m's* is mentioned in the connection with a broken covenant (rejection of witnesses [*m's*; the incomprehensible *'ārîm* should presumably be read as *'ēdîm* with LXX]⁷ in connection with the breaking of a covenant [*pr* hiphil with *b'rif*] and the disregard of people by the *šôdēd* and *bôgēd* mentioned already in v. 1), which according to the context characterizes the situation of distress from which Yahweh's might will bring deliverance (v. 10). Neither, however, does this one occurrence permit any characterization of *m's* as a typical legal term.

Finally, the object of this decision can also be abstractions such as good and evil. The Immanuel pericope asserts that God's predicted action will already have come to pass even before Immanuel, born of the young woman, knows how to make rational distinctions and then also how to decide (*l'ḏa'tô* or *yēḏa'*) to choose the good and refuse the evil (Isa. 7:15,16; opposite *bhr*). The figure of speech with → **יָדָא'** *yāda'*, is important, governing as it does the noteworthy infinitive absolute construction with *m's* and *bhr*.

This figure of speech effectively circumscribes the educational ideal of wisdom didactics.⁸ Prov. 3:11; 15:32 as well as several passages from Job attest the use of *m's* in wisdom contexts. The practical wisdom described by Prov. 15:32 is abstract in a secular sense; it asserts that the acceptance of correction is good and even vital, while despising it results in self-injury (*mô'ēs napšô*). The parallel concept to *m's* is *pr*, "disregard," which supports the suggestion that the "basic meaning" of *m's* is "to esteem, regard lightly." Although it is difficult to date the passage, it probably contains older material. Prov. 3:11 belongs to what is probably the latest part of the book of Proverbs (chs. 1–9). This passage adds a theological element to the same maxim. It is wise not to regard Yahweh's discipline lightly (*'al-tim'as*, "do not despise, do not reject," par. *qûš*, "experience loathing, disgust"). The principle involved is stated in Prov. 3:12: Yahweh "reproves" only the person he loves. In his own wisdom pronouncement, Eliphaz considers that person blessed (*'ašrê*) who accepts God's correction. Like Prov. 3:11, he advises not to regard too lightly the *mûsâr* of the Almighty (Job 5:17), and he knows that God preserves, blesses, and nurtures whoever accepts his "educational and beneficial punishment"⁹ (vv. 18–27).

The contempt directed toward a person by others or by groups (the husband's contempt for his wife; cf. Isa. 54:6) is occasionally expressed by *m's*. Job's own misery and suffering include pronouncements of contempt addressed to him by socially unworthy people (Job 19:18; 30:1). Job 30:1–8 describes his detractors more closely. They deride (*šhq 'al*) him, who has been tested by suffering, and make him the subject of their *n'gînâ*, their mocking song. Their social insignificance (Job 30:8) manifests itself in the fact that earlier Job would not have respected them (*mā'astî*, v. 1). They belonged to a class which general community perception considered socially unworthy. In con-

7. See BHS.

8. Cf. further Jensen.

9. → **יָסַר** *yāsar*, VI, 134.

trast, according to the statements of his purification oath, Job well observed the rights (*mišpāṭ*) of the menservants and maidservants socially dependent on him (*'im-'em'as*, a stylistic feature of the oath formula), even when it was to his own disadvantage (Job 31:13).

In a more general sense, low esteem can obtain between different groups among the inhabitants of a country. In Jgs. 9:38, the Canaanite group in and around Shechem represented by Gaal “despises” Abimelech and his “people” (or Abimelech and his men) (cf. vv. 22-29, esp. 27f.). Respect or disrespect manifests itself here in subjection or rebellion. In this context *m's* can acquire a strong political-historical content. This particular passage may possibly be one of the oldest attestations of the root in the OT.

The theological sphere of meaning for the root incorporates descriptions of activity from the secular sphere. In the story of David's anointing by Samuel (1 S. 16:7), David's brothers precede him in passing before Samuel, and Samuel realizes that Yahweh has not chosen them (*lô'-bāḥar*, vv. 8-10). In this context, the root *m's* occurs once in the assertion that Yahweh has “rejected” Eliab (*kî m'e'astîhû*, v. 7). This probably refers to a simple act of making a choice; the person choosing must make this choice, i.e., he chooses or rejects. Behind this narrative we see clearly that *bhr* and *m's* can be used to convey highly significant theological content.

The disregard for one's own life is attested in Job's grand and moving laments (Job 7:16; 9:21). The context presumably reveals both aspects of the motivation for these laments: on the one hand, resignation, discouragement, and disappointment that the lament is futile and goes unanswered, and that suffering can be explained neither from its own context nor by any recourse to God; and on the other hand, the defiance that demands justice for itself in lament and accusation, regardless of any consequences for one's own life and existence. Since all this is viewed in connection with God, who ultimately is identified as the cause of this disappointment and as the addressee for the accusations, these passages actually attest the theological use of *m's*. Nonetheless, we encounter here the conscious disregard for one's own life (*m's* in combination with a form of *hyh*), though not in the sense of suicide, but rather in the sense of surrendering all security in life. Such disregard for life allows for a mode of behavior which with no further consideration keeps all options open for one's own life in the future, and does so equally both through resignation and through a defiant, virtually blasphemous attitude.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Human Beings as Subject.* The theological use of *m's* predominates in the OT, and many passages reveal a close connection between disregard of human beings and rejection of God. The convergence of these two aspects is illustrated especially well by the historico-theological conclusions drawn by the Deuteronomistic history in its portrayal of Israel's fall in 2 K. 17. God's rejection of his people (v. 20; cf. already Hos. 4:6, further 1 S. 15:23,26; 16:1) is prompted by the Israelites' own contempt for and rejection of all of God's statutes and covenantal agreements (2 K. 17:15). The root *m's* thus belongs to the vocabulary of the covenant tradition¹⁰ and is defined by

a large number of parallel terms taken from familiar Deuteronomistic nomenclature to refer to both aspects, the human and the divine. The reproach that the earlier people of God despised God's revealed will was presumably long a part of the message of judgment delivered by the prophets, who used it to justify the disaster they were foretelling.¹¹ In a summary fashion similar to the conclusions drawn by the Deuteronomistic history, the promises of blessing and warnings of curse concluding the Holiness Code also preserve this connection between human rejection (*m's* is accompanied by *g'l*, *pr*, etc.) of the revelation of the divine will (*hoq*, *mišpāt*, *mišwâ*, *b'erit*, etc.) on the one hand, and the divine's own reactive rejection on the other (Lev. 26:15,43,44). A whole litany of misdeeds characterizes the substantive sphere applicable to *m's* (Lev. 26:14ff.). The only new element here addresses the theological sphere. The extraordinary assurance given here is that ultimately God will neither "spurn" (*m's*) nor "abhor" (*g'l*) those who have been condemned and punished to the extent they accept and make amends for¹² their *'āwōn*, i.e., God's judgment will not give them over to destruction (v. 44). Unfortunately, it is not possible to date this passage; thus nothing can be said regarding the age of these theological declarations either.

In any case,¹³ various prophetic passages attest that God's lament over Israel and Judah's contempt for God's will was doubtlessly already the legitimizing element in prophetic oracles of judgment and exhortation to repentance. Among Amos's oracles against the nations, the oracle against Judah is generally held to be a secondary addition (Am. 2:4); the suspicion has arisen, however, that an older nucleus of Deuteronomistic additions may be discernible.¹⁴ Because Judah has rejected the *tôrāt YHWH*, Amos foretells disaster for them. For Hosea, too, forgetting God's torah is cause for announcing judgment (Hos. 4:6). The parallel to this is the rejection of *da'at*, which in this context must be understood in the comprehensive and established sense of "knowledge of God." God's reaction to this deficient behavior is that he for his own part forgets and rejects. This low estimation of the *tôrāt YHWH* by the people of God is also a theme in First Isaiah (par. *'imrâ* with the verb *ni'ēs* [Isa. 5:24, the integrity of which is disputed¹⁵]). Isa. 30:8-13 is not disputed. There the people's disobedience with regard to the *tôrāt YHWH* is demonstrated anew, and v. 12 presents the proof of guilt once again with reference to the people's contempt for the word (*dābār*). This and other behavior is disqualified as *'āwōn* (Isa. 30:13), which brings about disaster.

The Jeremianic corpus of sayings speaks twice about human rejection of the divine

10. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 212.

11. Cf. Lohfink, 323.

12. *ršh* II according to *KBL*³.

13. See previous discussion.

14. W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT*, XIII/2 (1971), 120f.; S. Wagner, "Überlegungen zur Frage nach den Beziehungen des Propheten Amos zum Südreich," *ThLZ*, 96 (1971), 653-670, esp. 663-68; contra H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), *in loc.*

15. Wildberger (*Isaiah 1-12*, 212), however, considers it genuine.

word. Of these, Jer. 6:19 gives the impression of being a later Deuteronomistic interpretation of the oracle of woe (which follows in v. 21) in the sense of providing a precise reason for the disaster: Yahweh's torah has been too lightly esteemed and God's *dābār* has not been heeded (v. 19). Although one can easily sense that Jer. 6:19 is an insertion, it is not certain that the figure of speech regarding the rejection of "my torah" or "my word" is necessarily of Deuteronomistic provenance.¹⁶ The other occurrence is presumably more secure as genuinely Jeremianic material (Jer. 8:9). It threatens the *sop̄rîm*, *ḥ^akāmîm*, *nābî*, and *kōhēn* (cf. the context). They despise the *d^ebar YHWH* by making it into *šeqer* (Jer. 8:8,10) while proclaiming *šālôm* where there is no *šālôm* (v. 11). Since the formulaic expressions recounting the *b^emišpāṭay mā'āsû* and the failure to walk according to God's statutes also appear in Ezekiel (Ezk. 5:6b), suggestions have been made that these are additions "in somewhat more precise language,"¹⁷ whereas the continuation of the justification for coming judgment in v. 7 more strongly reflects traditional formulaic elements. Although one might well suspect Deuteronomistic redaction here as well, a consideration of Ezk. 20:13,16,24 gives reason for caution. Except for minor adjustments everything remains within the same semantic field of *m's* and *lô' hālak b^e . . .* and *mišpāṭ* and *ḥōq*, with the addition of what for the priest Ezekiel are the important considerations involving either keeping or profaning the Sabbath (*ḥll piel*). Ezekiel's historical summary, which taken as a whole serves to demonstrate the guilt incurred by the chosen people and thus to reveal the cause of the present oppressed circumstances of the (first) Babylonian exile, exhibits its own style despite any formulaic expressions, a style heavily informed by priestly thinking. To that extent one might assume a connection with P rather than with the Deuteronomistic tradition.¹⁸ According to Ezekiel, this rejection of God's *mišpāṭîm* extends back to the sojourn in the wilderness.

The rejected *d^ebar YHWH* is also the concern in the remarkable story of Saul's rejection (1 S. 15:23,26), a story whose position within tradition history is difficult to assess. Since its redactional function is to prepare the transition of kingship from Saul to David, caution is advised in drawing any conclusions regarding the provenance of individual passages and formulations. The fact that Saul's transgression is allegedly his incorrect observance of a cultic directive, and that this is identified as the cause of his rejection, seems rather to be the result of later (Deuteronomistic) interpretation of what were otherwise poorly understood tensions between Samuel and Saul (or between the tribes represented by them); this later interpretation has employed historical examples for the kerygmatic purpose of emphasizing the commandment to heed God's word.¹⁹ Although *dābār*, "thing, matter, affair," can refer comprehensively to an entire complex of events, here the term acquires the sense of "commandment, law, instruction of God." Human disregard and rejection corresponds to divine rejection, as developed in both

16. Cf. also W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25*. WMANT, 41 (1973), 97ff.

17. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 175.

18. *Ibid.*, in loc.; differently G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel*. HAT, XIII (1955), in loc.

19. Differently H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis*. KAT, VIII/1 (1973), 294f.

passages (and in 1 S. 16:1 as well, in the same thematic context). Thus *m's* and its expressions belong next to other verbs in the prophetic proclamation of judgment and repentance in which demonstration of guilt justifies the announced calamity. Similarly, the term also belongs to Deuteronomistic proclamation, which draws a balance, admonishes, and issues a warning, and as a way out exhorts the people to reestablish their previously neglected loyalty to God and to the revelation of his will.

According to the OT, it is not only through rejection of God's word that God himself is rejected, but also through disregard for God's other gifts and benefactions. Presumably something similar is intended by the image of the "waters of Shiloah that flow gently" which the people regarded too lightly in the Syro-Ephraimitic War (Isa. 8:6-8), namely, the disdain accorded Yahweh's assurances given through Isaiah in the politically explosive situation, assurances which Ahaz, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the Judeans were unable to believe.²⁰ This pronouncement from Isaiah underscores yet again the use of *m's* already in early prophetic proclamation. Contempt for God further manifests itself in the rejection of his beneficial gifts, e.g., that of the land itself (Nu. 14:31 [P], in the murmurings of the wilderness generation prompted by unfavorable reconnaissance of the land²¹), or in the murmurings against God's guidance in the wilderness, where during that sojourn the experience of lack and deficiency elicited the fundamental question concerning the meaning of the exodus and the possibility of returning to Egypt (Nu. 11:20: *ya'an kî-m'e'astem 'et-YHWH*²²). A postexilic historical psalm (Ps. 106:24) picks up this reference to "contempt for the land" from Nu. 14:31 anew and parallels it with lack of faith in God's word (*m's* and *lō' he'e'mîn*; the object is *dāḇār*). According to Deuteronomistic estimation, the Israelites' wish for a king during the time of Samuel is subject to the same theological disqualification (1 S. 8:7; 10:19). This wish implies not only distrust toward Samuel, but even more a rejection of Yahweh (1 S. 8:7 expresses this in God's direct discourse to Samuel: "For they have not rejected you, but they have rejected me from being king over them"; 10:19 expresses this in Samuel's pronouncement to the Israelites at the occasion of Saul's selection as king by lot at Mizpah: "But today you have scorned [NRSV 'rejected'] your God").

The production and veneration of idols or statue(tte)s is condemned as a special form of rejecting God. This is most clearly the case in (Deutero-)Isa. 44:9ff. (cf. Ps. 115:4-8). The reestablishment of Yahweh's honor and dignity demands that such objects be cast away, either in the course of judgment (Isa. 2:20, *šlk* hiphil) or as an expression of penitence at the commencement of Zion's age of justice achieved through Yahweh's victory (over Assyria) (Isa. 31:7, *m's* taking the same objects as in 2:20). While the first-mentioned passage from Isaiah is genuine, the authenticity of 31:7 is justifiably disputed. Isa. 31:6-7 represent the kerygmatic advice of a later preacher or prophet

20. Cf. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 342-45.

21. Cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), *in loc.*

22. Noth (*idem*) considers v. 20 to be part of the basic narrative picked up by J; v. 20b, however, gives the impression of being a late theological value judgment.

whom we can no longer identify more closely, and who either is incorporating this central theme of Deuteronomistic theology into Isaiah's message (actually this ideological complex is not completely alien to Deutero-Isaiah) or is trying to warn and admonish his own contemporary community by actualizing Isaiah's pronouncement. Of course, another possibility is the school of Isaiah itself, which wanted Isa. 2:20 to be incorporated here as well. The demand to turn and repent in Isa. 31:6 is occasionally altered into an announcement.²³

We also encounter directives governing how a person may encounter God in his holy sphere or in the future community of his salvation. As is well known, Ps. 15 (cf. 24:3-6) reproduces an "entry torah" in which individual *tôrôt* concerning behavior are given, including the directive that the *nibzeh* (person deserving contempt, godless person) must be despised in the eyes of the person seeking admission (Ps. 15:4, *m's* niph'al), whereas the person who fears God is to be honored (*kbd* niph'al). Isa. 33:14-16 borrows a *tôrâ* of this kind; in addition to more general expectations such as walking in righteousness and speaking uprightly, this passage also addresses the social dimension more concretely in its exhortation to despise gains made through extortion (v. 15: *mō'ēs b'beša' ma'ašaqqôt*; this is presumably a late text²⁴). In the larger sense a person should reject evil, and the fact that the godless person does not do this testifies against him (Ps. 36:5[4]: *ra' lō' yim'as*). Ps. 36 is a postexilic individual lament in which the petitioner's lament over the blasphemer's malice is juxtaposed with God's benevolence, which benefits the righteous person.

The overwhelming majority of passages that speak of human activity involving *m's* present this as human rejection of God; this most often appears in the form of rejection of God's word, law, or commandments, and in the form of contempt for his guidance through life as well as for his beneficent gifts. Even if a large portion of the occurrences is late (exilic, Deuteronomistic, postexilic), one does encounter individual attestations from the preexilic period, specifically in the justification of announcements of doom to be uttered by prophets. At the same time, *m's* is used in the theological evaluation of historical circumstances; contempt for God by his own people is identified as the cause of the oppressive postexilic existence of the people of God in Palestine and the Diaspora. Human activity involving *m's* which can be evaluated positively in a theological sense occurs whenever a person scorns evil, rejects injustice, and bids farewell to man-made idols of gold and silver.

The final literary disposition of the book of Job presents the ideal of making the choice for God and against oneself (Job 42:6). Subdued by God, Job confesses guilt and repents in dust and ashes, renounces his previous rebellious, accusatory, and judgmental attitude toward God, and "despises himself" (*'al-kēn 'em'as*). Here (in a completely singular fashion) *m's* functions as a term for penitence and is given a positive estimation. One passage in the wisdom discussion concerning human righteousness and God's injustice (Job-theme) proposes the (actually absurd) solution of reversing

23. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*

24. *Ibid.*, *in loc.*

roles (see Job 40:6-14): if human beings can govern the world better than God, then even God is willing to accommodate himself to them. Elihu sharply rejects such thinking, although he does ascertain that Job's own words and behavior aspire to such absurdity, and that in so doing Job is necessarily testifying against himself (Job 34:31-37). In this context, the different kinds of behavior include a hypothetical act of rejection on Job's part to which God would then have to accommodate himself (34:33). Here *m's* is merely *one* means of expression among others for this hypothetical-absurd despotic activity to which God would have to subject himself. Only when Job declares God unjust and thus effects this proposed reversal in a practical sense does this action, too, involving *m's* acquire a negative quality in Elihu's judgment.

2. *God as Subject.* God as the subject of a verbal form of *m's* has already been mentioned in the context of God's own punitive reaction to human rejection (*m's*) of God.²⁵ This can be seen quite clearly in the Deuteronomistic theology of history. When according to 2 K. 17:15,20 the people of Israel rejected Yahweh's commandments, Yahweh rejected the people by oppressing them and giving them over to plunderers. According to 1 S. 15:23,26; 16:1, Saul rejected Yahweh's word through his "disobedience," and Yahweh then prevented (*m's*) Saul from continuing as king. 2 K. 23:27 (cf. v. 26) portrays the rejection of Jerusalem, which Yahweh had chosen, and of its temple as a (late) consequence of the wrath which Manasseh's reign had already provoked in Yahweh. This passage seems out of place because it has been inserted into the context of the otherwise positively evaluated reign of Josiah (2 K. 23:25; v. 26 continues with the significant adv. 'ak). Presumably the passage functions redactionally to anticipate within the portrayal itself the unfortunate conclusion to the reign of Josiah and his successors by mentioning this original provocation. The pattern is the same: disobedience and apostasy lead to rejection by Yahweh and to coerced removal from God's countenance. Already in the prophetic message of Hosea (Hos. 4:6), however, God's contempt for and forgetfulness of human beings correspond to the people's own forgetfulness of God, represented by the unidentified priest (*m's* and *škh* are used both times). Thus *m's* describes God's reactive judgment, either anticipated in the prophetic oracle of judgment or justified in light of the actual historical catastrophe itself.

Early classical prophecy also attests the strong emotional components which can accompany *m's*. The most obvious example occurs in Am. 5:21. Prompted by the overall context (grand celebrations and worship services against the foil of continued violation of social justice), the passage speaks of Yahweh's strong emotions in order to bring to expression his rejection of such cultic activity (besides *m's*, the text also uses *šānē'*, *lō' hērīah*, *lō' šāma'*, etc.). Yahweh expresses exasperation and revulsion, disgust and feelings of aggression. Hos. 9:17 is not quite so strong; admittedly, after the harsh announcements of disaster prompted by apostasy from God (cultic transgressions: Ba'al-peor and Gilgal [Saul's rejection], vv. 10-17), it summarizes the prophetic sub-

25. See III.1 above.

sumption of the entire message of judgment as a wish: "May my God cast them off [evocation of 1 S. 15:23], because they have not listened to him; let them become wanderers among the nations." Here, as it were for his own part and in agreement with his God, Hosea lends inexorable momentum to the oracle of woe.

After Hosea it is especially Jeremiah who in several passages uses *m's* in various forms. The most concrete and, as far as imagery is concerned, most vivid passage is Jer. 4:30. In a long pericope describing the enemy's inexorable march down from the north, a pericope difficult to subdivide (vv. 5-31), a particularly grotesque image is described: Jerusalem (and Judah? cf. v. 5 and *passim*) thinks it can win over the conqueror as a lover by adorning itself as a prostitute. This undertaking must fail, however, because the "lovers" will despise the harlot, and will seek rather to end her life. Although *m's* here is a predicate of those afflicting the "daughter Zion" (v. 31), they are merely the extended arm of Yahweh, the real subject bringing about this disaster.

Jer. 6:30 resides in a pericope (vv. 27-30) that might belong in the context of prophetic calling. Yahweh engages Jeremiah as an "assayer" (*bḥn*²⁶) whose task is to separate the good metal from the slag during the refining process. Yahweh's judgment over his people has already been made. Since the refining process has not removed the impurities (*rā'im*), the people must be described as "reject[ed] silver" (*kesep nim'ās*), since Yahweh himself has rejected it. The judgment discourse delivered through the prophet is the *m's*-process directed by Yahweh. Finally, the collection of Jeremianic oracles of woe (chs. 2-6) includes a passage in which the prophet condemns the politics of alliance and coalition undertaken by the Judean kings at the conclusion of the period of kings. Yahweh has rejected the substantive objects of trust (*mibṭāḥayik*, 2:37). The establishment of political alliances and dependencies in this particular period constitutes *de facto* mistrust toward Yahweh.

Finally, Yahweh's judgment over his people, circumscribed by *m's*, is reflected once again in lamentation. Collective lament confronts the fact of fulfilled judgment in direct discourse with the words: "You have rejected us" (or similar expressions). This is illustrated most clearly in Lamentations. In Lam. 3:45, for example, those left behind after the catastrophe ascertain that Yahweh "has made us filth and rubbish among the peoples" (*s'hî ūmā'ōs*). Here *m's* stands within a litany of negative terms describing the destruction of the people. The lament contains supplications that the distress be alleviated, confessions of guilt, and elements of confidence that Yahweh's wrath will not continue indefinitely. Thus in Lam. 5:22, in an alternative rhetorical question appended to the actual petition itself (v. 21), the incredulous realization comes to expression that Yahweh really could have rejected his people: "Restore us to yourself, O Yahweh . . . (v. 21), unless you have utterly rejected us!" (*kî 'im-mā'ōs m'e'astānû*; par. *qsp*, "be wrathful"). Even though an element of hope has indeed been woven into this peculiar turn of phrase, this alternative rhetorical question in the course of the lament does confirm *de facto* the

26. Cf. C. Baldauf, *Läutern und Prüfen im AT* (diss., Greifswald, 1970), 36ff., 130ff.

actual present situation, a situation comprehensible to the petitioner only as rejection by Yahweh. This catastrophe can also be evoked in its specifics, e.g., in the lament over the destruction of the Davidic kingship (Ps. 89:39[38]: *w^e'attā zānaḥtā wat-tim's*).

Jeremiah also seems to have used *m's* in the lament (Jer. 7:29), even though the verse, as a fragment from an originally authentic Jeremianic saying, now stands in a Deuteronomistic denunciation of sacrifices (vv. 21-29).²⁷ The addressee is Jerusalem or Judah, who are called to a ritual of penitence and mourning because Yahweh has forsaken (*nṭš*) and rejected (*m's*) the generation of his wrath. In a homiletically extremely effective fashion the announcement of disaster has been cloaked in the directive to penitence and lament. The authenticity of Jer. 14:19, also taken from a (national) lament (vv. 19-22), is disputed. It stands in an extensive sequence of variously constituted discourses, all of which seem to revolve around Yahweh's judgmental activity in the form of a great drought (14:1-15:4).²⁸ Indeed, vv. 19-21 are rather general and lack concrete contours, and not until v. 22 does any reference to the drought appear. V. 19 poses again the question so unsettling within the lament, namely, whether Yahweh really has rejected Judah (*h^amā'ōs mā'astā*) and whether his soul has come to loathe Zion (*gā'al*). The national lament then also contains the two additional elements of confession of sin and a plea for deliverance (cf. Lam. 5:22). Both resonate within this formulation: on the one hand recognition of a present situation of distress that can only be described as rejection, and on the other confidence that this might not be intended as final, as a kind of silent appeal to Yahweh's covenantal loyalty to his people. If one takes this as a genuinely Jeremianic witness, one must assume that Jeremiah appropriated the passage from a national lament.

In the historical reflections of wisdom didactics *m's* also fulfills the specific function of describing, legitimizing, and interpreting the facts of history. The destruction of the temple at Shiloh (Ps. 78:60-62: *wayyittōš miškan šilô*) is proclaimed to be Yahweh's wrathful rejection of Israel (v. 59, *'br* hithpael next to *m's*) and is justified in fine Deuteronomistic fashion by reference both to worship in high places and to the trafficking with graven images (v. 58). The confrontation between the selection of the tribe of Judah, Zion, and the Davidic house on the one hand, and the "rejection" of the house of Joseph and — specially named — the tribe of Ephraim (vv. 67-70) on the other, is described in fine Chronistic fashion. In the present context (vv. 65-72), no further motivation is given for these circumstances. Through the two antithetical concepts *m's* and *bḥr* historical events are subjected here to theological (Deuteronomistic or Chronistic) interpretation. Considering the

27. Cf. Thiel, 121ff.; with different delimitation W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT*, XII (31968), *in loc.*

28. S. Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Oslo, 1914), 22-23, discusses the suggestion that it represents a prophetic liturgy; Rudolph, *HAT*, XII, 91, suggests that, except for smaller verses from the Deuteronomistic redaction, it comes from Jeremiah's early period (*Urrolle*, Baruch's original scroll); Thiel, 178ff., considers it to be a Deuteronomistic composition, though uncertainties remain; cf. 193f.

theological disposition of this extensive didactic piece about history, this psalm should probably be assigned to the postexilic period.²⁹ One might suspect that with its designation as *maskîl* this psalm should be considered an example of theological-wisdom-didactic dealing with history.³⁰

The portrayal of Yahweh as the subject of activity involving *m's* actually belongs to his *opera aliena*; his *opus proprium* consists in *lō' mā'as*. A fundamental conviction of theological-wisdom thinking is that God does not reject the righteous person (*tām*), but turns away from evildoers and puts a stop to their activity (Job 8:20). Bildad shares this dogmatic conviction with Elihu, whose pronouncement according to the MT can exhibit even more general character: "Surely God is mighty and does not despise any; he is mighty in strength of heart" (Job 36:5). As is customary, the context again does speak of God's devotion to the innocent and alienation from the wicked, e.g., Job 36:6, so that already the LXX undertook the appropriate alteration. Various commentaries also suggest reformulations in this direction, and occasionally postulate dittographical errors in transmission. The general sense remains clear, even if a universally persuasive reconstruction has not yet been undertaken.

This more general notion, namely, that God does not "reject" without provocation, is implied by the logic of the theology of creation. How could God find pleasure in rejecting precisely *that* which he himself has created? The solidarity of God the creator with the "work of his hands" is grounded in the theology of creation (Job 10:3), and this makes possible an element of trust in the lament of the individual that issues into the petition for alleviation of the distress. God's beneficial devotion reverses itself with regard to evildoers. He scorns them when they oppress the innocent. This positive partisanship for his chosen people is specially emphasized when they are threatened with "being eaten" by *pō'alê 'āwen* (Ps. 53:5[4]). In such cases the oppressors succumb to God's disdain and rejection (*m's* and *pzr piel*, Ps. 53:6[5]). In this fragmentary postexilic national lament (Ps. 53; cf. Ps. 14) it will be possible for the oppressed people to put those to shame who are oppressing them (actually "besieging," *hnh*), since God has "rejected" them. Thus God's *m's*-activity is defined both from divine and from human actions.

Deutero-Isaiah personalizes the fact of election in his unqualified announcement of good news by underscoring Yahweh's *opus proprium*, namely, that God has chosen (*'abdi-'attâ b'ḥartîkâ*) rather than rejected his people (*w'elō' m'e'asîkâ*, Isa. 41:9; cf. vv. 8 + 10ff.). Although the calamity intended for Israel's enemies is not circumscribed verbally with any reference to *YHWH mā'as* (or *yim'as*), it is implied by the context (and with other verbs, vv. 10-12). In contrast, Israel's own good news is contained in the statement *lō' mā'as YHWH*. One cannot persuasively show whether Yahweh's *lō' mā'as*-activity is already a part of the preexilic prophetic announcement of good tidings. In view of Jer. 31:37; 33:24,26, this might be assumed, although the authenticity of these passages is hotly disputed. Jer. 33:24,26 presupposes the

29. Contra G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 289.

30. → שָׂכַל *sākal*.

catastrophe of 587 B.C.,³¹ when it certainly seemed as if Yahweh had (once and for all) rejected the two "families" Israel and Judah (whereby the scorn experienced from outside [*n's*], namely, that they were no longer permitted to be a unified people, interprets *m's*, v. 24).

In contradistinction to this, an unknown voice proclaims the unqualified change of fate and Yahweh's compassion (Jer. 33:26b) by referring to the inviolability of redemption inherent in the inviolability of the creation order guaranteed by the same God. This formulation is deeply indebted to the kind of elliptical thinking most strongly articulated in the oath formula (vv. 25-26). The following expression is formulated as direct divine discourse: "If I have not established my covenant with day and night and the ordinances of heaven and earth, then I will reject the descendants of Jacob and of David my servant" (v. 26a). Since Jer. 31:37 subscribes to the same manner of thinking and formulation (the verse belongs to the smaller saying-unit vv. 35-37), this occurrence probably also belongs to the exilic or even postexilic prophetic announcement of salvation.³² The irreal conditional *'em'as* in the divine direct discourse just cited, for which here, too, Yahweh's creative power is made the touchstone, is used to express the election of the "seed of Israel" that endures even through the catastrophe. If Yahweh has not rejected, then *de facto* he adheres to the election (cf. Jer. 33:24, where *bhr* and *m's* are juxtaposed). Here as elsewhere we notice the use of the theology of creation in the deductive-argumentative sense. Yahweh's mightiness with regard to nature guarantees his mightiness with regard to salvation, and the *'em'as* does not occur.

IV. Uncertain Occurrences. In passing we should also mention the 2 extremely difficult occurrences of *m's* (*mō'aset*) from Ezk. 21:15,18(10,13), occurrences which in spite of many attempts so far elude any satisfactory interpretation.³³

Mention should be made of the 2 passages that use *m's* niph'al in the sense of *mss* niph'al. Both come from the postexilic period and must be translated following *mss* by "flow away," "melt, dissolve," "break up."³⁴ Ps. 58:8(7) probably belongs to a lament in which the righteous (vv. 11f.[10f.], *šaddîq*) seem to have felt threatened and oppressed by the wicked (v. 4[3], *rāšā'*). In the face of this threat they solicit God's active aid (v. 11[10], *nāqām*, 'vengeance'), so that the wicked must flow away like water (*yimmā'asû k'mô-mayim*, v. 8[7]). The other passage also comes from a lament (in this case the lament of an individual) in which Job bemoans his horrible illness (Job 7:5). In the course of this ailment his skin loosens itself (from his body; *m's* niph'al next to *rg'*, "become encrusted").³⁵

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31. Cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26-45*. WMANT, 52 (1981), 37, identifies it as a post-Deuteronomistic addendum to ch. 32.

32. Thiel (*ibid.*, 28) suggests post-Deuteronomistic provenance.

33. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 426f.

34. Cf. Guillaume, 21.

35. G. R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley*. SVT, 3 (1955), 76, refers to Arab. *ma'asa*, "gaping wound."

V. Qumran. The Qumran texts attest 22 occurrences of *m's* (8 in CD), although only twice with God as the subject. The outsider (1QpHab 1:11; 4Q162 7; 4Q163 14) or the apostate (1QpHab 5:11) "despises" the torah. He is then punished by excommunication (1QS 3:5; CD 3:17; 7:9; 8:19; 19:5f.,32; 20:8), since his contempt for the torah implies that he cuts himself off from instruction and rejects the *b^erîl* (self-designation for the community! 1QS 2:25; 1QH 15:18; CD 20:11). The term *m's* also occurs as an expression for the appropriate detachment of the Qumran community and as a component of Qumran-Essene esotericism when the community members are directed to appropriate in love (*'hb*), hate (*śn'*), and rejection (*m's*) both God's (1QH 17:24; CD 2:15) and Moses' (1QS 1:4) standard. Beyond torah and covenant, all "trials" (*nswyym*) and "blows" (*ngy'ym*) sent by God are perceived as God's instruction (4QDibHam 6:6; cf. Lev. 26:40-44). The fact that he has himself not "rejected" these trials gives the Qumran Essene the confidence that his petition will be answered.

God abhors apostasy, and thus rejects the apostate while choosing his covenantal people (1Q34 3:2,4; cf. Ps. 53:6[5]). It is unclear whether the assertion that God neither rejects the seed of Judah (*m's*) nor disowns Israel despite violation of the covenant and subsequent judgment (*g'l*, 4QDibHam 5:6) constitutes a reflection on salvation history or expresses a new salvation consciousness centered on Qumran.

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VI. LXX. The LXX renders *mā'as* with a wide variety of terms. The most common translations are *apodokimázein* (7 times) and *exouthenoún* (10 times).

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מבול mabbûl

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Religio-historical Considerations. III. 1. *mabbûl*: a. The Flood Narrative; b. Occurrences Outside the Flood Narrative; c. Ps. 29:10; d. Indication of Time; 2. Semantic Development.

mabbûl. J. Begrich, "Mabbûl: Eine exegetisch-lexikalische Studie," ZS, 6 (1928), 135-153 = GSAT. ThB, 21 (1964), 39-54; T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the OT* (New York, 1969); C. Houtman, *De Hemel in het OT* (Franeker, 1974); A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Leipzig, ²1929); O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel*. BZAW, 78 (²1962); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," UF, 2 (1970), 139-158; G. Pettinato, "Die Bestrafung des Menschengeschlechts durch die Sintflut," Or, 37 (1968), 165-200; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT*. SVT, 6 (1958); L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*. AnBibl, 39 (1970); A. J. Wensink, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*. VAWA, n.s. 19/2 (1918, repr. 1968); C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984) (with extended bibliog.); → יבל *ybl* (V, 364-67).

I. 1. Etymology. The etymology of *mabbûl* is uncertain, since neither East nor West Semitic equivalents are attested. Since Joachim Begrich, older attempts at derivation have been rejected on the basis of phonological, philological, or substantive considerations. Such attempts included derivations of Heb. *mabbûl* from Akk. *abûbu*, "deluge, flood,"¹ *bubbûlu*, *biblu*, *bibbulu*, "deluge,"² or *nabālu I*,³ or from the common Semitic root *bl*⁴ (cf. Akk. *balālu*, "sprinkle, mix, alloy"). *KBL*³ has rejected the possible derivation from Heb. *nēbel*, "jar," or similar terms.⁵ The most plausible solution⁶ is to view *mabbûl* as a *maqûl* form⁷ of *ybl II*, "to rain hard."⁸ The West Semitic root *ybl* corresponds to (w)*bl* in the other Semitic languages⁹ (cf. also Egyp. *wbn*, "spring, fountain; to overflow"¹⁰).

2. Occurrences. The word *mabbûl* occurs 13 times in the OT and once in Sir. 44:17. Except for Ps. 29:10, all occurrences are in Genesis, and are distributed approximately equally between the actual story of the Flood (Gen. 6:17; 7:6,7,10,17) and other passages (9:11[twice],15,28; 10:1,32; 11:10). The various expressions are judged against the background of source, place, and semantic development of *mabbûl*. J uses *mabbûl* twice, both times in the expression *mê hammabbûl* (7:7,10). P only uses *mabbûl* qualified by the article (6:17; 7:6,17). In addition, the fixed expression *'aḥar hammabbûl* is attested 4 times. The LXX translates all occurrences with *kataklysmós*.

II. Religio-historical Considerations. Various attempts have been made to demonstrate the historicity of the biblical Flood.¹¹ One theory holds, e.g., that an inundation was accompanied by devastation of such proportions that the event was picked up as a literary theme.¹² These flood narratives are attested in great numbers and are found

1. P. Haupt; H. Holzinger, *Genesis. KHC*, I (1898), 69; O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT*, I (1913, 2-3 1924); cf. *AHw*, I (1965), 8.

2. H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (Leipzig, 1917).

3. C. F. Keil, *Genesis. KD*, I (Eng. trans. 1888-89); F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum AT* (Leipzig, 1886), 122ff; E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910), 204; see *napālu I* ("ruin, pull down, destroy"), *AHw*, II (1972), 733.

4. K. Vollers, "Zur Erklärung von יָבֵל Gen 6,3," *ZA*, 14 (1899), 355.

5. *KBL*³, 514, *contra* *KBL*², 491; cf. Begrich, 53.

6. *HAL*, II (1995), 541; Begrich, 53f.

7. Cf. *VG*, I, §203; *GK*, §61gn.

8. Cf. Arab. *wābil*, "cloudburst, downpour" (cf. Lane, *Sup*, 3048; Wehr, 1046); cf. also U. Cassuto, *A Commentary of the Book of Genesis*, II (Jerusalem, 1964), 66f.

9. → יָבֵל *ybl* (V, 364-67).

10. *WbÄS*, I, 294; cf. also O. Rössler, "Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache," in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, eds., *Christentum am Roten Meer*, I (Berlin, 1971), 263-326, §§2, 32, 34.

11. E.g., A. Parrot, *The Flood and Noah's Ark. Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, 1 (Eng. trans., New York, 1955); M. E. L. Mallowan, "Noah's Flood Reconsidered," *Iraq*, 26 (1964), 62-82; R. L. Raikes, "The Physical Evidence for Noah's Flood," *Iraq*, 28 (1966), 52-63.

12. Parrot, 41.

in all parts of the world.¹³ Consideration of their religio-historical background, however, suggests that the Flood Narrative, independent of individual archaeological findings that might document various local inundations, is not the report of a single historical event involving a flood that inundated the entire world. The biblical Flood Narrative is the OT text with the largest number of extrabiblical parallels, and the difficulty in determining its origin and possible dependence on other stories results from the fact that all the extant flood stories exhibit enormous similarity in their basic conception and motifs, and basically agree in the essentials. They belong to the “common property of humanity,”¹⁴ and, independent of provenance and cultural milieu, narrate that primal event.

Various levels of reflection manifest themselves within these flood narratives. Whereas in the primitive stories the center of gravity is found in the event itself, in the more advanced cultures it shifts to the relationship between God (gods) — viewed as the initiator of the catastrophe — and human beings, so that one can speak of a “theologizing of the flood narrative.”¹⁵ God’s decree of annihilation appears as the fundamental motif, often explained in retrospect as having been provoked by human depravity.¹⁶

Earlier scholarship focused on the relationship between human ethical failings on the one hand and the Flood as punishment on the other, confirmed by comparisons with the Gilgamesh epic and the Atrahasis epic. For more recent scholarship, however, the sense of the Flood Narrative is the notion that the Creator can annihilate the human beings he himself has created.

III. 1. *mabbûl*. a. *The Flood Narrative*. Both earlier and (despite numerous critical annotations) more recent commentaries and dictionaries translate *mabbûl* almost without exception as “deluge” or “flood,” doubtlessly on the basis of the predominating use of the term in the Flood Narrative itself. Begrich, however, already ascertained that the term *mabbûl* experienced different levels of usage and underwent a shift in meaning; he showed that *mabbûl* was not originally a term for the inundation, but rather an old designation for the heavenly ocean. Within the actual Flood Narrative itself, references to the *mabbûl* that came upon the earth (in J and P) indicate that *mabbûl* does not refer here to the catastrophe itself. The initial occurrence (Gen. 6:17 [P]; 7:10 [J]) presupposes that *mabbûl* is already familiar, something difficult to imagine in the case of the “catastrophe,” which in addition is regularly rendered by *mayim*: “the waters (*mayim*) became mighty and increased greatly on the earth” (7:18 [P]); “the waters (*mayim*) became more mighty upon the earth” (7:19 [P]; cf. vv. 20,24; 8:1,3b,5,13a [P]); “the waters (*mayim*) increased, and bore up the ark” (7:17 [J]); “and the waters (*mayim*) gradually receded from the earth” (8:3a J; cf. vv. 7,8,9,11 [J]).

13. For a listing, see Gaster, 82-128.

14. Westermann, 395.

15. Cf., e.g., *ibid.*, 402-6.

16. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11. Erträge der Forschung*, 7 (Darmstadt, 1972), 84.

In contrast to references outside the actual Flood Story, the term *mabbûl* is mentioned only when the commencement of the catastrophe itself is described, namely, the coming of the waters upon the earth: "For my part, I am going to bring the *mabbûl* (a flood of waters) on the earth, to destroy from under heaven all flesh in which is the breath of life" (6:17 [P]); "Noah was six hundred years old when the *mabbûl* (flood of waters) came on the earth" (7:6 [P]); "the *mabbûl* continued forty days on the earth" (7:17 [P]); "after seven days the waters of the *mabbûl* came on the earth" (7:10 J); "and Noah went before the waters of the *mabbûl* into the ark" (7:7 [J]).

Besides these common elements in J and P, one can also ascertain distinctions in terminology pointing to "varying degrees of intensity accompanying the commencement of the catastrophe."¹⁷ In both occurrences in J *mabbûl* appears in the construct expression *mê hammabbûl*. Construct expressions occur elsewhere with *mayim* as well (e.g., *mê hannāhār*, "the waters of the River [Euphrates]," Isa. 8:7; *mê-bôrô*, "water from his own cistern," Isa. 36:16; *mê šihôr*, "the waters of the Nile," Jer. 2:18], etc.), and a comparison with these forms suggests that *mê hammabbûl* is to be understood as "the waters from the *mabbûl*." In J, with its narrow geographical view of the world, the catastrophe only commences by means of an event: a rain (*gešem*) lasting forty days pours down upon the earth (Gen. 7:12). According to J, this rain is the water from the *mabbûl*, the heavenly ocean.

The additional elements of the worldview of P emerge in terminological distinction over against the J portrayal. The rain lasting forty days (*mê hammabbûl* [J]) corresponds in P to the entire *mabbûl* that comes upon the earth. This also explains the problems with Gen. 6:17, where Eduard Sievers¹⁸ sees evidence of a gloss in *hammabbûl*, contra Umberto Cassuto, who emends to *mayim 'al-hā'āreš* on the basis on the narrative context,¹⁹ and Hermann Gunkel,²⁰ who views *mayim 'al-hā'āreš* as an interpretation of the word *mabbûl*, which P understood to be a foreign word. The construction *hammabbûl 'al-hā'āreš* (7:10 [J]; 7:17 [P]) suggests that only *mayim* is a gloss to *hammabbûl*, while *'al-hā'āreš* is to be taken with the verb. One explanation for this notion, which to be sure is rather difficult to conceive in the P text, may have been suggested by Begrich: not just the waters from the heavenly ocean precipitate the catastrophe, but also the waters of the *ʾēhôm*;²¹ the upper and lower waters thus flow together again (cf. the Creation Story).

The notion of the heavenly ocean is also found in extrabiblical sources.²² Such notions probably resulted from the fact that heaven and water are the same color on the one hand, and that water falls from heaven on the other.²³ Although extrabiblical

17. Begrich, 50.

18. *Metrische Studien*, II (Leipzig, 1904-5), 252.

19. "Since the term . . . *mabbûl* described something that had not yet come into existence" (p. 67).

20. *Genesis. HKAT*, I/1 (1977), 142.

21. Cf. C. Westermann, "מַבְּבִיל *ʾēhôm* Flut," *THAT*, II, 1026.

22. Cf., e.g., Kaiser, 26, 117, and *passim*.

23. Cf. Keel, 36-39.

cosmogonies do differ somewhat in the nuances of their understanding of this heavenly ocean (e.g., its origin), its existence is undisputed, just as is recognition of the danger accompanying its waters, whose sudden outpouring would cause a flood.²⁴

b. *Occurrences Outside the Flood Narrative.* Outside the actual Flood Narrative, the term *mabbûl* unequivocally carries the meaning usually associated with the term: deluge (as portrayed in Genesis). In this context *mabbûl* no longer has the meaning "heavenly ocean."²⁵ Here the term circumscribes this singular catastrophe itself (Gen. 9:11,15; cf. Sir. 44:17).

c. *Ps. 29:10.* Ps. 29, one of the oldest psalms,²⁶ contains various images and ideas from the ancient Near East. Except for Sirach, it is the only place where *mabbûl* (v. 10) occurs outside Genesis. The problems attending this verse, which has undergone the most diverse interpretations, stem from the fact that the term *mabbûl* is understood from the perspective of the Flood Narrative. Yahweh is enthroned over the flood (*YHWH lammabbûl yāšāb*). Irregularities involving language and content accompanying this notion, however, can be avoided if here, too, *mabbûl* is understood as the heavenly ocean (v. 3).²⁷ On the notion of Yahweh's enthronement in the heavenly sphere cf. Ps. 2:4; 104:2f.; 123:1.

Extrabiblical parallels support this notion of enthronement above the heavenly ocean, e.g., a clay relief from the Neo-Assyrian sphere, whose paradigm extends back into the second half of the eleventh century. This relief portrays the sun-god enthroned over the heavenly ocean in his heavenly sanctuary.²⁸

d. *Indication of Time.* In 4 instances *mabbûl* is used in the OT to indicate a point in time. The fixed expression *'aḥar hammabbûl*, "after the flood" (Gen. 9:28; 10:1,32; 11:10), is reflected in Mesopotamian literature as well.²⁹ There the term *abūbu* also occurs in expressions such as *ša lam abūbi* or *ša arki abūbi* as a temporal indicator.³⁰ Both in Sumerian-Babylonian king lists and in the OT this "indication

24. Cf., e.g., Jeremias, 152.

25. See preceding discussion.

26. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 344-351.

27. R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg* (diss., Halle, 1965), 132f., understands *mabbûl* here as a storm flood upon which the weather-god rides. This interpretation, however, accords neither with the other occurrences nor with the OT conceptual world in the larger sense.

28. Cf. Metzger; cf. also Keel, 174. Similarly also M. K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden, 1973), 101, who compares Ps. 29:10 with *KTU*, 1.4 IV, 20-23: El is enthroned where he can control the waters; cf. also L. R. Fisher and F. B. Knutson, "An Enthronement Ritual at Ugarit," *JNES*, 28 (1969), 157-167. On Yahweh's enthronement, cf. also W. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel*. *BZAW*, 80 (1966), 48; E. Otto, "'El und JHWH in Jerusalem': Historische und theologische Aspekte einer Religionsintegration," *VT*, 30 (1980), 316-329; → יָשָׁב *yāšab* (VI, 420-438). Begrich's position has been contested recently by Houtman, 185, who understands *mabbûl* again as a general, mythical entity, namely, as a chaotic water power. For a dissenting view, cf. A. Lawhead, *A Study of the Theological Significance of yāšab in the Masoretic Text* (diss., Boston, 1975, repr. 1977), 201-4.

29. Cf. H. Schmökel, "Geschichte des alten Vorderasiens," *HO*, II/3 (1957), 4-9.

30. *CAD*, I/1 (1964), 78; *AHW*, I, 8.

of time” serves to link legendary primeval or prehistory with historically documented time.³¹

2. *Semantic Development.* These observations suggest that *mabbûl* is neither a term specifically associated with the Flood Story³² nor a term originally associated with the idea of an inundation that covered the entire earth. Rather, a semantic shift probably took place in the course of tradition away from the original notion of *mabbûl* as the heavenly ocean to that of an inundation. In J, the Flood is brought about by the waters of the heavenly ocean (*mê hammabbûl*³³). The portrayal of the Flood in P, where the heavenly ocean itself comes upon the earth, picks up on Gen. 1 and describes how the waters separated there flow together again with the waters of the *têhôm* to form the Flood. The loss of the original meaning of *mabbûl* manifests itself in the gloss *mayim* (6:17; 7:6). The context still preserved in J (in 7:4 Yahweh announces the rain, and in v. 10 the waters of the *mabbûl* come upon the earth) is no longer seen. The opening of the heavenly sluices (7:11b [P]) is no longer associated with *mabbûl* in the sense that the actual descent of the waters of the *mabbûl* is being described here. The detachment of the term from the actual context effected the semantic shift, and the term *mabbûl* lost its original sense. Once associated with the material relating to the Flood Story, however, it was then understood as a term for the inundation itself.³⁴ This new meaning then became the only one possible outside the actual Flood Narrative itself.

Stenmans

31. Cf. also D. O. Edzard, “Königslisten und Chroniken. Sumerisch,” *RLA*, VI (1983), 77-86.

32. Contra Gunkel, 67.

33. See III.1.a above.

34. Begrich, 51f.

מִבְּצָר *mibṣār*

Contents: I. Meaning, Occurrences in the OT and LXX. II. *ʾîr mibṣār*: 1. Secular Usage; 2. Theological Usage. III. *mibṣār*: 1. Secular Usage; 2. Theological Usage. IV. Qumran.

I. Meaning, Occurrences in the OT and LXX. As Ugar. *bṣr*, “soar, fly high, rise,”¹ confirms, the fundamental meaning of the root *bṣr* is apparently “to be high” and thus “inaccessible,” and further “to be impossible” (Gen. 11:6; Job 42:2). The *ʾîr bēṣûrâ* is a strongly fortified, impregnable city.² This accounts for the place names

1. *KTU*, 1.19 I, 33; 1.18 IV, 20, 31, par. *rh̄p*.

2. See II below.

beṣer (Dt. 4:43; Josh. 20:8; 21:36; 1 Ch. 6:63[Eng. v. 78]) and *boṣrâ* (in Edom: Gen. 36:33; 1 Ch. 1:44; Isa. 34:6; Jer. 49:13,22; Am. 1:12; cf. in Gen. 36:42; 1 Ch. 1:53 the Edomite tribe Mibzar; in Moab: Jer. 48:24): a city rendered inaccessible by its elevated location and/or its fortifications. In Ps. 108:11(10), the expression *ʾir mibṣār* refers to Bozrah in Edom.³

Apart from the questionable passage Jer. 6:27, the noun *mibṣār* occurs 36 times in the Hebrew Bible, with few exceptions in the Deuteronomistic history and in the prophetic writings; an additional occurrence is in Sir. 36:29 (Heb.). These occurrences are equally divided between the absolute form *mibṣār* and the full form *ʾir mibṣār*. While *ʾir mibṣār*, synonymous with *ʾir b^eṣûrâ*,⁴ always designates the fortified settlement in contrast to the exposed one, the simple form *mibṣār* often exhibits the more narrow sense of fortress, bastion, refuge.

The LXX renders *mibṣār* with *ochyrós* and *ochýrōma*, and in isolated instances also with *ischyrós* and *perioché*.

II. *ʾir mibṣār*.

1. *Secular Usage*. The Israelites considered the city of Tyre to be the fortified city par excellence.⁵ Josh. 19:29 mentions it as a city of the tribe of Asher, in obvious dependence on 2 S. 24:7 (*mibṣār* abs.). It is especially in Ezekiel (Ezk. 26:4-12), however, that Tyre serves as the paradigm of a fortified city, with walls (*ḥōmōt*), towers (*migdālīm*), gates (*š^eʾārīm*), streets (*ḥûṣōt*), and mighty houses (*bātê ḥemdâ*). The fortified cities in Dt. 3:5 are similarly characterized by high walls, gates, and bars. In the battle of Gibeon, the secure cities offer refuge to the defeated Canaanites (Josh. 10:20), whereas the single mention of secure cities in the case of Naphtali seems out of place in the description of borders (Josh. 19:35).⁶ Fortified cities are attested not only for the Canaanites, but also for the Philistines (1 S. 6:18; 2 K. 18:8) and the Moabites (2 K. 3:19). However, the Israelites also had their secure cities, first the tribes of Gad and Reuben in the territory east of the Jordan (Nu. 32:17,36), then Samaria (2 K. 10:2; cf. 17:9). Among the fortified cities of Judah (Jehoshaphat places military forces in them [2 Ch. 17:2,19]), Lachish and Azekah are mentioned by name (Jer. 34:7).⁷

Fortified cities are occasionally the same as cities in general (cf. Nu. 32:16f.; Jer. 34:7). In 2 K. 3:19, the expression *ʾir mibṣār* parallels *ʾir mibḥôr*, “choice city.” The opposite of *ʾir mibṣār* in Dt. 3:5; 1 S. 6:18 is *ʾir happ^erāzî*, “the open (NRSV ‘unwalled’) city”; in Nu. 32:16f., 36 *gidrōt šōʾn*, “sheepfolds”; and in 2 K. 17:9; 18:8

3. For further discussion of etymology, see O. Loretz, “Ugaritische und Hebräische Lexikographie,” *UF*, 12 (1980), 279-282; W. von Soden, “Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch,” *UF*, 13 (1981), 157f.

4. See *HAL*, I (1994), s.v. *bāṣûr*.

5. On the layout of Tyre, see *BRL*², 349f.; A. van der Born, “Tyrus,” *BL*², 1788-1790, with map.

6. Cf. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua*. *HAT*, VII (31971), in loc.

7. On Lachish, see *BRL*², 196-98.

the simple watchtower or citadel tower, which in more sparsely settled areas replaced the fortified city as a place of refuge.⁸ Ps. 108:11(10) articulates the hope for a new future in the petition to be brought to the “fortified city” and to Edom (an allusion to Bozrah in Edom⁹; the parallel passage Ps. 60:11[9] reads *’îr māṣôr* with the same sense).

2. *Theological Usage.* This already provides the transition to the theological use of *’îr mibṣār*. In Jer. 1:18, Yahweh makes the prophet into a “fortified city” capable of rejecting all attacks (in addition to “iron pillar” and “bronze walls”). Jer. 4:5 warns the people of Judah to flee into the fortified cities before the approaching catastrophe. Ultimately, however, even trust in these cities (Jer. 5:17) no longer offers protection against unavoidable judgment (8:14).

III. *mibṣār*.

1. *Secular Usage.* Even without the qualification *’îr*, the term *mibṣār* can refer to a fortified city.¹⁰ Thus 2 S. 24:7 refers to the city of Tyre as *mibṣār*. Hazael will certainly burn the “fortresses” in Israel (2 K. 8:12). And in Isa. 17:3 the fortress of Ephraim, to which Yahweh will put an end, is the city of Samaria. As a rule, however, *mibṣār* refers less to the fortified city than to the protective bulwark or refuge. Cf. in Mic. 5:10(11) the juxtaposition of *’ārîm* and *mibṣārîm*, and in Isa. 25:12 the combination *mibṣār* and *mišgāb*, “refuge.” Contrasting terms to *mibṣār* include *maḥ^aneh*, “the open place [of the camp and tents]” (Nu. 13:19), and *nāweh*, “pasture” (Lam. 2:2). Its parallels include *g^edērâ*, “stone wall” (Ps. 89:41[40]), and *’arm^enôṭ*, “the comfortable houses” (Isa. 34:13; Lam. 2:5).¹¹

The book of Daniel attests several unique constructions. In addition to the simple *mibṣārîm*, the (Egyptian) fortresses against which Antiochus IV devises plans (Dnl. 11:24), v. 15 mentions the “city of bulwarks” (*’îr mibṣārôṭ*), i.e., the strongly fortified city (Sidon? Gaza?), and v. 39 speaks of the *mibṣ^erê mā’uzzîm*, “strong fortresses.”

2. *Theological Usage.* Prompted by the stronger emphasis on human strength and self-confidence inhering in the simple term *mibṣār*, the theological usage predominates in the occurrences of this term. The sense of the difficult passage Am. 5:9 seems in any case to be the praise of Yahweh’s rule both over nature (v. 8) and history (“destruction upon the fortress”).¹² Again and again the fortress appears as

8. BRL², 81.

9. See preceding discussion.

10. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27. BK, X/2* (1978), 643.

11. Cf. H. Haag, “Jerusalem Profanbauten in den Psalmen,” *ZDPV*, 93 (1977), 91f. = *Das Buch des Bundes. KBANT*, 1980.

12. On the suggestion that one should read the piel ptc. *m^ebaṣṣēr* here in the sense “vintager” or the constellation Arcturus (“vindemiator”), cf. W. Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (1922, repr. Hildesheim, 1981), 66; G. R. Driver, “Two Astronomical Passages in the OT,” *JTS*, N.S. 4 (1953), 208–212.

the embodiment of human self-assurance and absurd self-confidence. The preeminent example of such arrogance is Tyre (Ezk. 26:2–28:19). Its ruler has allegedly called himself a god (Ezk. 28:2,9). Such hubris provokes Yahweh's sovereign rule in judgment and redemption, which tolerates no resistance. The same assertion occurs in several passages in which instead of *mibšār* the expression *'ārîm (hab)b'šurôt* is used, an expression especially characteristic of the Deuteronomistic history (Dt. 3:5; 9:1; 2 K. 18:13; 19:25 par.; Hos. 8:14; Zeph. 1:16). Yahweh summons the Assyrians against the fortresses of Samaria (Hos. 10:14; Isa. 17:3) and the Babylonians against the strongholds of Judah (Mic. 5:10[11]; Hab. 1:10; Lam. 2:2,5), and he has laid the bulwarks of Jerusalem in ruins (Ps. 89:41[40]). Even the destruction of the strongholds of Moab (Jer. 48:18; Isa. 25:12) and Edom (Isa. 34:13) is his work.

Yahweh's power, however, does not reveal itself only in the fact that he storms impenetrable fortresses. In a reverse fashion he is also able to make weak human beings into strongholds, above all the prophets (Jer. 1:18¹³), though also a woman, who is the man's helper (*'ēzer*), pillar of support (*'ammûd miš'ān*), and place of refuge (*mibšār*) (Sir. 36:29 Heb.). The context shows that the reference is not only to the maintenance of possessions, but even more to the man's security.

IV. Qumran. Among the Qumran texts, 1QpHab 4:3-8 provides a commentary to Hab. 1:10. Compared to the MT, the pesher provides the (better) reading *whw' lkwl mbšr yšhq wyšbwr 'apr wylkdhw* and explains: "Interpreted, this concerns the commanders of the Kittim who despise the fortresses of the peoples and laugh at them in derision. To capture them, they encircle them with a mighty host, and out of fear and terror they deliver themselves into their hands."¹⁴ According to Karl Elliger,¹⁵ this is referring at least primarily if not exclusively to the siege and storming of Jerusalem by Pompey.

In 1QH 3:6f., the petitioner (the community?) compares his spiritual suffering to a ship in distress and to a besieged city (*k'yr mbšr*). 1QH 6:35 speaks of a person swinging a scourge (*m'byr šwt šwtp*) who will be unable to penetrate into the fortress, whereby *mibšār* apparently serves as a self-designation for the community confident in the protection of its God.¹⁶

H. Haag

13. See II.2 above.

14. Translation according to G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield, ³1987), 285.

15. *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer. BHTh*, 15 (1953), 272f.

16. Cf. M. Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)* (Paris, 1962), *in loc.*

מִגְדָּל *migdāl*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Preexilic Texts; 2. Exilic and Postexilic Texts; 3. The Tower of Babel; 4. Component in Place Names; 5. Tower as Metaphor. III. LXX and Qumran.

I. 1. Etymology. The noun *migdāl*, attested in OT Hebrew, is also attested in Ugaritic¹ with the meaning “tower”² and as a place name,³ as well as in Moabite,⁴ but not in Phoenician.⁵ Attestations in Aramaic include occurrences in Jewish Aramaic (Targum), Christian Palestinian, and Syriac.⁶ The two singular attestations from al-ʿUla (in Minean⁷ and Liḥyanite inscriptions⁸) are presumably foreign words or loanwords which in both cases refer to inhabited buildings. In Arabic the term *mīgdal* is a loanword from Aramaic,⁹ and it is noteworthy that the Classical Arabic lexicographers interpreted it as “citadel, palace.” Modern topographical onomastics attests *mīgdal* as a component in place names within a well-defined region in Palestine-Phoenicia with only sparse distribution outside this region.¹⁰ It is still questionable whether the name of the Moroccan port city eṣ-Ṣawīr/Mogador¹¹ can be taken as a Berber attestation of the word *migdāl*;¹² the city Agadir, located not far from Mogador, suggests that both names derive from the same root *gdr*.

The term *mktr* occurs as a Semitic loanword in Egyptian in connection with place

migdāl. K. Galling, “Migdal,” *BRL* (381f.); B. Mazar, “מִגְדָּל,” *EMiqr*, IV (1962), 633-35; W. Michaelis, “πύργος,” *TDNT*, VI, 953-56; G. Morawe, “Turm,” *BHHW*, III (1962), 2032-4.

1. *WUS*, no. 632; *UT*, no. 562.

2. M. Dahood, “Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs,” *RSP*, I (1972), §II, 343.

3. Cf. M. C. Astour, “Place Names,” *RSP*, II (1975), §VIII, 58, 162; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, “Zur ugaritische Lexikographie (XI): Lexikographische Einzelbemerkungen,” *UF*, 6 (1974), 31.

4. Mesha inscription, *KAI*, 181, 22.

5. As *HAL*, II (1995), 543, suggests.

6. *LexSyr*, 105a.

7. *RÉS*, 3340, 5 (*mgdlhnh* dual).

8. Cf. W. Caskel, *Liḥyan und Liḥyanisch*. AFNW Geisteswissenschaften, 4 (Cologne, 1954), no. 26, 1, 88f. (*mgʿdl* pl.). D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*. DAWW, Phil.-hist. Kl., 37/2 (1889), reads *mmdl*; the photo of the reproduction hardly suggests the presence of an *aleph* between the second and third letters.

9. Cf. S. I. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (1886, repr. Hildesheim, 1962), 236f.; certainly not borrowed from OSA, as suggested by *HAL*, II, 543.

10. Cf. B. S. J. Isserlin, “Place Name Provinces in the Semitic-speaking Ancient Near East,” *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society*, 8 (1956), 83-85.

11. See H. Stumme, “Gedanken über libysch-phönizische Anklänge,” *ZA*, 27 (1912), 123f.

12. This remains the case despite repetition of this thesis in E. Jenni, “גִּדּוֹל *gādōl* gross,” *THAT*, I, 402.

names since the time of the eighteenth dynasty.¹³ As a place name in Egypt it can be traced back to the Greco-Roman period as *Mágdōlos*,¹⁴ and in Coptic as *meḡtōl*.¹⁵ Herodotus' reference¹⁶ to Megiddo as *Mágdōlos* testifies to the relative frequency with which the word was used in place names. The natural identification of the word *migdāl* as a *miqtāl* construction from a root *gdl*¹⁷ is problematical because only Canaanite attests the root *gdl* in the meaning "be large, high" (cf. in contrast Arab. *ḡadala*, "twist or pull tightly, plait"), and because the context of several OT occurrences (e.g., Isa. 5:2¹⁸) does not suggest something large and high. Thus there is some reason to follow the suggestion first articulated by William F. Albright that the word *migdāl* arose through metathesis from *midgāl* (cf. Akk. *madgaltu*, "watchtower, border post").¹⁹

2. *Occurrences.* The term *migdāl* occurs altogether 49 times in the OT. The passages include: Gen. 11:4,5; Jgs. 8:9,17; 9:46,47,49,51(twice),52(twice); 2 K. 9:17; 17:9; 18:8; 1 Ch. 27:25; 2 Ch. 14:6[Eng. v. 7]; 26:9,10,15; 27:4; 32:5; Neh. 3:1(twice),11,25,26,27; 8:4; 12:38,39; Ps. 48:13[12]; 61:4[3]; Prov. 18:10; Cant. 4:4; 5:13; 7:5[4](twice); 8:10; Isa. 2:15; 5:2; 30:25; 33:18; Jer. 31:38; Ezk. 26:4,9; 27:11; Mic. 4:8; Zec. 14:10; cf. also the *qere* to 2 S. 22:51. Among these, only the Chronicler's history seems to exhibit a certain accumulation (16 occurrences). The masc. pl. *migdālīm* is attested 9 times (2 Ch. 14:6[7]; 26:9,10,15; 27:4; Ps. 48:13[12]; Isa. 30:25; 33:18; Ezk. 26:4), the fem. pl. *migdālôt* 5 times (1 Ch. 27:25; 2 Ch. 32:5; Cant. 8:10; Ezk. 26:9; 27:11). An evaluation of the use of the two plural forms confirms the thesis of Diethelm Michel,²⁰ namely, that the plural form in *-īm* is to be understood as a "collective or group plural," the form in *-ôt* in contrast as a "plural conceived as a combination of individuals." In preexilic texts *migdāl* as a rule refers to the citadel or fortress of a city, while in exilic and postexilic texts it refers to a tower standing in some relationship with a gate or with the city walls.

II. 1. *Preexilic Texts.* In older texts *migdāl* refers to a fortified citadel inside the city itself offering a final place of refuge. Thus in the portrayal of Abimelech's siege of Thebez (Jgs. 9:50-57), although the city proper has already been taken, the inhabitants are still able to flee into the *migdāl*. Just as Abimelech is about to set fire to the "citadel

13. Cf. A. H. Gardiner, "The Ancient Military Road Between Egypt and Palestine," *JEA*, 6 (1920), 107ff.

14. Cf. Kees, "Magdolon, Magdolos," *PW*, XIV/1 (1928), 299f.

15. Cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 214f.; J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 102; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-1977), 114, notes seven additional orthographic variations.

16. *Hist.* ii.159.

17. So, e.g., *HAL*, II, 543; Jenni, 402.

18. Cf. also the illustration in *AuS*, IV (1935), fig. 93, 94.

19. *AHw*, II (1972), 572b; *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 16. This is the position of L. A. Sinclair, *An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Ful)*. *AASOR*, 34f. (1954-56[1960]), 7; A. F. Rainey, "The Toponymics of Eretz-Israel," *BASOR*, 231 (1978), 5.

20. *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax*, I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 53f.

door" (*petah hammigdāl*), his final fate overtakes him. Similarly, the problematical account of the destruction of Shechem suggests that the *migdāl-š^ekem* (Jgs. 9:46) does not refer to a locale different from Shechem itself,²¹ but rather to the citadel of Shechem, which may have been further equipped with a tower. From there the inhabitants then fled into the crypt of the temple of Ba'al-berith, where they were burned to death. This kind of citadel, located inside a city, was presumably the rule. In any case, there is literary evidence for such a citadel at Penuel (Jgs. 8:9,17, in connection with Gideon's campaign in the territory east of the Jordan) and Jezreel (2 K. 9:17) and archaeological evidence for such, e.g., at Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah) and Khirbet eṭ-Ṭubeiqah (Beth-zur).

A certain kind of small, independent citadel is also called a *migdāl*. These *migdālîm*, which according to 2 Ch. 26:10 Uzziah and according to 2 Ch. 27:4 also Jotham erected in the Negeb or in the hill country of Judah, represent such archaeologically attested forts,²² i.e., isolated watchtowers serving as vantage points from which to oversee border traffic and roads, as well as citadels of refuge for exposed settlements. 1 Ch. 27:25, to take one example, offers an insight into the geographical layout of such settlements in its enumeration of *ārîm*, *k^epārîm*, and *migdālôt*, similarly also 2 K. 17:9; 18:8 (from the watchtower to the fortified city: *mimmigdāl nôš^erîm 'ad-îr miḇšār*).²³

2. *Exilic and Postexilic Texts.* In later texts *migdāl* refers to a tower standing in some relationship with a gate or wall. The directive in Ps. 48:13[12] to count the towers of Zion²⁴ shows that there must have been a considerable number of such towers (this imagery [counting towers] also occurs in Isa. 33:18b in a gloss; in its own turn, this gloss is probably reflecting on Isa. 22:10, which speaks of counting Jerusalem's houses). This can also be seen from Neh. 3, which recounts the construction of the wall. Several towers in Jerusalem bear specific names, presumably because of their special size or function: *migdāl ḥ^anan'el* (Jer. 31:38; Zec. 14:10; Neh. 3:1; 12:39); *migdāl hattannûrîm* (Neh. 3:11; 12:38); *migdāl hammē'â* (Neh. 3:1; 12:39); *migdāl-ēder* (Mic. 4:8); and *migdāl dāwîd* (Cant. 4:4); the location of these towers, however, can probably no longer be determined archaeologically. Since the account of the construction of the wall differentiates clearly between gates and towers, these are probably not gate-towers, but rather towers which reinforced and secured the wall fortifications at strategically important points. It is unlikely that these refer to towers situated "on" the wall itself, as suggested by Targ. and Vulg. for 2 Ch. 32:5.²⁵ 1QSb 5:23 also mentions a strong tower situated against or in (not "on" or "upon," as is usually translated) the wall (*bḥwmh*).

21. Contra J. A. Soggin, "Bemerkungen zur alttestamentlichen Topographie Sichems mit besonderem Bezug auf Jdc. 9," *ZDPV*, 83 (1967), 195-97.

22. Cf. Y. Aharoni, "Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev," *IEJ*, 17 (1967), 1-17.

23. P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern*. *WMANT*, 42 (1973), 25f., 63f.

24. Cf. H. Haag, "Jerusalem Profanbauten in den Psalmen," *ZDPV*, 93 (1977), 92f. = *Das Buch des Bundes*. *KBANT*, 1980, 255f.

25. On the MT, cf. Welten, 68ff.

In the promise of the return of the Davidic dynasty in Mic. 4:8,²⁶ the reference to the “tower of the flock” (*migdāl-’ēder*) probably refers, in the postexilic period, to a tower standing among the ruins of the palace and Ophel area which now served for protection and as a watchtower with regard to the flocks (cf. 2 Ch. 26:10.). Presumably this same tower or its remnants are mentioned in Neh. 3:27 as a large, projecting tower (*hammigdāl haggādōl hayyôṣē*) at the wall of Ophel, and perhaps also in Isa. 32:14, which speaks of the Ophel and the watchtower (referred to as *baḥan* only here).

Small watchtowers were erected for protecting vineyards (Isa. 5:2; Mt. 21:33), although they apparently served as observation posts only during the day, whereas the guards were able to spend the night in the *sukkā* (Isa. 1:8). Luke’s assertion that eighteen people were killed when the tower in Siloam fell (Lk. 13:4) gives an indication of the size of the edifice.

3. *The Tower of Babel*. The account of the construction of the tower of Babel (Gen. 11:1-9)²⁷ twice mentions the city and the tower together (vv. 4, 5) and once the city alone (v. 8). Although both LXX and Sam. mention the tower in v. 8 as well, this probably reflects secondary harmonization. If with Hermann Gunkel²⁸ one assumes the presence of two originally independent narratives, one concerned with the city, the other with the tower,²⁹ then one can discount the various attempts to solve the problem philologically either by translating “the city and especially the tower” (reading a *waw*-augmentativum: “and specifically”),³⁰ or by taking the phrase as a hendiadys in the sense of “city crowned by a tower.”³¹ This is the temple-tower of the Sumerian-Babylonian urban culture, the ziggurat, an edifice that narrowed toward the top and appeared to rise without end, presumably even the ziggurat of Babylon itself, Etemenanki, by which Marduk descended to receive human veneration and offerings in his sanctuary Esagil. From his own vantage point, the narrator of the story was unable to sanction the pious intentions accompanying the construction of the tower. “For him this great edifice was merely the embodiment of arrogance and titanic pride.”³²

4. *Component in Place Names*. The term *migdāl* is also attested as a component in many place names, including in the OT *migdāl-’ēl* (Josh. 19:38, in Naphtali), *migdāl-gād* (Josh. 15:37, in Judah = Khirbet el-Mejdeleh), and *migdāl-’ēder* (Gen. 35:21, near

26. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Micah*. KAT, XIII/3 (1975), 84f.; H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 125.

27. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 531–557; and the status of scholarship report in *idem*, *Genesis 1–11. Erträge der Forschung*, 7 (Darmstadt, 1972), 95–104.

28. *Genesis*. HKAT (1964), 92f.

29. Cf. also G. Wallis, “Die Stadt in den Überlieferungen der Genesis,” ZAW, 78 (1966), 141f.

30. E. König, *Die Genesis eingeleitet, übersetzt, erklärt* (Gütersloh, 1925), 435.

31. E. A. Speiser, “Word Plays on the Creation Epic’s Version of the Founding of Babylon,” *Or*, 25 (1956), 322, n. 26 = *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 59, n. 26.

32. Wallis, 142. Cf. also W. von Soden, “Etemenanki vor Asarhaddon nach der Erzählung vom Turmbau zu Babel und dem Erra-Mythos,” *UF*, 3 (1971), 253–263.

Bethlehem; according to Targ. Ps.-J. the place from which the Messiah will reveal himself at the end of days).³³ Cf. *Magdalēnē* in the NT (Mt. 27:56; Mk. 15:40, etc.), “the one from Magdala.” With different vocalization, *migdōl* refers to one or several places in Egypt (Ex. 14:2; Nu. 33:7, Israelites’ encampment during the exodus = Tell el-Heir; Jer. 44:1; 46:14, Jewish colony in Egypt; Ezk. 29:10; 30:6, point on the Egyptian border).

5. *Tower as Metaphor.* The assertion in Prov. 18:10, namely, that “the name of Yahweh is a strong tower; the righteous runs into it and is safe,” employs the same metaphor as Ps. 61:4(3), where the petitioner confesses to God, “You are my refuge, a strong tower against the enemy.” Both passages compare the security provided by the fortress tower with the refuge provided by God (cf. also 1QH 7:8; 1QSb 5:23). The *qere* to 2 S. 22:51 has the same image in mind when it suggests reading *magdōl* instead of *magdīl*, so that Yahweh is called the “tower of salvation of his king.” On the other hand, injustice and godlessness protrude into the present like a great tower, virtually insuperable (cf. T.Lev. 2:3; 4QTestim 26). Only in the end time will Yahweh rise up against all that is proud and haughty, “against every high tower, and against every fortified wall” (Isa. 2:15), so that towers will fall (30:25b).

Comparison with a tower can serve as a symbol of beauty (Cant. 4:4; 8:10),³⁴ whereas according to Sir. 26:22 a married woman is a *pýrgos thanátou*, a “tower of death,” for her paramour. Even if the lost Hebrew text spoke instead of a deadly net (*m^ešûdat māwet*),³⁵ the metaphor of the woman as a tower whose besieger pays with his own life, a metaphor presumed to be familiar to a Greek audience, is certainly intelligible³⁶ (cf. also 2 Mc. 13:5ff.).

III. LXX and Qumran. The LXX translates almost exclusively with *pýrgos*.³⁷ 1QM 9:10,11,12(twice),13(twice),14(twice) uses the term *migdāl* in a very specific sense in the portrayal of tactical military figures and movements. In this context, “tower” is certainly not referring to a siege tower (as attested also for Palestine since approximately the Hellenistic period; cf. 1 Mc. 13:43f.), but rather a troop tower full of armed soldiers (borne by elephants), which in the Roman army, too, could be called a *turris*. In 1QH 7:8, the petitioner describes the position God has assigned him for the present with the statement: “Thou hast made me like a strong tower, a high wall.”³⁸ In the blessing for the Prince of the Congregation (1QSb 5:23), the same imagery (tower and wall) expresses the eschatological function of the Prince. He will be a “strong tower and a high wall” and will smite the peoples with the power of his mouth.³⁹

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33. For further (altogether 11) examples, see *PW*, XV/2 (1932), 1549f.

34. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Das Hohelied. ATD*, XVI/2 (1981), 271, 288f.

35. So P. W. Skehan, “Tower of Death or Deadly Snare? Sir 26,22,” *CBQ*, 16 (1954), 154.

36. Cf. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), 239.

37. Cf. Michaelis.

38. Translation by G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield, 1987), 184.

39. Cf. O. Betz, “Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde,” *ZNW*, 48 (1957), 52, 69.

מגן *māgēn*; גָּנָן *gānan*; שִׁנְנָה *šinnâ*; שֶׁלֶט *šelet*

Contents: I. General. II. 1. Etymology; 2. *gnn*; 3. Homographs. III. 1. Ancient Near Eastern Panoply; 2. Shield as Defensive Weaponry. IV. Uses: 1. Combat; 2. Component in the Panoply; 3. Decoration; 4. Testudo Fortifications; 5. "Shield Bearer"; 6. Metaphors of Human Opposition to God; 7. Metaphors of Divine Warfare; 8. Metaphors of Human Wickedness; 9. Testudo Metaphors. V. Qumran. VI. Synonyms and Related Terms: 1. *šinnâ*; 2. *šelet*. VII. *māgēn* or *mōgēn*?: 1. Divine Epithet; 2. Descriptions of Persons. VIII. LXX.

I. General. The word *māgēn*, "shield," occurs 58 times in the OT, used literally, metonymically, and metaphorically to describe a piece of personal defensive weaponry. In translations, the simple term "shield" predominates; in fact, the weapon so designated is more strictly a round shield or buckler, often with embossed sheathing. In Hebrew, the larger shield covering the body is called *šinnâ*.¹ This distinction is standard in the ancient languages of the Mediterranean basin: *māgēn* = Greek *aspis* = Latin *clipeus*; *šinnâ* = *thyreós* = *scutum*. However, other distinctions were made based on function and weight.

Obscure developments in the language conspired so that several homographs of *mgn* may have fallen together etymologically and lexically.

II. 1. Etymology. The noun *māgēn* is derived from the geminate root *gnn*, "to cover, surround, defend, protect," as shown by the evidence of the other Semitic languages.

2. *gnn*. The verbal forms of *gānan* occur only in the latter part of First Isaiah (some of the material is also given in 2 Kings) and in Deutero-Zechariah, which may be dependent upon Isaiah. In the Isaiah passages, Yahweh "protects" Jerusalem (with the prep. 'al). In Isa. 31:5, he does so *kēšippōrīm 'āpôt*, "like flying (or perhaps better,

māgēn. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 403-419; *idem*, review of *Sem*, 12 (1962), *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 129f.; *idem*, "Ugaritic Lexicography," *Mélanges E. Tisserant*, I, *StT*, 231 (1964), 81-104, esp. 94; F. E. Deist, "Aantekeninge by Gen. 15:1,6," *NedGTT*, 12 (1971), 100-102; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (XI): Lexikographische Einzelbemerkungen," *UF*, 6 (1974), 19-38; M. Kessler, "The 'Shield' of Abraham?" *VT*, 14 (1964), 494-97; O. Loretz, "jš *mgn* in Proverbia 6,11 und 23,34," *UF*, 6 (1974), 476-77; *idem*, "*mgn* — 'Geschenk' in Gen 15,1," *UF*, 6 (1974), 492; *idem*, "Psalmenstudien III," *UF*, 6 (1974), 175-210, esp. 177-183; *idem*, "Stichometrische und textologische Probleme in den Thronbesteigungs-Psalmen: Psalmenstudien (IV)," *UF*, 6 (1974), 211-240; A. R. Millard, "Saul's Shield Not Anointed with Oil," *BASOR*, 230 (1978), 70; A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London, 1967); *idem*, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons, from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* (Edinburgh, 1964); W. von Soden, "Vedisch *magham*, 'Geschenk' — Neuarabisch *mağğānīja* 'Gebührenfreiheit': Der Weg einer Wortsippe," *JEOL*, 18 (1964), 339-344; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Discovery* (Eng. trans., New York, 1963).

1. See VI.1 below.

'hovering'; cf. Dt. 32:11) birds"; coordinate verbs are *nšl* hiphil, "to rescue," *psh*, "to deliver,"² and *mlt* hiphil, "to liberate" (cf. 1QIs^a, *hplyt*; MT is superior). In Isa. 37:35, Yahweh defends Jerusalem *l'hôšî'āh*, "to save it," for his own sake and the sake of his servant David (cf. 2 K. 19:34). In Isa. 38:6 (par. 2 K. 20:6), Yahweh promises that he will rescue (*hiššîl*) and defend the city. The sequence of actions in the last two passages is thus rescue (*hiššîl*), defense (*gānan*), and salvation (*hōšîa'*). At the time of the messianic restoration, Deutero-Zechariah proclaims, Yahweh will defend the children of Zion (Zec. 9:15, with the prep. 'al); only in this passage is *gānan* used in an explicitly martial context, which has references to slings and arrows. In a further prophecy of the restoration (Zec. 12:8), Deutero-Zechariah declares again that Yahweh will defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem (with the prep. *b'e'ad*).

The Masoretes have parsed 5 of the occurrences of the verb as qal, 3 as hiphil. It is possible, however, that all are qal. The term *gānan*, then, is apparently tied to a clearly discernible Jerusalemite tradition. An obscure further connection with Jerusalem may be lurking in the form *h^agînâ* (Ezk. 42:12).

The root *gnn* is used in a bilingual Neo-Punic–Latin dedicatory text from Leptis Magna³ which records that the erector *t 'mdm wt hm'q'm* (Heb. *hammaqôm*) *ygn*, "had enclosed the pillars and the sacred site." There is no equivalent in the Latin portion of the text. In the Marseille sacrificial tariff,⁴ the *špr 'gnn* is perhaps a "caged [enclosed], i.e., domesticated bird." Finally, the root is also attested in two Punic personal names: *'srgn*, "Osiris protects,"⁵ and *gnn*, perhaps "protector."⁶ The root is not attested in Ugaritic texts, but there is an abundance of evidence to suggest it existed in that language. Finally, it occurs with the meaning "to cover, defend" in the various Aramaic dialects, and in the causative stem in Phoenician, Old South Arabic, and Arabic. In Akkadian the root has been limited in reference to the "confinement" of persons.

3. *Homographs.* The Phoenician and Ugaritic cognates of *māgēn* are attested only once each. Ugar. *mgn* occurs in the jejune context of a list of materiel.⁷ On the Phoenician orthostat-inscription of Karatepe, Azitawadda boasts *wp'l 'nk ss 'l ss wmgm 'l mgn*, "I have added horse to horse, shield to shield."⁸ Cognates are also attested in both Western and Eastern Late Aramaic dialects, and in Arabic. If the comparable Akkadian form, Late Bab. **maginnu*,⁹ is to be associated with *māgēn*, it is as an Aramaic loanword. The word is used in Achaemenid inscriptions to

2. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK X/3* (1982), 1236f.

3. *KAI*, 124.

4. *Ibid.*, 69, 11.

5. *CIS*, I, 821, 4.

6. Benz, 297.

7. *KTU*, 4.127, 3.

8. *ANET*³, 653; *KAI*, 26AI, 6f. Cf. Jer. 46:3f.; Y. Avishur, "Word Pairs Common to Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew," *UF*, 7 (1975), 23.

9. *AHW*, II (1972), 576.

describe the *petasos*, the broad-rimmed felt headgear worn by one class of Ionians in the Persepolis reliefs.¹⁰

III. 1. Ancient Near Eastern Panoply. The basic range of materiel in the ancient Near East was not remarkably different from the range elsewhere in the ancient world.¹¹ Setting aside operational materiel like chariots, horses, and battering rams, we can distinguish two classes of weapons: Offensive weapons include sword and dagger (*ḥereḇ*); spear (*ḥ^anîṭ*, *rōmah*, *kîdôn*); bow, arrow, and quiver (*qešet*, *ḥēš*, *ʾašpâ*); mace and battle-ax (*garzen*); and slingshot and stones (*qelaʾ*, *ʾabnê qelaʾ*). The defensive weapons are largely fitted to the body: helmet (*k/qôḥaʾ*), mail (*s/širyôn*), greaves (*mišhâ*), and shoe (*s^eʾôn*). These are complemented by shields, sometimes large (*šinnâ*) and sometimes small (*māgēn*). In panoply lists the shield tends to be included. For example, Goliath appears in helmet, mail, and greaves, bearing both a light spear (*kîdôn*) and a heavy one (*ḥ^anîṭ*); he is preceded by a man bearing a body shield (*šinnâ*, 1 S. 17:5ff.; cf. 17:38f.).¹²

2. Shield as Defensive Weaponry. Body shields were oblong and generally covered either the entire body¹³ or only from the neck to the feet.¹⁴ Anthony M. Snodgrass shows examples of the various types of Greek body shields: figure-eight, rectangular, etc.¹⁵ Smaller Egyptian body shields from the early second millennium are attested.¹⁶ Large shields sometimes had a curved top¹⁷ or a peaked top¹⁸ to allow the shield bearer visibility around the edges, and sometimes a flat bottom to permit firm anchoring on the earth.¹⁹ In other cases, the bottom was pointed, allowing the shield to be planted. Some shields had a concavo-convex shape to enclose the wearer's body.

The material was generally wood with leather stretched over it and sometimes with metal attachments,²⁰ or reed or wickerwork with leather and metal.²¹ The large shield was either carried on the left side²² or worn on the back.²³

Small shields were generally round wood or wicker frames covered with leather.²⁴

10. Cf. the Nakš-i-Rustam reliefs (W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten," *Or* 35 [1966], 19, 16).

11. Cf. A. Oepke, "ὄπλον," *TDNT*, V, 292-98.

12. For further discussion of weaponry terminology → נשק *nešeq*; → מלחמה *milḥāmâ* (VIII, 334-345); → כלי *k^elî* (VII, 169-175).

13. *ANEP*, 368, 373 (Neo-Assyrian).

14. *Ibid.*, 300 (3rd millennium).

15. A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour* (1967), plates 2, 5, 12; cf. 19.

16. *ANEP*, 180; for the Late Bronze Age, cf. *ANEP*, 344.

17. *Ibid.*, 344f. (Late Bronze Age Egyptian).

18. *Ibid.*, 180.

19. *Ibid.*, 300, 368, 373.

20. *Ibid.*, 180 (Middle Kingdom Egyptian).

21. *Ibid.*, 368, 373 (Neo-Assyrian).

22. *Ibid.*, 180, 300, 345, 368, 373.

23. *Ibid.*, 344.

24. *Ibid.*, 59, 332 (Late Bronze Age); 164, 184, 369, and *passim* (1st millennium); for further examples, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*.

Dumbbell shields²⁵ and squarish shields²⁶ are also attested. The Greek *péltē* was crescent-shaped. Small shields were either worn on the left hand²⁷ or slung around the back.²⁸ *ANEP*, 164, clearly shows the specially prepared boss and rim. Many small shields are flat, but some belly outward sharply.²⁹ The center of a buckler was often a boss of metal, sometimes an animal's head, sometimes spiked, and sometimes simple enough to look like a cymbal. Shields with metallic facings and all-metal shields follow from the boss design, but the latter were never dominant in the ancient world. Urartu and Crete form the conduit for leading Western Asiatic developments in military technology into Greece.

Both large and small shields were originally defensive weapons for lance and spear warriors, and only later were they used by archers and slingers. Whereas spear, lance, and javelin troops defended themselves directly, archers and slingers were defended by special shield bearers. In the Late Bronze age, with the increased use of the composite bow and the battle-ax, armor became more sophisticated, and consequently the small shield became more important than the large shield, which was eventually relegated to defensive line work. Half-body-size shields were worn by wielders of axes and sickle-swords.³⁰ Warriors with battle-axes and mace were equipped with small shields.³¹

Shields were used not only for personal defense, but also in ad hoc fortifications (Latin *testudo* "tortoise"). Battlements on Iron Age cities were supplemented by wooden frames in time of war. These held shields and protected the defenders of the city. Such a frame is shown in the Neo-Assyrian relief of the siege of Lachish.³² Such screens were often also mobile, and were used when a moving formation needed to be screened from above and on all sides.

Nonmilitary uses of shields are not well attested. Some hunting attendants of a Neo-Assyrian monarch carry small shields and bows.³³ Ornate small shields, some with animal head bosses, constituted the chief treasure plundered from an Urartean temple at Muşasir by the troops of Sargon II.³⁴

IV. Uses.

1. *Combat.* Both texts in which *māgēn* is used to designate weaponry being prepared for combat are drawn from the Chronicler's work. In 2 Ch. 23:9, the Levites of Jehoiada's army are equipped with spears, "small shields" (*hammāginnôt*) and *haššēlāfīm*, which belonged to David and had been kept in the temple. Whether and to

25. *Ibid.*, 36.

26. *Ibid.*, 60, 496.

27. *Ibid.*, 36, 59, 164, and *passim*.

28. *Ibid.*, 37.

29. *Ibid.*, 370.

30. *Ibid.*, 344.

31. *Ibid.*, 60, 164.

32. *Ibid.*, 373.

33. *Ibid.*, 184.

34. *Ibid.*, 370; cf. IV.3 below.

what extent the Chronicler meant to distinguish the last two types of materiel is not clear.³⁵ In this case the shields were not used in any combat, since the restoration of Joash was largely bloodless.

The men who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah were divided into two groups. The load-bearers and builders were lightly armed (with *šelah*, “missile” [?] and sword), while the guards had spears and bows, wore mail, and carried shields (Neh. 4:10f.[Eng. vv. 16f.]).

2. *Component in the Panoply.* In some passages which catalog a range of materiel, the buckler is among the items which make up the panoply or the metonym of it. Of sixteen such panoply lists, three approach an entire panoply: 2 Ch. 26:14; Jer. 46:3f., which have six terms each, and Ezk. 38:4, which has seven. The remaining passages include two or three terms and serve as short forms of the panoply catalog. These lists frequently also include *māgēn* and *šinnā*. Two other defensive weapons are mentioned: *q/kôḇaʿ*, *s/širyôn*; eight offensive weapons are mentioned: *ḥēš*, *qešet*, *ʾašpâ*, *ʾabnê qelaʿ*, *maqqēl yād*, *ḥereḇ*, *rōmah*, and perhaps *šelah*. Two additional terms for general weaponry are used: *milḥāmâ* and *nēšeq*, along with two other terms for military equipment: *sōlʿlâ*, “earthworks,” and *merkāḇâ*, “chariotry.”

Only one of the three large catalogs is balanced. The Chronicler’s description of Uzziah’s army’s weaponry (2 Ch. 26:14) is noteworthy because the equipment was supplied by the king and not the soldiers. It consisted of three defensive weapons (*māgēn*, *kôḇaʿ*, *širyôn*) and three offensive weapons (*rōmah*, *qešet*, *ʾabnê qelaʿ*).

Six catalogs contain only two terms and should probably be taken as related metonyms of a whole panoply. In Jgs. 5:8, Israel’s lack of weaponry at the battle of Taanach is cited as an absence of *māgēn* and *rōmah*. Not only is this pair metonymic of the panoply; it is also coherent in that it describes the equipment of a major class of warriors. Even this most common equipment is missing on Israel’s side because Israel had no professional soldiers. Furthermore, Israel knew itself to be allied with the greatest warrior, Yahweh, who enters the battle with his weapons, the heavenly hosts. These angelic warriors seen in visions over Jerusalem during Antiochus IV’s second invasion of Egypt (ca. 170 B.C.) are equipped with lance and shield (*aspís*) (2 Mc. 5:3). According to 2 Mc. 15:11, this pair of weapons was not needed; the noble words of Judas Maccabeus sufficed. This pair of implements is also cited in Sir. 29:13, where the poet claims that *eleēmosýnē*, “public charity, almsgiving,” is better at fending off an enemy “than a stout shield and a ductile (or ‘weighty’) spear” (*hypèr aspída krátous kai hypèr dóry holkés*).

Hezekiah’s weaponry in connection with his measures against Sennacherib includes the defensive *māgēn* and the offensive counterpart *šelah* (2 Ch. 32:5); for a further balance, cf. also bow (*qešet*) and *māgēn* (2 S. 22:35f. par. Ps. 18:35f.[34f.]), discussed further in the next paragraph. Dt. 33:29 reads: “Your blessings, O Israel! Who is like you, a people saved by Yahweh? — are your succoring shield and [delete *ʾašer*] your

35. Cf. VI.2 below.

glorious sword.” The sword and shield here seem to be attributes, associated with succor in battle and the resultant glory.³⁶

The balanced panoply in prophetic thought is attributed only to the enemies of Israel, and thus Jeremiah issues mock orders to some of the participants at the battle of Carchemish: “Let the warriors go forth: Cush and Put, who carry the shield (*māgēn*), the Ludim, who grasp, who draw the bow (*qešet*)” (Jer. 46:9).

A panoply of three pieces is mentioned in connection with the army of Gog, a great horde bearing the *māgēn* and *šinnâ* as well as the sword (*ḥereb*) (Ezk. 38:4). Here, too, the weapons are cited in the order defensive-offensive.

Such weaponry sequences often include other military devices. In 2 K. 19:32 (par. Isa. 37:33), Yahweh promises concerning the king of Assyria: “He shall not come into this city, shoot an arrow (*ḥēš*) there, come before it with a shield (*māgēn*), or cast up a siege-ramp against it.” This catalog moves from small arrows to larger shields and ends with great siege-works (*sōl^{el}lâ*). The oracle in Isa. 22:6 similarly looks forward to failed battle against Jerusalem; the text is difficult, but reference to quivers (*’āšpâ*), chariotry (*rekeb*), and shields (*māgēn*) is clear (cf. Ezk. 38:4).

Only one of the panoply catalogs with *māgēn* cites more offensive than defensive weapons. Ezk. 39:9 lists the weaponry which the Israelites will destroy after God has vanquished Gog. The list opens with the general weaponry term *nēšeq* and then specifies *māgēn* and *šinnâ*; the four offensive weapons end the list: *qešet*, *ḥiṣṣîm*, *maqql yād*, and *rōmah*. The mode of destruction is burning, but it cannot be supposed that this means that all or any of the weapons was flammable. The Assyrian panoply listed in Jdt. 9:7 is largely offensive. The remaining panoply catalogs are largely defensive. Jer. 46:3f. includes two sets of three terms. The first triad opens with *māgēn* and *šinnâ* and ends with the generic weaponry designation *milḥāmâ*, while the second begins and ends with defensive weapons, *kôba’* and *širyôn*, and includes *rōmah* in the middle. Ezk. 23:24 also cites defensive weapons only: *māgēn*, *šinnâ*, *qôba’* (cf. also Ezk. 38:5).

A number of these panoply catalogs occur in the same context, and the differences between them may offer information concerning the course of battle. In Jeremiah’s description of the battle of Carchemish (Jer. 46), the Egyptian army is rendered first in full panoply and later, as defeat grows closer, only with light weaponry. The wars of Gog show the opposite arrangement (cf. Ezk. 38). Finally, an unusual panoply catalog is enumerated in Ezk. 23:24. Oholibah’s lovers, whom she once paid for making love to her, now take up arms against her, yet the arms are exclusively defensive (*māgēn* is included; cf. Jer. 46:3; Ezk. 38:4,5).

3. *Decoration.* The advantages of using precious metal to make decorations which serve at the same time to store the metal prompted Solomon to deck the House of the Forest of Lebanon with gold shields. The text mentions three hundred *māginnîm* of beaten gold, each with 3 minas of gold on it, according to 1 K. 10:17 (ca. 150 shekels, ca. 1.7 kg. [3.7 lb.]). The Chronicler in a burst of modest pious exaggeration gives the

36. Cf. IV.1.

amount of gold per small shield as 300 shekels (*ca.* 3.4 kg. [7.6 lb.]; 2 Ch. 9:16). Solomon complemented this treasure with two hundred large shields, each with 600 shekels of beaten gold (1 K. 10:16 MT; LXX has three hundred large shields of 300 shekels each; 2 Ch. 9:15 follows MT). This large shield (*šinnâ*) was probably four times as large as a *māgēn* and bore four times the gold. Solomon used gold in other decorations in his hall (1 K. 10:18-21)³⁷ to such an extent that the historian in 1 K. 10:21 dizzily reports that in Solomon's time silver was thought of as "any old thing" (*m'ûmmâ*). The shield collection, with 1860 kilograms (4180 lb.) of gold, clearly dominated the scene. The biblical text is not clear on the point, but it is likely the metal took the form of a facing that covered the area of the shield's frame or core, rather than constituting the shield as such.³⁸

During the invasion of 918, Pharaoh Shishak (Sheshonq I) took amid his plunder these gold shields (1 K. 14:26 par. 2 Ch. 12:9); although only the *māginnîm* are mentioned, he probably took the large shields as well. Rehoboam then replaced this loss with *māginnê n'hōšet*, "bronze shields" (1 K. 14:27 par. 2 Ch. 12:10). These actually were intended for military use, since the palace runners, who kept guard at the palace gate, used them. In addition, whenever the king went to the temple, the runners would carry the shields; thereafter they would be returned to the runners' chamber (*tā'*, the location of this room in the palace or the House of the Forest of Lebanon is obscure; 1 K. 14:28 par. 2 Ch. 12:11). This great weapon collection may have been what the Chronicler had in mind in his story of Athaliah's overthrow,³⁹ but the association with David is hardly precise; the odd report of 1 S. 17:54 may have been influential.

The tradition of shield decoration makes its first appearance in the Chronicler's story of the tenth century. It reappears a little over a hundred years later in a confused report of Joash's succession. A century later, the Chronicler alludes to another hoard of wealth, this one belonging to Hezekiah, who "made for himself treasuries for silver, for gold, for precious stones, for spices, for shields [MT contra BHS], and for all kinds of costly objects" (2 Ch. 32:27). The parallel passages in the Deuteronomistic history were not interested in these treasuries.

A related phenomenon is the payment of client-kingdom tribute in the form of a shield. A gold *aspis*, weighing 1000 minas (= 571 kg. [1260 lbs.]), sealed the alliance of Simon Maccabee with Rome (1 Mc. 14:24; 15:18,20).⁴⁰

4. *Testudo Fortifications.* Shields were arrayed around the tops of city towers and battlements during sieges to provide a flexible screen for the city's defenders.⁴¹ The Romans called such a screen a *testudo*. In his oracle on the great ship Tyre, Ezekiel likens the city to a *testudo*. After the initial ship metaphor has been sketched, the prophet

37. → קסס *kissē* (VII, 232-259).

38. Cf. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armor and Weapons*, 23-25.

39. Cf. IV.1.

40. Cf. J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*. AB, XLI (1976), 496.

41. Cf. III.2.

expands on the decoration of the city, which is largely martial in nature. Foreign soldiers hung (*tillû*) their shield (*māgēn*) and helmet in the city (Ezk. 27:10). The Arvadites occupied the city walls, Gamadites the towers: “They hung their shields (*šelet*) all around your walls; they made perfect your beauty” (Ezk. 27:11). The prophet goes on to describe Tyre’s other wealth, but pride of place is given to the shields. Whereas in Solomon’s palace shields were symbols and economic guarantees of national peace, in Tyre they are functional, hung on testudo screens, ready for war.

5. “*Shield Bearer*.” Shields are associated with certain groups of warriors. Although the specific functions of the various troop divisions cannot always be determined exactly, occasionally the appellation already suggests a specific function. The eleventh-century army of Reubenites, Gadites, and transjordanian Manassites included (a) *b^enē-hayil*, “soldiers”; (b) *’anāšīm nōš^e’ē māgēn w^ehereb*, “men who bore shield and sword”; (c) *dōr^ekē qešet*, “archers”; and (d) *l^emūdē milhāmā*, “students of weaponry” (or perhaps “of war”) (1 Ch. 5:18). Group (c) was certainly a distinct class; group (b) seems mixed, since swordsmen did not usually bear shields. Group (a), considering the generic nature of the term, probably included all soldiers, while group (d) designates only those with special skills.

The late tenth-century army of King Asa included (a) a Judean force of *hayil nōš^e’ šinnā wārōmah*, “troops that bore the large shield and spear,” (b) a Benjaminite force of *nōš^e’ē māgēn*, “shield bearers,” and (c) *dor^ekē qešet*, “archers” (2 Ch. 14:7[8]). These three groups are described in consonance with archaeological data. Groups (b) and (c) were used together. The tribal specialization of the forces may reflect ancient tradition. Cf. in this context 2 Ch. 17:17f., according to which the army of Jehoshaphat included Benjaminite *nōš^eqē-qešet ūmāgēn*, “bearers of bow and buckler,” and *h^alūšē šābā*, “those equipped for war.” This second group is difficult to identify more precisely (cf. Jer. 46:9; Ezk. 38:4,5).

Metaphorical usage of such terms is alien to the OT, although Sir. 37:5 claims that a true friend is one who “bears the small shield (*aspída*) against the enemy” of the recipient of Ben Sira’s wisdom.

6. *Metaphors of Human Opposition to God*. Human opposition to God is sometimes treated in the language of warfare. In Ps. 76, God, who dwells in Salem-Zion, shatters “bow, shield, sword, and other weapons of war (*milhāmā*),” all belonging to an unspecified invader of the holy mountain (v. 4[3]). In his second discourse (Job 15), Eliphaz offers a piece of wisdom for which he claims the seal of tradition. The wicked oppressor lives in torment because “he stretched out his hand against El, against Shaddai he tried his strength; he ran against him stubbornly (*b^ešawwā’r*) with his thick-bossed shield (*gabbē māginnāyw*)” (Job 15:25-26; the Hebrew is plural — perhaps of majesty). In this case, as in the first, opposition to God is unsuccessful.

7. *Metaphors of Divine Warfare*. People who oppose God with human weaponry fail, but God can take up such weapons with success. Ps. 35:1-3 reads: “Contend, Yahweh, with those who contend with me; fight against those who fight against me!

Take hold of buckler (*māgēn*) and shield (*šinnā*), and rise up to help me. Draw lance (*h^anîl*) and battle-ax (*s^egōr*; cf. 1QM 5:7) against my pursuers.” Yahweh is here described as a first-millennium lance warrior, holding in his left hand a shield and in his right, a pike. The joint use of two terms for each implement warns against excessive concretization. This portrayal of a weapon-laden Yahweh may also have seemed quite alien to the psalmist, for he shifts to the passive voice in Ps. 35:4 and finally even views Yahweh’s messenger at work (vv. 5-6; cf. Dt. 33:29). The Wisdom of Solomon also speaks of Yahweh’s weapons (Wis. 5:17-22; cf. Eph. 6:10-17). The deity grasps first his defensive weapons and thereafter his sword, bow, and sling. The last of the defensive weapons is the *aspis*, “small shield,” which is described as “invincible” (*akata-máchēton*), since it is God’s “holiness” (*hosiótēta*) (Wis. 5:19).

8. *Metaphors of Human Wickedness.* In the climactic lines of Hos. 4, the prophet denounces Ephraim as a *h^abūr* *‘ašabbîm*, “confederate of idols,” who is consequently given to sexual promiscuity (vv. 17-19). The greatest objection to this pattern of idolatrous behavior is not its illicit effects, but the pointlessness of it. In the difficult concluding lines, the prophet shows that Yahweh is stronger than the idols Ephraim worships. “He [Yahweh] constrains the Iniquity with its shields, the Spirit of Desire [read *’iwwātā*] with its wings (scil., skirts).”⁴² The cult figure described here is called first a *qālôn*, “iniquity,” and then specified as a “spirit of desire.” Its most arresting feature is its vesture: shields and wings, perhaps a description of flowing robes.

9. *Testudo Metaphors.* The testudo is the source of two metaphors, one of great power, the other of great beauty. The description of Leviathan (Job 40:25–41:26[41:1-34])⁴³ includes a detailed evocation of the creature’s body, with particular attention to its back. According to 41:7[15], its back (read *gēl’wô*⁴⁴) is a row of shields (*māginnîm*), a formation closed with a signet’s seal. No space comes between them (read *rewah*), and they are so closely bound that they cannot be separated (v. 8[16]). The image here is clearly of a tightly joined testudo, either on a stationary screen or in mobile formation. The poet of Job has enhanced beyond comprehension the notion of invincible military might in order to describe adequately this creature’s power.

The testudo in Canticles is a more astonishing image. Ch. 4 opens with a catalog of feminine charms, proceeding from eyes like doves to hair like mountain goats and teeth like pregnant ewes, to lips, mouth, and cheek. The description of the neck evokes a testudo: “Your neck is like the tower of David, built in courses; on it hang a thousand bucklers (*māgēn*), all of them shields (*šiltê*) of warriors.” Marvin H. Pope has suggested that “the erect and bold carriage of the lady’s bespangled neck is likened to a commanding tower adorned with trophies of war. . . . with multiple layers remarkably

42. Cf. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB*, XXIV (1980), *in loc.* A completely different interpretation is offered by H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974); W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1 (1966).

43. → לוייתן *liwyātān* (504-9).

44. So M. H. Pope, *Job. AB*, XV (31979), 339.

resembling courses of masonry.”⁴⁵ This is nearly but not quite accurate. Shields were not hung on the towers as trophies, but on temporary wooden frames above the towers as a testudo in preparation for warfare.

V. Qumran. The richest war literature in the ancient dialects of Hebrew is found in 1QM. This scroll refers often and in detail to the shields and their use in the eschatological battle. The first shield mentioned (5:1) is that of the leader (*nāśi*) of the community; it is inscribed with his name, together with the names of Israel, Levi, Aaron, and the twelve tribes. The text is corrupt at the decisive point, and the lacuna may have contained *wt* instead of *mgn*. According to 1QM 5:4, the basic infantry soldiers are holding *mgny nḥwšt mrwqh km’sh mr’t pnym*, “bronze shields, polished like mirrors” (cf. 1 Mc. 6:39) with borders of interlaced and inlaid ornamentation. The border was probably an artistic design wrought of gold, silver, and bronze, with precious stones. The shield is 2.5 cubits long and 1.5 cubits wide (i.e., about 1 m. by .75 m. [3.5 ft. by 2.5 ft.]).

In the narration of battle that follows, the infantry attacks from a fixed position, using darts (*šēlāfīm*),⁴⁶ an attack thought to reduce the enemy force considerably. Two infantry divisions then move forward to finish off the enemy troops; one of these divisions is armed with *ḥ^anūt ūmāgēn*, “spear and shield,” the other with *māgēn w^ekîdôn*, “shield and lance” (1QM 6:5). It is not clear from the text whether any distinction was made between *ḥ^anūt* and *kîdôn*. In contrast to the foot soldier’s rectangular shield, the cavalry carried *māginnê eglâ*, “round shields” (1QM 6:15).

Judging from 1QM 9, the Qumranites were also familiar with the testudo. They called them “towers,” and used them to secure the flanks of unprotected troops. These towers were formed of shields similar to those carried by the infantry. Each testudo included three hundred shields, one hundred on each side. The text describes a series of four such formations, i.e., twelve hundred shields moving together. Each shield in the first testudo (on the south) is labelled “Michael”; in the second (east), “Gabriel”; in the third (north), “Sariel”; and in the fourth (west), “Raphael” (1QM 9:12-14).

There is little doubt that Roman military tactics informed this portrayal. Whether the weaponry can be identified with Roman equivalents is less clear. Yigael Yadin has suggested identifying the infantry shield as the *scutum*,⁴⁷ whereas the cavalry carried the lighter *clipeus* or the *parma*.

A specialized use of *māgēn* appears in the psalms of Qumran. The speaker at one point compares himself in his relationship with God to one who has entered a fortified city, which no stranger (*zār*) can invade. For the gates of the city are *daltê māgēn*, “gates of strength” (lit., “of the shield”), “and there is no entering them; their bars are firm and cannot be broken” (1QH 6:27). The extension in meaning from the concrete to abstract is not an unusual phenomenon, but it is associated with *māgēn* only here.

45. *Song of Songs*. AB, VII C (1977), 465, 468.

46. Cf. VI.2.

47. Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre*. STDJ, 2 (1959), 90-94.

VI. Synonyms and Related Terms.

1. *šinnâ*. The etymology of the term *šinnâ* is obscure. This full-length shield is mentioned 20 times in the OT, 10 of these together with *māgēn* (cf. 1 K. 10:16[twice]; 2 Ch. 9:15[twice];⁴⁸ 2 Ch. 14:7;⁴⁹ Ps. 35:2;⁵⁰ Jer. 46:3; Ezk. 23:24; 38:4; 39:9.⁵¹ The remaining 10 occurrences by and large fit the categories outlined above: 2 Ch. 11:12; 25:5 can be added to IV.2. Ezk. 26:8 is a related text which mentions, along with one offensive (*hereb*) and one defensive weapon (*šinnâ*), other war materiel as well: *sōl'elâ*; *dāyēq*, "bulwark"; *m'ehî*, "battering ram" (v. 9); and *sûsîm*, "horses" (v. 10). 1 Ch. 12:9 can be added to IV.5.⁵² 1 Ch. 12:35[34] mentions *šinnâ* and *h^anîṭ* together. 1 S. 17:7,41 mention a single *šinnâ*-bearer. Both Ps. 5:13[12] (Yahweh's *rāšôn*, "good will," enwraps the righteous person like a shield) and 91:4 (Yahweh hides his faithful in his wings, and his fidelity is *šinnâ w^esōhērâ*; the last word is a hapax legomenon, apparently another word for "body shield"⁵³) can be added to IV.7. The large shield of faith is also mentioned in Eph. 6:16.

2. *šelet*. The word *šelet* is obscure; derivation from Akk. *šalātu* and Arab. *salata*, "to be powerful," is highly unlikely. The word occurs 7 times in the OT, 3 times together with *māgēn*: 2 Ch. 23:9;⁵⁴ Ezk. 27:11;⁵⁵ Cant. 4:4.⁵⁶

The text of 2 Ch. 23:9 is a duplicate of 2 K. 11:10, except that the latter does not use *māgēn*. The retention of *šelet* in both texts suggests that it replaced *māgēn* in the postexilic texts (cf., however, the evidence from Qumran). Jer. 51:11 belongs with the texts of IV.2 above: *šelet* is accompanied by *hiššîm*, "arrows," and by the verb *mālē*, "to fill," and this fact has suggested that here *šelet* means "quiver."⁵⁷ The decorative treasures discussed in IV.3 should be joined by those in 2 S. 8:7 par. 1 Ch. 18:7, a scene in which David plunders *šiltê hazzāhāb*, "shields [?] of gold," from Hadadezer's Aramean kingdom of Zobah. Two additional factors obscure the meaning of *šelet*. The word has an entirely different sense in 1QM than in the OT.⁵⁸ Further, the LXX translators were at best confused about the word, since they rendered it five ways in seven texts.⁵⁹

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48. Cf. IV.3.

49. Cf. IV.5.

50. Cf. IV.7.

51. Cf. IV.2.

52. BHS/BHK read *'rky šnh wrmh*, but many editions prefer *'örkê šinnâ ûmāgēn*; cf. also 1 Ch. 12:25.

53. Cf. A. A. Macintosh, "Psalm XCI 4 and the Root מרח," VT, 23 (1973), 56-62.

54. IV.1.

55. IV.4.

56. IV.9.

57. Cf. R. Borger, "Die Waffenträger des Königs Darius," VT, 22 (1972), 385-398: "bow-case."

58. Cf. V above.

59. Cf. AB, VII C, 469.

VII. *māgēn* or *mōgēn*?

1. *Divine Epithet.* God is described as *māgēn* 15 times in the OT (Gen. 15:1; 12 times in the Psalms [1 additional occurrence, Ps. 84:10(9), is ambiguous]; and twice in Proverbs). The various contexts suggest how this usage was understood. In Ps. 3:4[3], the psalmist addresses Yahweh as his *māgēn*, his glory (*kēbôd*), and the lifter of his head. In Ps. 7:11[10], God is the highest,⁶⁰ the psalmist's *māgēn* and savior (*môšîa'*). Yahweh as the psalmist's strength and *māgēn* is the object of trust in Ps. 28:7. Ps. 18:3[2] enumerates a series of epithets: rock (*šela'*), fortress (*mēšûdâ*), deliverer (*mēpallēṭ*), rock (*šûr*), *māgēn*, horn of salvation, refuge (*mišgāb*); 2 S. 22:3 adds refuge (*mānôš*) and savior (*môšîa'*). Ps. 144:1f. offers a similar series (*šûr*, *mēlammēd*, *hesed*, *mēšûdâ*, *mišgāb*, *mēpallēṭ*, *māgēn*, "in whom I take refuge"). In Ps. 18:31[30] par., Yahweh is a *māgēn* for all those who take refuge in him (*hōsîm*; vv. 32-33[31-32]: rock and giver of strength). Ps. 119:114 mentions a hiding place (*sēṭer*) and *māgēn*. Ps. 59:12[11] petitions "our *māgēn*" for the destruction of enemies — whereby one should recall that the shield is not an offensive weapon. After emphasizing the insufficiency of human power and military strength, Ps. 33:20 asserts that Yahweh is both succor (*ēzer*) and *māgēn*; similarly also in Ps. 115:9f.

The 2 occurrences in Proverbs state merely that Yahweh is a *māgēn* for those who walk in integrity (Prov. 2:7) or take refuge in him (*hōsîm*, 30:5). In Gen. 15:1, Yahweh calls himself Abraham's *māgēn* and promises him "great reward."

It is noteworthy that *māgēn* is associated both with passive terms such as "protection" and "refuge" and with active terms such as "deliver" and "give." Furthermore, Ps. 84:12(11) designates Yahweh both as *māgēn* and as sun,⁶¹ recalling that both the Egyptian pharaoh and the Hittite monarch were referred to as the sun by their vassal princes. Claus Westermann and Otto Kaiser⁶² correctly cite an oracle of Ishtar of Arbela to Esarhaddon: "Esarhaddon, in Arbela I am your gracious shield."

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Several scholars, most recently M. Kessler and Mitchell Dahood, have considered a different interpretation of this divine epithet. The point of departure is recognition of a root *mgn*, "give, grant," common to several Semitic languages, e.g., Phoen. *mgn*, "grant,"⁶³ Palmyr. *mgn*, "gratis,"⁶⁴ Jewish-Aram. and Syr. *maggānā*, "gratis, for nothing, in vain,"⁶⁵ Akk. *magannu*, "gift, present,"⁶⁶ Ugar. *mgn*, "confer, present

60. See BHS; L. Viganò, *Nomi e titoli di YHWH alla luce del semitico del Nord-Ovest*. *BietOr*, 31 (1976), 41.

61. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl*, 54 (1973), 361.

62. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 218; O. Kaiser, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15," *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 113; cf. also M. Rose, "'Entmilitarisierung des Kriegs'? (Erwägungen zu den Patriarchen-Erzählungen der Genesis)," *BZ*, n.s. 20 (1976), 199.

63. *KAI*, 29, 1; *DISO*, 142; perhaps also Pun. *b'l mgnm*, "lord of gifts," *KAI*, 178, 3.

64. *DISO*, 142.

65. Cf. F. Rundgren, "Aramaica I," *OrSuec*, 14f. (1965-66), 81-83.

66. According to *AHW*, II, 574f., this is a loanword; cf. *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 31f.

with,"⁶⁷ Heb. *miggēn*, "give, give up" (Gen. 14:20; Prov. 4:9; Hos. 11:8; cf. also 1QM 18:13).⁶⁸

In Gen. 15:1, one could then read 'ānōkî mōgēn l'kā š'kār'kā harbēh m'ōd, "I am about to give you your very great reward" (so Kessler), which fits well with Abraham's question in v. 2, "what will you give me?" Dahood⁶⁹ cites Pun. *magōn* as a general's title (Lat. *imperator, dux*, though the passages are questionable) and postulates a Heb. *māgān*, "suzerain," which, e.g., is combined in Ps. 84:10[9] with *māšīah*, in 89:19[18] with *melek*, and in 84:12[11] with *šemeš*. He cites Ps. 7:11[10]; 18:31[30]; 47:10[9]; 59:12[11]; Gen. 15:1; Prov. 2:7; 30:5 as additional witnesses to this meaning.⁷⁰

It would be more commensurate with Hebrew usage to assume a divine epithet *mōgēn*, "he who gives or grants." Participles occur frequently as divine epithets, e.g., in the Song of Hannah in 1 S. 2: *mēmîṭ*, *m'ḥayyeh*, *môrîd*, *môrîš*, *ma'āšîr*, *mašpîl*, *m'rômēm*. This meaning is certainly possible in the previously mentioned passages from the psalms, and would be particularly appropriate in those cases in which God appears as an active participant.

2. *Descriptions of Persons.* In some cases this title is also applied to persons. If one translates Ps. 84:10[9], "Behold our donor (*mōgēn*, MT *māgēn*), O God; look on the face of your anointed," then *mgn* would parallel *māšīah* and refer to the king. Similarly Ps. 89:19[18]: "For our 'donor' belongs to Yahweh, our king to the Holy One of Israel." Ps. 47:10[9] speaks of the princes of the earth (*mgny-'ereš*) as belonging to God; its parallel is *n'dîbê 'ammîm*.

Three additional texts are uncertain. 2 S. 1:21b, "For there the *mgn* of the mighty was defiled, the *mgn* [of] Saul, anointed with oil no more" might be rendered "the donor of the mighty" or "the donor Saul."⁷¹ Nowhere else is Saul's shield mentioned, and the notion of anointing shields is uncertain. The word *mgn* must refer to a person. A banquet scene in Isa. 21:5 issues a "call to weapons": "Rise up, O officers, oil a shield!" Since the oiling of shields is otherwise unattested (see preceding discussion), the reference may be to the consecration of a leader. The reference to the red coloring of the *mgn* of Nineveh's heroes or warriors in Nah. 2:4[3] is extremely obscure. Does this refer to red clothes⁷² and red shields,⁷³ or to red skin coloring⁷⁴?

When the assertion is made in Prov. 6:11; 24:34 that poverty will come upon the

67. WUS, no. 1513.

68. Cf. F. Asensio, "La bondad de Dios en su papel de escudo a través de las paginas del AT," *EstBib*, 9 (1950), 441-460.

69. *Psalms 1-50*. AB, XVI (1965), 16f.; cf. also Deist, 100ff.

70. For further discussion, see M. O'Connor, "Yahweh the Donor," *Aula Orientalis*, 8 (1988), 46-70; *idem*, "Semitic **mgn* and its Supposed Sanskrit Origin," *JAOS*, 109 (1989), 25-32.

71. The text is uncertain; see D. N. Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan," *Ex Orbe Religionum. Festschrift G. Widengren. SNumen*, 21 (1972), 122 = *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy* (Winona Lake, 1980), 122f..

72. M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Notes on Genesis," *Bibl*, 55 (1974), 78.

73. K. J. Cathcart, *Nahum in the Light of Northwest Semitic. BietOr*, 26 (1973), 86f.

74. *KTU*, 1.14 IV, 203-8.

sluggard like an *īš māgēn*, it is noteworthy that a defensive weapon is used in connection with an attack. Older interpretation holds that the expression “one armed with a shield” characterizes the attacker as a “highway bandit who comes unexpectedly.”⁷³ Recent interpretation often cites Ugar. *mōgēn* or *maggān* and reads “beggar.”⁷⁴

VIII. LXX. The translators of the LXX apparently had no concrete notion of these shields. Ten different words are used to render the 20 occurrences of *šinnā*, e.g., *thyreós* (11 times), *dóry*, *kóntos* (both meaning “spear”) (1 K. 10:16; Ezk. 39:9). The rendering of *mgn* is more consistent: *thyreós* (9 times), *aspís* and *péltē* (5 times each). In 3 instances an abstract translation is used: 2 S. 22:36 (par. Ps. 18:36[35]) *hyperaspismós*; Dt. 33:29 uses a form of *hyperaspízein*. The divine epithet *hyperaspístēs* is used in 2 S. 22:3,31 (par. Ps. 18:3,31[2,30]); Ps. 28:7; 33:20; 59:12[11]; 115:9-11; 144:2. Forms of *hyperaspízein* occur in Gen. 15:1; Prov. 2:7; 30:5; *antiléemptōr* in Ps. 3:4[3]; 119:114; *boētheia* in Ps. 7:11[10]. 1 S. 1:21; Isa. 21:5 attest *thyreós*; Nah. 2:4[3] *hóplon*. In contrast, Ps. 84:10[9] attests *hyperaspístēs*, Ps. 89:19[18] *antílepsis*, and Ps. 47:10[9] *krataiós*.

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75. G. Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche*. KHC, XV (1897), 18.

76. W. F. Albright, “Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom,” *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT, 3 (1955), 9f.; so also KBL³.

מִדְבָּר *midbār*; עֲרָבָה *‘arābā*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Occurrences: 1. *midbār*; 2. *‘arābā*; 3. Other Synonyms; 4. Antonyms; 5. Parts of the *midbār*. IV. Usage: 1. Spatial Dimension; 2. *midbār* as an Ecological Term; 3. Place of Refuge. V. Historico-spatial Dimension Between the Exodus and Conquest. VI. Theological Connotations: 1. General Considerations; 2. History of Scholarship. VII. OT Usage: 1. Time-Space Connotations; 2. Two Stages in the Wilderness Wanderings; 3. Motif Variations. VIII. Qumran.

midbār. S. Abramsky, “The House of Rechab,” *Festschrift E. L. Sukenik*. *Erlsr*, 8 (1967), 255-264 [Heb.]; Y. Aharoni, “דרכי המדבר בתקופת המקרא,” *Sefer Tur-Sinai* (Jerusalem, 1991), 43-46; *idem*, “Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev,” *IEJ*, 17 (1967), 1-17; *idem* and J. Naseh, *Arad Inscriptions* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1981); W. F. Albright, “Primitivism in Ancient Western Asia,” in A. O. Lovejoy, *et al.*, eds., *A Documentary History of Primitivism*, I (Baltimore, 1935), 421-432; J. M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4*. *DJD*, V (1968), 42-49, 53-57; W. M. Alston, Jr., *The Concept of the Wilderness in the Intertestamental Period* (diss., Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1868); B. W. Anderson, “The Book of Hosea,” *Int*, 8 (1954), 290-303; *idem*, “Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah,” *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage*. *Festschrift J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 177-195; R. T. Anderson, “The Role of the Desert in Israelite Thought,” *JBR*, 27 (1959), 41-44; R. Bach, *Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste* (diss., Bonn, 1951); B. Baentsch, *Die Wüste, ihre Namen und ihre bildliche Anwendung in den alttesta-*

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I. Etymology. The etymology of *midbār* is obscure. A connection with → דבר *dābār*, “word, thing, matter,” is highly unlikely, and the derivation from the root *dbr*, “be behind,” Arab. *dabara*, *dubr*, “back,” Akk. *dab/pāru*, “go away, drive away”¹ is disputed. Rather, one should probably assume a connection with *dōber* (Isa. 5:17; Mic. 2:12), “drift,” “pasture land,” with *dibbēr* (2 Ch. 22:10) — *hidbār* (Ps. 18:48[Eng. v. 47]; 47:4[3]), “subjugate,” “subdue,”² and also with *rbd* (Prov. 7:16)/*rbš*, “lie,” “crouch, cower,” especially in reference to wild animals (Gen. 49:9; Isa. 11:6; 13:21; Ezk. 19:2) and grazing animals (Gen. 29:2; Isa. 13:20; 27:10; Jer. 33:12; Ezk. 34:14; Zeph. 2:14). The word is also attested in other Semitic languages: Ugar. *’rš dbr* with the meaning “grazing land”³ (cf. Dt. 32:10; Prov. 21:19) or as the place name *mdbr qdš*,⁴ *mlbr ’lš’y*,⁵ *p’t mdbr*, “wilderness”(?)⁶ Official Aram. and Syr. *dabrā’*, *mdbr’*,⁷ Mand. *dibra*, “field”; Safaitic *mdbr*; West Semitic loanword in Akkadian *madbaru*, *mud(a)baru*⁸ in connection with desert tribes — *arbaya rūqūti āšibūt mad-ba-ri*, “the remote Arabs who dwell in the steppe”⁹ as opposed to cultivated land;¹⁰ as the place

“המה הקינים הבאים מחמת אבי בית-דרכב” I Chronicles II,55,” *IEJ*, 10 (Eng. trans., 1960), 174-180; *idem*, “The New Covenanters of Qumran,” *Scientific American*, 225/5 (1971), 72-81; *idem*, “Die Samaritaner in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart,” *Frankfurter Universitätsreden*, 42 (1971), 71-83; *idem*, “The Town Lists of Simeon,” *IEJ*, 15 (1965), 235-241; *idem*, “Typen der Messiaserwartung um die Zeitenwende,” *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 571-588; E. Testa, “Il deserto come ideale,” *SBFLA*, 7 (1956/57), 5-52; A. C. Tunyogi, *The Rebellions of Israel* (Richmond, 1969); R. de Vaux, *Anclsr*; *idem*, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978); K. H. Walkenhorst, *Der Sinai im liturgischen Verständnis der deuteronomistischen und priesterlichen Tradition*. *BBB*, 33 (1969); W. G. E. Watson, “Fixed Pairs in Ugaritic and Isaiah,” *VT*, 22 (1972), 460-68; M. Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (Eng. trans., New York, 1952); M. Weinfeld, “Jeremiah and the Spiritual Metamorphosis of Israel,” *ZAW*, 88 (1976), 17-56; M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine*. *SBT*, ser. 2, 21 (Eng. trans., 1971); J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, ²1897, repr. 1927); W. Wiebe, *Die Wüstenzeit als Typus der messianischen Heilszeit* (diss., Göttingen, 1939); G. H. Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought* (New York, 1962); D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956, 1961); *idem*, “They Lived in Tents,” *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. Festschrift W. S. La Sor* (Grand Rapids, 1978), 195-200; H. W. Wolff, “Das Thema ‘Umkehr’ in der alttestamentlichen Theologie,” *ZThK*, 48 (1951), 129-148 = *GSAT. ThB*, 22 (1964), 130-150; A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân*. *SSN*, 3 (1957).

1. *AHw*, I (1965), 177; *HAL*, II (1995), 546.

2. *HAL*, I (1994), 210.

3. *KTU*, 1.6 II, 19f.; 1.5 V, 18, and elsewhere; possibly also *KTU*, 1.23, 4; 1.92, 3.

4. *KTU*, 1.23, 65.

5. *KTU*, 1.12 I, 21f.; read *mdbr* with *CTA*.

6. *KTU*, 1.23, 68; 1:14 III, 1.

7. *LexSyr*, 140.

8. *CAD*, X/I (1977), 11f.; *AHw*, II (1972), 572a.

9. A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II* (Paris, 1929), 121, 124, 189; E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (London, 1902), 356, III, 37; Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings*, 70 rto. 10; *TCL*, 3, 193, and elsewhere.

10. H. W. F. Saggs, “The Nimrud Letters, 1952: Part II,” *Iraq*, 17 (1955), 160, no. 23:12, 15; 13, 110; 436:5, 9.

name *madbar kalāma*,¹¹ *māt madbar* (?)¹² (cf. Ugar. *ʾrṣ dbr*). Akkadian usually renders “wilderness” as *ṣēru*.¹³

II. Meaning. In both Biblical and, to a certain extent, Postbiblical Hebrew and other Semitic languages the term *midbār* covers a wide and varied semantic field. Despite this variety, the diverse aspects of the word and its synonyms can be traced back to the following fundamental meanings. The term *midbār* refers to arid or semiarid regions whose scarcity of water makes them unsuitable for agriculture and farming settlements. This desolate area is yet in the primeval state of chaos (Dt. 32:10) or was reduced again to such chaos as divine punishment for human transgressions (Isa. 64:9[10]; Jer. 22:6; Hos. 2:5[3]; Zeph. 2:13; Mal. 1:3). It evokes fear and revulsion.

To a certain extent, *midbār* terrain is suitable as pasture land for livestock, e.g., goats and sheep. This explains the use of the word as a terminus technicus for “grazing land” surrounding a permanent or semipermanent pastoral settlement *nāweh* (= *nawûm* in the Mari texts) or adjacent to villages or towns. This aspect of *midbār* carries positive connotations. Pastoral romanticism and love (Cant. 3:6; 8:5) blossom in these remote pastoral settings (Jer. 9:1[2]; Ps. 55:8[7]).

The variety shown by this semantic field attests an intensive, existential-ecological, and historical *midbār* experience in biblical Israel which is also reflected in the Qumran documents, and in rabbinic and early Christian writings (NT and Church Fathers), where it is accompanied by modifications corresponding to the changed circumstances. At the same time, the rich use of *midbār* terminology on such diverse conceptual levels reveals something of the socio-historical and religious world of ideas of biblical Israel.

III. Occurrences. 1. *midbār*. The term *midbār* occurs 271 times in the OT (always in the sg.); as might be expected, it occurs almost twice as often in Numbers (48 times) as in other books: 26 times in Exodus; 24 in Samuel; 21 in Jeremiah; 20 in the Psalms; 19 in Isaiah. It is mentioned 10-20 times in Deuteronomy (19 times); Joshua (15); Ezekiel (14); Chronicles (11); less than 10 times in Judges (8); Genesis (7); Kings, Hosea, Joel (5 each); Leviticus (4); Job, Lamentations (3 each); Canticles, Nehemiah (twice each); Zephaniah, Malachi, Proverbs (once each); it does not occur in the other books. The term *midbār* is used 23 times absolutely (e.g., in Dt. 32:10; Job 38:26; Isa. 16:8; 32:15; 35:1; Jer. 22:6); 34 times with the definite article (Ex. 14:3; 16:10; Nu. 14:25; Dt. 1:19; 2:7; 11:24; Josh. 16:1; Jgs. 11:22); 7 times with a preposition: *l^emidbār* (Ps. 107:33), *mimmidbar* (*hārîm*, Ps. 75:7[6]?); 126 times with a preposition and definite article: *bammidbār* (Gen. 16:7; 21:20; Ex. 3:18; 5:3; Job 24:5; Isa. 40:3), *kammidbār* (Ps. 106:9; Hos. 2:5[3]), *lammidbār* (2 Ch. 20:24), *mimmidbār* (Ex. 23:31; Nu. 21:18; Isa. 21:1; Ezk. 23:42; Hos. 13:15), *mēhammidbār* (Josh. 1:4; 1 S. 25:14); with *hē*-locale *midbārâ*: (1 Ch. 5:9; 12:9[8]; Isa. 16:1), and definite article (11 times):

11. Sargon, II Cyl. 13.

12. C. J. Gadd, “Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud,” *Iraq*, 16 (1954), 192, 48.

13. For Ethiop. *dabra*, “mountain,” → *ḥar*, III, 427-29.

hammidbārā (Ex. 4:27; Lev. 16:21; Jgs. 20:45/47); 21 times in the construct state as the *nomen rectum*: *ʿereš midbār* (Dt. 32:10; Prov. 21:19), *q̄ṣēh hammidbār* (Ex. 13:20; Nu. 33:6), *ʿabrôt (Q ʿarbôt) hammidbār* (2 S. 15:28; 17:16), *n̄ʾôt midbār* (Ps. 65:13[12]; Jer. 9:9[10]; 23:10; Joel 1:19/20; 2:22; presumably also Mal. 1:3: *linʾôt* instead of MT *lʾtannôt midbār*¹⁴), *derek hammidbār* (Ex. 13:18; Josh. 8:15; Jgs. 20:42), *qôṣē hammidbār* (Jgs. 8:7,16), *rûah midbār* (Jer. 13:24), *ḥereḥ (ḥōreḥ?) hammidbār* (Lam. 5:9); 24 times as *nomen regens*, associated primarily with a geographical name: *midbar šūr* (Ex. 15:22), *sîn* (16:1), *sînāy* (19:1), or *šin* (Nu. 20:1), *pāʾrān* (1 S. 25:1), *qādēš* (Ps. 29:8); with geopolitical implications: *midbar môʾāb* (Dt. 2:8), *ʿdôm* (2 K. 3:8), *ȳhūdā* (Jgs. 1:16); with a place name: *midbar zîp* (1 S. 26:2), *gibʿôn* (2 S. 2:24); with a preposition: *b̄midbār* (25 times), *l̄midbār* (3 times), *mimmidbar* (10 times); with *hē*-locale: *midbarâ bêt ʾāwen* (Josh. 18:12), *midbarâ dammāšeḳ* (1 K. 19:15);¹⁵ the term occurs only once with a possessive suffix, *midbārāh* (Isa. 51:3). Textually uncertain occurrences include *mēhammidbār w̄hallʿbānôn*, read *ʿad hallʿbānôn* (Josh. 1:4; cf. Ex. 23:31); *baššādeḥ bammidbār*, possibly (*û*)*bammôrād* (Josh. 8:24);¹⁶ *ʿalp̄nē-derek ʿet-hammidbār* (2 S. 15:23); *midbar-yām* (the LXX omits *yām*; Isa. 21:1); *hakkarmel hammidbār*, read *kammidbār* (Jer. 4:26; compare Isa. 14:17; Hos. 2:5[3]; Zeph. 2:13 and Isa. 51:3; 32:15) or *midbār* (cf. Isa. 64:9[10]).

The LXX (as also the NT) renders *midbār* 244 times with *érēmos*, so that these two words can be considered strict equivalents. The Greek term also encompasses synonyms of *midbār*: *ḥārēḥ* (31 times), *šāmēm* (26 times), and several derivatives from these roots; these are more often represented in Greek by other terms.¹⁷ Only in isolated, in part textually uncertain cases does the LXX render *midbār* with *erēmikós* (Ps. 102:7[LXX Ps. 101]), *erēmoún* (Jer. 2:6), *agrós* (Job 24:5), *ánydros* (Isa. 41:19), *auchmōdēs* (1 S. 23:14,15?), *pedíon* (Joel 2:3; 4:19), and other terms. Occasionally it will transcribe the term as *madbar(e)ítis* (Job 5:15; 18:12).¹⁸ The Vulg. uses *desertum* (e.g., Ex. 13:18; 1 S. 25:4; Ps. 78:52[Vulg. Ps. 77]; Isa. 64:9[10]; Ezk. 34:25) or *solitudo* (e.g., Gen. 14:6).

2. *ʿarābā*. The most frequently used synonym for *midbār* is *ʿarābā*, occurring 59 times (or 60 times if *naḥal hāʿarābīm* in Isa. 15:7 is equated with *naḥal hāʿarābā* in Am. 6:14). The etymological derivation is uncertain. *KBL*³¹⁹ favors a connection with OSA *ʿrb*, “retire, withdraw (to a remote area)” over one with Ethiop. *ʿrb*, “dry out.”²⁰ In general, *ʿarābā* refers to an arid region with saline soil (*m̄lēhā*, Job 39:6) and little vegetation (Isa. 33:9; 35:6; 41:19; Jer. 17:6) populated by dangerous wild animals (Jer. 5:6; cf. Hab. 1:8; Zeph. 3:3; Job 24:5 is textually uncertain).

14. Talmon, *Mélanges D. Barthélemy*, 517.

15. GK, §§26h, 67o, 85h, 90i.

16. Delitzsch, 150c.

17. Funk, 206ff.

18. *Ibid.*

19. P. 733.

20. The latter suggested by Baentsch, 17.

a. The term *ʿarāḇā* occurs 7 times in *parallelismus membrorum* with *midbār*, 6 of those as the second member, e.g., Isa. 41:19: *ʿettēn bammidbār ʿerez . . . ʿāšīm bāʿarāḇā bʿrôš* (cf. Job 24:5; Isa. 35:1,6; 40:3; 51:3; Jer. 2:6), but only once in the reverse order (Jer. 17:6): *wʿhāyā kʿarʿār bāʿarāḇā . . . wʿšākan ḥʿrērīm bammidbār* (in the LXX also in Zec. 14:10 + *kaí tēn érēmon*). It occurs in apposition to *midbār* (Dt. 1:1; 1 S. 23:24), in a trio with *šiyā* (Jer. 50:12; cf. Isa. 35:1, LXX + *tá érēma tou Iordánou*); in the construct state in 2 S. 17:16; 15:28 (*Q*): *bʿarḇôt (K bʿabrôt) hammidbār*; once in the construct state with *ʿereš* (+ *wʿšūḥā*, Jer. 2:6). Like *midbār*, (*hā*)*ʿarāḇā* refers for the most part to the arid tracts in the deep south of Palestine (Dt. 1:7; 4:49; Josh. 8:14f.; 18:18), from the Sea of Chinnereth (Josh. 11:2; 12:3) to the *yam hāʿarāḇā*, the “Dead [Salt] Sea” (Dt. 3:17 = Josh. 12:3; Dt. 4:49; Josh. 3:16; 2 K. 14:25; cf. Ezk. 47:8), and beyond that to Ezion-geber and Elath (Dt. 2:8) and portions of this region such as *ʿarḇôt mōʿāḇ*, *midbār māʿôn bāʿarāḇā ʿel yʿmîn hayyʿšimôn* (1 S. 23:24; cf. 2 S. 2:29; 4:7; 2 K. 25:4,5, etc.), *ʿarḇôt yʿrîḥô* (2 K. 25:4,5; Jer. 39:4,5; 52:7,8). The expression *naḥal hāʿarāḇā* (Am. 6:14) is presumably to be identified with the (lower course of the) Wadi Qelt.

b. The use of *ʿarāḇā* follows that of *midbār* only with reference to the (negative) wilderness dimension and as regards general geological-geographical aspects. The (positive) reference “grazing land/drift” is not attested for *ʿarāḇā*. The word occurs as a geographical term in Dt. 1:7: *bāʿarāḇā bāḥār ūbaššʿpēlâ ūbannegeb ūḥôp hayyām* (cf. Dt. 11:30; Josh. 11:2,16; 12:8; 15:61-62; 2 Ch. 26:10; Isa. 33:9; Zec. 14:10), as a border reference (Dt. 3:17; 4:49; Josh. 12:1,3; 18:18; 2 K. 14:25; Am. 6:14), and as a place name *ʿarḇôt yʿrîḥô* (Josh. 4:13; 5:10; 2 K. 25:5; Jer. 39:5; 52:8); along with *ʿarḇôt mōʿāḇ* (Nu. 22:1; 26:3,63; 31:12; 33:48,49,50; 35:1; 36:13; Dt. 34:1,8; Josh. 13:32), *midbār mōʿāḇ* also occurs once (Dt. 2:8). Like *midbār*, *ʿarāḇā* can also refer to the historico-geographical experience of the wilderness wanderings (Numbers).

The LXX transcribes *Araba-Arabôth* with the exception of Job 39:6; Isa. 35:1; 51:3; Jer. 17:6; 50:12 (LXX 27:12), where (next to *mʿlēḥā*) it is translated by *érēmos*. Josh. 8:14 (*lammôʿēḏ lipnē hāʿarāḇā*) is textually uncertain and not attested in the main LXX traditions. The Vulg. uses *solitudo* (e.g., Josh. 12:1,8), *terra inhabitabilis* (e.g., Jer. 2:6); Targ. and Syr. use *mēšrāʾ*.

3. All the other synonyms used along with *midbār* refer almost exclusively only to the ecological and geographical semantic sphere “wilderness — desert.”²¹ Terminological accumulations show that the biblical authors wanted to depict for the reader as vividly as possible the connotation of *midbār* as an awe-inspiring, howling wilderness: *ʿereš midbār — tōḥû — yʿšimôn* (Dt. 32:10); *midbār — šiyā — ʿarāḇā* (Isa. 35:1; 41:18f.); *midbār — ʿarāḇā — šūḥā — šiyā — šalmāwet* (Jer. 2:6f.); *midbār — ʿereš šiyā — šāmāʾ* (Ezk. 19:13; cf. Hos. 2:5[3]); *midbār — šʿmāmā — ḥôrbā* (Isa. 64:9f.[10f.]); *šʿmāmā — šiyā — midbār — šammā* (Zeph. 2:13-15), and especially Ps. 107:33ff. In many cases these terms occur in portrayals of the wanderings through the

21. Schwarzenbach, 99-112.

great wilderness situated southeast of Palestine, after the exodus from Egypt (Dt. 32:10; Ps. 78:17-19,40; 106:14), or in visions focusing on the postexilic return from Babylon (Isa. 35:2; 41:18f.; 43:19f.).

a. The term *y^ešimôn* occurs altogether 13 times in connection with *midbār* (and *^arābā*), primarily within the framework of the trek narratives: in reference to specific regions (Nu. 21:20; 23:28; cf. 1 S. 23:19,24; 26:1,3); in retrospectives of the wilderness tradition (Dt. 32:10; Ps. 68:8[7]; 78:40; 106:14; 107:4); and in anticipation of the future transformation of the desert into a land of rivers (Isa. 43:19f.). Both in *parallelismus membrorum* (Dt. 32:10; Ps. 78:40; 106:14; Isa. 43:19f.) and in apposition (Ps. 107:4), *midbār* always precedes *y^ešimôn*.

b. The term *šiyyā* appears 15 times as a synonym of *midbār*, including once in the plural expression *baššiyyōt* (Ps. 105:41) and twice in Isaiah in the form *šāyôn* (Isa. 25:5; 32:2). It is also used along with other wilderness terminology: *^arābā* (Jer. 51:43); *šammā* (Jer. 51:43; Joel 2:20); *šāmā* (Ezk. 19:13; Hos. 2:5[3]); *šimmā'ôn* (Ps. 107:33); *hōm* (Job 24:19); *^ayēp/^ayēpā* (Isa. 32:2; Ps. 63:2[1]; 143:6). Like *midbār* and *^arābā*, it is also used in the construct state with *'ereš* (Isa. 41:18; Jer. 2:6; Ezk. 19:13; Hos. 2:5[3]; Ps. 63:2[1]; 107:35). In *parallelismus membrorum* (Isa. 41:18; Jer. 2:6; Ezk. 19:13; Hos. 2:5[3]; Ps. 107:35) and appositionally (Isa. 35:1; Jer. 50:12), *midbār* precedes *šiyyā* (as it does *^arābā* and *y^ešimôn*). Only Ps. 78:17-19; Zeph. 2:13 attest the reversed order. This shows that *midbār* is the primary term used to designate “wilderness — desert” in the biblical vocabulary.

c. The term *š^emāmā* (57 occurrences, of which 4 are in the pl., always in the construct state with *'ōlām*, Jer. 25:12; 51:26,62; Ezk. 35:9) circumscribes *midbār* in the adjectival construct state (Jer. 12:10; Joel 2:3; 4:19[3:19]). In *parallelismus membrorum*, *š^emāmā* (and *šiyyā*, Joel 2:20) functions next to *midbār* as the first (*š^emāmā* — *midbār*, Mal. 1:3; Joel 4:18f.[3:18f.]; Zeph. 2:13-15; cf. Ezk. 6:14) and second member (*midbār* — *š^emāmā*, Isa. 64:9[10]; Jer. 9:9-11[10-12]). One stylistic peculiarity of the book of Ezekiel is the pleonasm employing *š^emāmā* with *šammā* (Ezk. 23:33), *m^ešammā* (6:14; 23:33; 33:28,29; 35:3), *n^ešammā* (32:15), and *šimm^emā* (35:7).

The term *š^emāmā* evokes only the negative aspect of *midbār* in reference to the devastation, through divine punishment, of settlements (Josh. 8:28; Isa. 1:7; 64:9[10]; Jer. 6:8; 9:10[11]; 34:22; 49:2; 50:13; 51:26,62; Ezk. 29:12; Zeph. 2:4,9,13), lands or parts of lands (Ex. 23:29; Lev. 26:33; Isa. 1:7; 6:11; 17:9; 62:4; Jer. 4:27; 12:10f.; 32:43; 44:6; 49:33; Ezk. 6:14; 12:20; 14:15,16; 15:8; 29:9,10,12; 32:15; 23:28,29; 35:3,4,7,9,12?,14,15; 36:34; Joel 2:3,20; 4:19[3:19]; Mic. 7:3; Mal. 1:3). It is noteworthy that only in the book of Jeremiah is the term *š^emāmā* used in *parallelismus membrorum* with *m^e'ôn tannîm*, “lair of jackals” (Jer. 9:10[11]; 10:22; 49:33; 51:37). With the exception of the allusions possibly inhering in *^ašimmēm* (Ezk. 20:26), the term *š^emāmā* (and other derivatives from *šmm*) evokes neither the historico-spatial connotations of *midbār* nor the positive aspects of “grazing land,” “place of refuge,” locus of theophany and of the covenant with God.

d. Of the 42 total occurrences of *hōreb-horbā*, “ruins, rubble field,” 3 are drawn into the semantic field “aridity — wilderness — desert” through stylistic connections with *midbār* or one of the previously mentioned synonyms: *midbār* — *š^emāmā* — *hōrbā*

(Isa. 64:9f.[10f.]; Ps. 102:7[6]), *horbā* — *midbār* + *ʿarābā* (Isa. 51:3); with *šāyôn* (Isa. 25:5) and *šammā* (Jer. 25:9; cf. also Ps. 106:9; Isa. 50:2).

e. Both the lack of water Israel suffered during the wilderness wanderings and the scarcity of water generally associated with *midbār* are emphasized by additional synonyms: the hapex legomenon *ḥʿrērīm* (Jer. 17:6), *yabbāšā* (Isa. 44:3), *negeb* (Isa. 21:1), *šārāb* (Isa. 35:7; 49:10), *ṣaḥ* (Isa. 13:5; Jer. 4:11) — *ṣʿhîḥā* (Ps. 68:7[6]) — *ṣaḥṣāḥôt* (Isa. 58:11), *šāmāʾ* (Ezk. 19:12f.; cf. Isa. 5:13; 40:3) — *šimmāʾôn* (= Akk. *šumāmu*) *ʿāšer ʿên-mayim* (Dt. 8:15; Ps. 107:33) and *ʿereš mʿlēḥā*, “salt land” (Jer. 17:6; Ps. 107:34; Job 39:6). The same terms are used to describe the distant land Bāzu/Bazzu (*bāšu/bašsu*, “sand”²²) as an “arid land, saline ground, a waterless region.”²³

f. The elements of chaos associated with *midbār* are emphasized by parallelism with mythically charged terms such as *tōhû* (Dt. 32:10), *wābōhû* (Jer. 4:23-26), *šōʾā ūmʿšōʾā* (Job 38:27; cf. Isa. 6:11), *šūḥā* (Jer. 2:6), and the hapex legomena *ʿereš talʿubôt* (Hos. 13:5), *ʿereš maʿpēlyā* (Jer. 2:31), and *ʿereš gʿzērā* (Lev. 16:22).

g. In the expression *baššādeḥ bammidbār* (Josh. 8:24), *šādeḥ* can be understood as a synonym for *midbār* if this is a conflation of text variants (cf. Jer. 12:9; Ezk. 29:5). This may also be the case with *yaʿar* in *bammidbār* — *bayyʿārīm* (Ezk. 34:25).²⁴

4. *Antonyms*. Consistent with the multilayered semantic field of *midbār* itself and its synonyms, its antonyms also embrace several aspects within the geographical-spatial-ecological and religious-cultic spheres, as well as in relation to motifs and as literary imagery.

a. The negative characteristics of *midbār* — namely, aridity, barrenness, and scarcity of vegetation — are contrasted by springs of water and luxuriant vegetation. Depending on human behavior or Israel’s own conduct, God turns fruitful land into a wasteland (Ps. 107:33f.; Isa. 50:2; cf. Ps. 106:9) or causes water to flow in the wilderness (Isa. 43:20 [cf. v. 19]; 41:18 [cf. Ps. 107:35]; Ps. 78:15; on the matrix *midbār* — *tʿhôm* see Isa. 63:13²⁵ and the allusions in Ps. 77:17-21[16-20]; 78:13-16 and elsewhere).

b. In contrast to the wilderness characterizing the south of Palestine, the north is identified with “mountainous land, hill country” — *kî lōʾ mimmôšāʾ ūmimmaʿarāb* (east and west) *wʿlōʾ mimmidbār [ûmē]hārīm* (Ps. 75:7[6]); *rōʾš hārīm* and *selaʿ* contrast with *midbār* (Isa. 42:11; cf. Isa. 16:1; Lam. 4:19) and are inhabited by various groups of people (Gen. 14:6).

c. One particularly vivid contrast is that between *har* and its synonyms²⁶ with *midbār* and related terms as spatial terms within the historico-geographical context of the conquest. The “great and terrible wilderness” (*hammidbār haggādôl wʿhannôrāʾ hahûʾ*, Dt. 1:19) is diametrically juxtaposed with that “goodly hill country” (*hāhār haṭṭôḇ*

22. A. Heidel, “A New Hexagonal Prism of Esarhaddon (676 B.C.),” *Sumer*, 12 (1956), prism III, 11ff.

23. Ephʿal, 132f.

24. This is the view of Baly, 106; but see III.4.d below.

25. Dahood, *AB*, XVII, 240; Watson, 466.

26. → *har* (III, 427-447).

hazzeḥ), which is identical with the “good land” (*hā’āreṣ haṭṭōbā*, Dt. 3:25). The “fruitful hill country (RSV ‘plentiful land’; *’ereṣ hakkarmel*)” is the positive foil for *midbār*; *’ereṣ ’arābā w’šūḥā*, *’ereṣ šiyyā w’šalmāwet* (Jer. 2:6f.). Divine punishment for human transgression consists in the reduction of the fruitful hill country to a desolate wilderness: *rā’îṭi w’hinneh hakkarmel hammidbār* (read *kam-*) . . . *mipp’ne ḥārōn ’appō* (Jer. 4:26); Gilead and Lebanon will become a *midbār* abandoned by human beings (Jer. 22:6). This so moves the prophet that he laments their desolation in a *qînā* (Jer. 9:9-11[10-12]). In contrast, divine grace and beneficence find expression in the transformation of the desolate wilderness into fruitful hills (Isa. 41:18; 32:15,16; cf. Ezk. 20:35f.,40).

d. Ridges and other elevations, designated by *har* and its synonyms, offer a measure of security in the otherwise threatening and fearful wilderness (2 Ch. 20:24). If even these fall into the hands of enemies (1 S. 13:18: *g’būl* = “hill”²⁷) or of freebooters (*’al-kol-šepāyim*²⁸ *bammidbār bā’û šōd’ēm*), the land is then marked for desolation (Jer. 12:12; cf. 4:9ff.). In this sense the term *šādeḥ*²⁹ is used as an antithesis to *midbār* (Josh. 8:24?; Jer. 12:9; Ezk. 29:5), in some cases also *ya’ar*,³⁰ i.e., “forested heights” (Josh. 17:15,18; Isa. 37:24) bordering on the *midbār* plain (Ezk. 34:25) — *ya’ar haššādeḥ negeb* (Ezk. 21:2,3[20:46,47]), *šēdeḥ ya’ar* (Ps. 132:6; compare 1 S. 6:21; 7:1,2 and Josh. 15:9,60; 18:14,15).

e. This positive estimation of *har* as compared with *midbār* culminates in the identification of the promised land with *hārîm*: “I will bring forth descendants from Jacob, and from Judah inheritors of my mountains; my chosen shall inherit it, and my servants shall settle there” (Isa. 65:9; cf. Jer. 2:7). “The *hārîm* shall drip sweet wine, the *g’bā’ōt* shall flow with milk,” while Egypt will become *lišmāmā* and Edom *l’midbar šēmāmā* (Joel 4:18f.[3:18f.]; cf. Am. 9:13; Ps. 65:13[12]). Unlike the perpetually endangered grazing lands in the *midbār*, the hills offer secure drift for sheep and livestock (Ezk. 38:12f.; Ps. 65:14[13]?) and in a metaphorical sense peace and well-being for Israel (Ezk. 34:6-15). The opposition *midbār* — *har* as places of misfortune on the one hand and good fortune on the other culminates in the notion of Mt. Zion (Ezk. 34:26; 20:40) as the polar opposite of the *midbar hā’ammîm*, the “wilderness of the peoples” (Ezk. 20:35f.; cf. 1QM 1:3; 4Q161 A 1 and VIII below), an image evoking the antithesis *midbar sînay* — *har sînay* of the wilderness trek period (Ex. 3-10).

5. *Parts of the midbār*. The term *midbār* and its synonyms are used exclusively as comprehensive terms circumscribing an entire landscape or inclusive area. In contradistinction with → *har*,³¹ no mention is made of different parts of the “wilderness,” “desert,” or “steppe.” The one exception is *q’šēḥ hammidbār* (cf. Ugar. *p’t mdr*;³²

27. → *har* I (III, 427-29); III.3 (III, 431f.).

28. → *har* III (III, 430-32).

29. → *har* III.3 (III, 431f.).

30. → *har* IV.4 (III, 432).

31. III.4.

32. KTU, 1.14 III, 1; IV, 30f.; 1.23, 68.

*p't mlbr*³³), whose 2 occurrences are bound to the place name *'ēṭām* (Ex. 13:20; Nu. 33:6). It is still an open question whether *midbār 'ēṭām* is to be taken as the designation of a larger wilderness area or of the grazing land bordering the village or town *'ēṭām*.³⁴ Neither is it certain whether *'abrôt-'arbôt hammidbār* (2 S. 15:28; 17:6; cf. *hā'ābārim* in Nu. 21:11) refers to a peripheral *midbār* area or to areas bordering on the *midbār* itself (*'ārābā*; cf. *p^enē hammidbār*, 2 Ch. 20:16; *'al hammidbār*, Gen. 14:6). In addition to mountains or hills in the *midbār*, adjacent heights or other elevations are also mentioned which at least in part overlook the *midbār*: *maṣṣād* (1 Ch. 12:9[8]), *miṣpeh* (2 Ch. 20:24), *g^ebūl* (1 S. 13:18).³⁵

IV. Usage. 1. *Spatial Dimension.*

a. *Geography of Palestine and the Near East.* The majority of occurrences of *midbār*, *'ārābā*, and their synonyms, as well as the varied portrayals of *midbār* landscapes evoking the topographical-geological realities of the Arabian-Palestinian countryside,³⁶ refer primarily to the arid or even completely barren, low-lying, level areas between the great mountain ranges running through Palestine from the south to the north. This region extends from the Red Sea through the depression of the Jordan valley to Lebanon, abuts in the south on the Arabian desert and issues in the north into the Beqa'.

It encompasses four of the six regions into which OT geographical references divide the "land" (Josh. 12:8; cf. 10:40; 11:16; Dt. 1:7): *'āšēdôt* — the steep slopes dropping off into the Jordan depression; *'ārābā* — the depression of the Jordan valley from the Sea of Chinnereth to Elath; *midbār* — primarily the Judean wilderness between the Judean mountains and the Dead Sea; *negeb* — south of Beer-sheba, up to the great complex of the Arabian desert, the true wasteland (Nu. 21:20; 23:28; Dt. 32:10; 1 S. 23:19,24; 26:1,3; Ps. 78:40; 106:14; 107:4). After the conquest, the extended, variously configured wilderness terrain was familiar to the Israelites only partially from their own experience. The "great and terrible [sand] wilderness," the Sahara, and the Arabian desert³⁷ are all reflected in traditions recounting the wilderness wanderings after the exodus from Egypt (Dt. 1:19; 2:7; 8:15f.) and in the accompanying literary reflections, particularly in the writings of the prophets and the psalms (Isa. 21:1,11-15; Pss. 78,105,106,107).

Neither the dimensions of the comprehensive geographical complex evoked by *midbār* and its synonyms nor those of the subregions can be specified precisely. Variations in annual rainfall, temporary expansion of agricultural activity into peripheral areas of the wilderness, or — vice versa — nomadic incursions into the periphery of agricultural land all bring about ecological fluctuation. This state of affairs finds expression in biblical imagery that frequently refers to the desolation of villages or towns and cultivated fields (Ps. 107:33; Isa. 27:10; 50:2; 64:9[10]; Jer. 4:26; 12:7ff.;

33. *KTU*, 1.12 I, 21f.

34. See IV.2.d below.

35. → *הר har* III.3 (III, 431f.).

36. Baly, 101-11.

37. *erg, ibid.*, 102.

22:6; Mal. 1:3) as a curse motif (Isa. 14:17; Jer. 22:6; Joel 2:3), or the reverse, especially in Deutero-Isaiah, namely, the transformation of *midbār* into luxuriant and fruitful land as a blessing motif (Ps. 107:35; Isa. 32:15; 35:1,6; 41:18,19; 43:20; 51:3).

b. *As a Boundary Designation.* Because of the aforementioned fluctuations, wilderness areas are less suited for demarcation of political boundaries than are seas, rivers, and mountain ranges.³⁸ Despite this, *midbār* (and also *ʿarāḇā*) serves in the OT to demarcate the southern boundary of the “promised land” — next to *n^ehar/naḥal/g^eḥūl mišrayim* (Gen. 15:18; Ex. 23:31; Nu. 13:21; 34:3; Josh. 15:1; 1 K. 5:1[4:21]; 2 K. 24:7; 2 Ch. 9:26); this occurs in territorial representations of its dimensions: *min-hammidbār* (= south) *w^e[ʿad]hall^ebānōn* (= north) *min-hannāhār n^ehar p^erāt* (= east) *w^eʿad hayyām hāʾaḥ^arōn* (Dt. 11:24) or *hayyām haggādōl m^eḥōʾ haššemeš* (Josh. 1:4), “Mediterranean” (= west),³⁹ and in literary metaphor (Ps. 75:7[6]): *kī lōʾ mimmôšāʾ* (= east) *ūmimmaʿarāḇ* (= west) *w^elōʾ (mim)midbār* (= south) *[ūmē]-hārīm* (= north; cf. Nu. 13:21,22; 34:3; Zec. 8:7). Instead of *har* (*hall^ebānōn*), *hannāhār*, “Euphrates,” can as the northern boundary be contrasted with *midbār* as the southern boundary (Ex. 23:31; cf. 1 Ch. 5:8f.; 2 K. 14:25; Am. 6:14). The juxtaposition of *har* and *midbār* (cf. Gen. 14:6) also occurs in Akkadian, though without any direct territorial-political implications: *šadû u mad-ba-ru irrapudû*, “(the mighty Manda, who) roved the mountains and the open country[?].”⁴⁰

c. *Topographical Circumscription.* Enumerations transmitted down through tradition, e.g., in the oracles against foreign nations, exhibit a general acquaintance with the division of the great wilderness area into regions associated with various ethnic and political groups: *d^edān*, *tēmāʾ*, *qēdār*, *ʿarāḇ* (Jer. 3:2; 25:23f.; 49:28-30 [cf. Isa. 42:11]; Ezk. 23:42 [cf. Job 1:15]).

Beginning in Egypt itself and following the trek accounts, the wilderness in the south is divided into the following main regions: *midbar-šûr* (Ex. 15:22; cf. Gen. 16:7; 20:1; 25:18; 1 S. 15:7; 27:8); *midbar-sîn* (Ex. 16:1; 17:1; Nu. 33:11f.; cf. Ezk. 30:15,16); *midbar-pāʾrān* (Nu. 12:16; 13:3,26; Dt. 1:1; cf. Gen. 14:6; 21:21; 1 S. 25:1; 1 K. 11:18; cf. also Hab. 3:3, *har-pāʾrān*); *midbar-šîn* (Nu. 13:21; 20:1; 27:14; 33:36; 34:3; Dt. 32:51; cf. Josh. 15:1), which is also known by the name of its most important oasis, *qādēš* (Nu. 33:36; Ps. 29:8; *mdbr qdš* also occurs as a geographical reference in Ugaritic⁴¹). In the Exodus accounts, all these subregions are summarized by the comprehensive term (with altogether 23 occurrences) *midbar sînay* (e.g., Ex. 19:1; Lev. 7:38; Nu. 1:1,19). In so doing, the tradition draws attention to the *har sînay* situated in this desert, i.e., the mountain associated with the theophany and the giving of the law.⁴²

The OT traditions offer more precise information concerning the *midbār* regions in the Syrian-Palestinian area. In addition to the previously mentioned division of West Jordan

38. → 𐤇𐤁 *har* IV.3 (III, 432).

39. See Saebø.

40. Lie, 189; CAD, X/1, 11f.

41. See I above.

42. See VII.2.a below.

into six regions (Josh. 12:8; cf. 2 Ch. 26:10; Ps. 75:7[6]), one of which is called a *midbār* and two further ones *ʿarābā* and *negeb*, references to Transjordan include mention of the *midbār* associated with Edom (2 K. 3:8; Isa. 16:1), Moab, and Ammon (Nu. 21:11,13,23; Dt. 2:8; Jgs. 11:18; Isa. 16:8). This includes mention of certain geographical subdivisions (*midbar qēdēmôt*, Dt. 2:26). Of particular note is the Judean wilderness (Jgs. 1:16; 1 S. 13:18; 1 K. 19:4; Ps. 63:1[superscription]; 2 Ch. 24:9), whose parts or adjacent areas are called *ʿarābā* (2 S. 2:29; 4:7; 2 K. 25:4,5 par. Jer. 39:4,5; 52:7,8) or *yēšimôn* (1 S. 26:3; cf. 23:24,25). These terms refer to the area between Hebron-Bethlehem-Jerusalem and the Dead Sea (Josh. 16:1), which is of only limited agricultural use. The political significance of these cities and their association with David, whose early life to a large extent took place in this area and the adjacent Negeb, prompted the biblical sources to offer particularly detailed accounts of these areas, e.g., in the account of Abner's retreat, who had pushed forward from Mahanaim in Transjordan to Gibeon in West Jordan (2 S. 2:12). After losing the battle against Joab's troops (vv. 17-23), Abner fled with his men through the *midbar gibʿôn* (v. 24) into the *ʿarābā* and crossed the Jordan to return to Mahanaim by way of the *biṭrôn* (the transjordanian steppe, v. 29). David's own flight before Absalom took a similar course. He fled Jerusalem through the Kidron Valley (2 S. 15:14-18) into the *midbār* (*yērušālayim?* v. 23) and from there to the *ʿarbôt hammidbār* (v. 28; cf. 17:16) — presumably the strip of land between the *midbār* and the *ʿarābā* — to escape across the Jordan to Mahanaim (2 S. 17:22-24).

Accounts divide the Negeb of Judah (1 S. 27:10) or Jerusalem (Zec. 14:10) into ethnically separate zones: *negeb hayyʿrahmʿēlî*, *haqqēnî* (1 S. 27:10), *hakkʿrēfî*, and *negeb kālēb* (1 S. 30:14). The inhabitants here were small livestock herders and a semisedentary population, which, like Israel, were periodically subject to attacks by the desert nomads: Amalekites (1 S. 30:1f.,14,16; cf. Nu. 13:29; 14:45; Jgs. 3:13; 10:12), Midianites (Gen. 36:35; Jgs. 6:1; 7:12), Ishmaelites and Hagrites (Ps. 83:7[6]).

One crux interpretum is *negeb kinʿrôt* (Josh. 11:2).

In one series of occurrences, *midbār* refers to thinly inhabited open spaces adjacent to permanent villages or towns (*ʾīr*) of differing sizes, as well as on the periphery of semipermanent pastoral settlements (*nāweh*; cf. Akk. *nawûm*) or of temporary, open (shepherd-)encampments (*maḥʿneh*, Nu. 13:19; Ex. 16:10-13?). The *midbār* spaces are viewed as an extension of the encampment or the settlement, but are not an ecological or administrative part of it. The sociological distinction between those dwelling permanently in the *midbār* and those dwelling in the various types of settlements finds clear expression in the biblical traditions and vocabulary.

As in the previously mentioned case of *ʿētām* (Ex. 13:20; Nu. 33:6-8), a *midbār*-area can acquire its name from the encampment (or settlement) adjacent to it. Comparable cases include *māʿôn*, *zîp*, and *karmel*, which serve as place names (Josh. 15:55; 16:24; 1 S. 25:2,4,5,14,21,40; 2 Ch. 11:8; cf. 1 Ch. 2:42; 1 S. 15:12) and as names of the corresponding *midbār* (1 S. 23:24,25; 25:1; cf. LXX). Mention should also be made of *midbar ʿên gedî* (1 S. 24:2[1]), *midbar tʿqôaʿ* (2 Ch. 20:20), and *midbar yʿrûʿel* (2 Ch. 20:16; cf. Gen. 15:13,14; 25:11 with respect to 16:12; 21:20).

At the battle of Ai the attacking Israelites under Joshua made the pretense of retreat into the open spaces — *midbār*, *ʿarābā* (Josh. 8:15,20) — in order to entice the inhab-

itants out of the city, and then dealt them a decisive defeat *baššādeh bammidbār* (v. 24). Although the expression *midbar hā'ay* is not explicitly attested, it may be presupposed as implicit. This is supported by the fact that an adjacent *midbar bêt 'āwen* (Josh. 7:2; cf. 1 S. 13:5; Hos. 4:15; 5:8; 10:5) is explicitly mentioned (Josh. 18:12) with regard to the city of Bethel (Josh. 8:12) not far from Ai. The designation of the open spaces on the outskirts of a city as *midbār* is also attested in the cases of Beer-sheba (Gen. 21:14), Gibeon (2 S. 2:24), and Damascus (1 K. 19:15). Jgs. 20:42,45,47 allude to a *midbar gib'e'at binyāmîn*, and 1 K. 2:34 (cf. 2 S. 15:23,28; 17:16; Isa. 32:14-18) alludes to a *midbar y'rušālayim* (cf. Ezk. 34:23-25 with regard to 1 S. 17:28), which is then explicitly named in the Qumran literature (1QM 1:3). This particular connotation of *midbār* is also attested in rabbinic literature. *Midr. Qoh.*⁴³ recounts that R. Hiyyah ben Dossa once went out *l'midbārâ šel 'irô* and found a stone, which he ground and polished and then brought to Jerusalem as a (sacrificial) offering.

d. *For Designating Location.* In some parts of the great open spaces, spaces characterized by differing degrees of desolation, the Israelites had villages or towns which were largely taken over from the local inhabitants, although in some instances they were newly founded. With regard to the Jordan rift, mention is made of *bêt hā'arābâ*, *middîn*, *s'kākā*, *hannibšān*, *'ên gedî*, and *'ir hammelaḥ* (Sodom? Josh. 15:61,62).⁴⁴ They were more numerous in the regions of the Negeb originally allotted to the tribe of Simeon and subsequently annexed by Judah (Josh. 19:1-9; 15:20-32; Neh. 11:25-30; 1 Ch. 4:28-33; 1 S. 26:5ff.).⁴⁵ Further *midbār*-settlements were found in the region of the transjordanian tribes (Josh. 13:15-32). For the most part these served as local centers and military bases like the cities which Solomon (re)built: *ba'alāt* (?) and *K tāmār/Q tadmōr bammidbār* (1 K. 9:18; 2 Ch. 8:4). Located on the border of the agricultural land,⁴⁶ *bešer bammidbār b'ereš hammîšōr* in the territory of the tribe of Reuben (Dt. 4:43; Josh. 13:15-23) was a city of refuge (Josh. 20:8; 1 Ch. 6:63[78]), and thus simultaneously fulfilled a religious-juridical function.

Archaeological research in the wilderness of Judah, the Negeb, and the Sinai peninsula has not substantively changed the picture offered by the biblical accounts. These areas witnessed the emergence of villages or towns of limited size, especially during periods in which a relatively stable regime in the cultivated areas offered support against incursions by nomads as well as for guarding the wilderness roads.⁴⁷ One typical example is Arad. Excavations reveal its development from a tiny desert settlement at the end of the 2nd millennium to a central military base in the kingdom of Judah from the 8th century into the Persian epoch. From this base military units patrolled the eastern branch of the road leading from Judah to Egypt.⁴⁸ In contrast with Arad, archaeological

43. Ed. Ketav, IVf., 64.

44. Cf. F. M. Cross and G. E. Wright, "The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah," *JBL*, 75 (1956), 213.

45. Talmon, *IEJ*, 15 (1965), 235-241.

46. Baly, 103.

47. Glueck, 356.

48. Aharoni-Naseh.

evidence in Kuntillat 'Ajrud in the northern Sinai can be attested only for the second(?) half of the 9th century.⁴⁹ The history of this small settlement has not yet been clarified. The pronounced sacral character of the structural remains found there, including pottery and inscriptions, suggests that this was perhaps a station for pilgrims (on the way to Mt. Horeb?), which for unknown reasons was abandoned *ca.* 800. Assyrian sources also mention isolated settlements in the wilderness.⁵⁰

2. *midbār* as an Ecological Term.

a. *Wilderness and Wasteland.* The ecological character of the *midbār*/"wasteland" terrain is determined by the scarcity of rainfall (averaging 20-40 mm.[.8-1.6 in.] annually⁵¹), rainfall which in some years may not occur at all. Furthermore, the searing east wind (*rūah qādīm*) blowing across the desert dries up this meager moisture completely (Hos. 13:15; cf. 12:2[1]), so that any vegetation withers (Gen. 41:6,23,27; Ezk. 17:10; 19:12). This wind often rages with devastating force *kēsūpôt* ("as whirlwinds," Isa. 21:1; 27:8; differently in Jon. 4:8), driving plants, animals, and people before it like chaff (Jer. 13:24; 18:17; cf. Ex. 10:13; 14:21; 27:8; Job 1:19; 27:21; Ps. 48:8[7]; 78:26; Ezk. 27:26). Only pitiful, barren shrubs (*ar'ār*, Jer. 17:6; 48:6? cf. Ps. 102:18[17]), thorns, and briars (*qôšîm*, *barqānîm*, Jgs. 8:7,16), i.e., useless plants, can take hold in this saline wasteland. Cultivated plants which, like people (Gen. 21:14), "stray" (*tā'û*, Isa. 16:8) or are placed into this wasteland (Ezk. 19:10-13) no longer bear fruit (Ezk. 19:12; cf. 17:5-10).

The fauna, like the flora, is also pitiful. The only animals able to exist in this wilderness and find refuge there (*mā'ôn*, Jer. 9:10[11]; 10:22; 49:33; 51:37; cf. *nēwēh gēmāllîm*, Ezk. 25:5) are vermin — serpents and scorpions (Nu. 21:6; Dt. 8:15) — and a few living things that are considered unclean (Lev. 11:15-18; Dt. 14:14-17), including birds: *qā'āt*, *kôs*, (Ps. 102:7[6]), *qippōd* (Zeph. 2:14), *yanšûp*, *ōrēb* (Isa. 34:11; cf. 1 K. 17:4,6; Job 38:4; Ps. 147:9), *qōrē'* (Jer. 17:11; cf. 1 S. 26:20), *yā'ēn*/(*bat*) *ya'anâ* (Job 30:29; Isa. 13:21; 34:13; 43:20; Jer. 50:39; Lam. 4:3), and animals: camels (Jgs. 6:5; 7:12; 8:21,26; 1 S. 30:17; 1 Ch. 5:21; 27:30 and elsewhere), wild asses (*pere'*, Job 24:5; 39:5; Jer. 2:24), and jackals (*tannîm*, Lam. 4:3).

Biblical human beings, accustomed to village and town life, view the wilderness as a gaping void. No civilized person dwells in it (*'ereš lō'-îš midbār lō'-ādām bô*, Job 38:26; cf. Isa. 6:11), nor even passes through it (Jer. 2:6; 9:9-11[10-12]; 17:6; 22:6; 50:40; 57:43). The "great and terrible wilderness" (*hammidbār haggādôl w'hannôrā'*) inspires revulsion and debilitating fear (Dt. 1:19; 8:15; Isa. 21:1; Lam. 5:9 [read *hōrēb* instead of *hereb*?]; Ezk. 6:14). Hunger and thirst (Nu. 20:2-5; 21:5; 33:14; 2 S. 17:14,29; 16:2; Ps. 107:4-6) weaken (*āyēp*, Gen. 25:29,30) the person (Ps. 107:5; cf. Jgs. 8:4,5; 1 S. 14:28,31; Prov. 25:25; Isa. 29:8; Jer. 31:25) who is cast (Ex. 14:3; 1 S. 30:11f.; 1 K. 19:3f.) into the wasteland (*'ereš 'ayēpâ*, Isa. 32:2; Ps. 143:6; cf. 63:2[1]).

49. See Meshel-Meyers.

50. H. W. F. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters 1952: Part VI," *Iraq*, 25 (1963), 79f., letter 70, l. 13; cf. F. M. Fales, *Censimenti e Catasti di Epoca Neo-Assira* (Rome, 1973), no. 9.

51. Baly, 42f.

There he searches aimlessly for water (Gen. 21:14; Nu. 14:33 [MT *rō'îm*; read *tō'îm*]; cf. Nu. 21:5; 1 K. 3:8f.; Ps. 107:40; 119:176), suffering from heat and thirst (*hiṭ'attēp*, Ps. 107:5; cf. 142:4; Lam. 2:9,11,12; *hiṭ'allēp*, Isa. 51:20; Am. 8:13; Jon. 4:8), and finally expiring (Ex. 14:11,12; 16:3; Nu. 14 *passim*; 16:13; 20:4,5; 26:65; Dt. 9:28; Hos. 2:5[3]). Only divine intervention offers deliverance from death (Ex. 15:23-25; 16 *passim*; Nu. 20:7-11; 21:16-18; Dt. 32:10; 2 K. 3:15-20; Ps. 107:9). The "civilized" person will come to an inescapable and bitter end (Job 6:18; cf. 12:24; Ps. 107:40) unless God helps such a person who has strayed into the *midbār* to find the right path (Ex. 13:17f.; Dt. 1:31; 8:15; Neh. 9:19; Ps. 78:52; 136:16; Isa. 35:8; 43:19; Jer. 2:6; Am. 2:10), or unless a desert dweller familiar with the wilderness terrain leads him to food and water (Isa. 21:13-15) and serves as his guide within this labyrinth, as Jethro the Midianite once did for the Israelites (*w'hāyîṭā lānū l'ēnayim*, Nu. 10:31). Similar views are found among the neighboring cultures.⁵²

b. *Wilderness Inhabitants*. Only nomadic tribes rove the great *midbār* (Jer. 9:25[26]; 25:23-24), collectively called *b'ēnē-qeḏem* (Jgs. 6:3; 8:10f.; Job 1:3; Jer. 49:28; Ezk. 25:4f.) or *'arābîm* (2 Ch. 17:11; 26:7; 22:1 [?]; Jer. 3:2; 25:24). They live in the open (Jer. 3:2) or dwell in tents (Ps. 83:7[6]; 120:5; Cant. 1:5; Isa. 13:20; Hab. 3:7) in open settlements (*hāṣēr/h'āṣērîm*), like the (*b'ēnē*) *qēḏār* (Isa. 42:11; Jer. 9:25[26]; 25:23; 49:28 [?]). Other inhabitants mentioned include *sābā'îm* (Ezk. 23:42⁵³), Sabeans (Job 1:15; Ps. 72:10; Isa. 60:6), Edomites (Job 1:3; 42:12; cf. *būz[î]*, Job 32:2; Jer. 25:23), *hagrî'îm* (1 Ch. 5:10,19,20; 27:31[30c]; Ps. 83:7[6]), and *yîšm'ēlîm*, the descendants of Hagar and her son Ishmael (Gen. 21:14; 25 *passim* par. 1 Ch. 1:29-31; Gen. 28:9; 36:3; 37:25,27; Jgs. 8:24). They resemble the Midianites (Jgs. 6-8 *passim*; cf. Ps. 83:10[9]; Isa. 9:3[4]; 10:26) and Amalekites (Ex. 17:8-16; 1 S. 15 *passim*; 26:3; 1 Ch. 4:42f.; cf. vv. 39f.) so closely that these various designations can be used synonymously (compare Gen. 37:25-27; 39:1 with 37:28,36; Jgs. 6:1-6; 8:10-12; Ps. 83:7f.[6f.]). Desert dwellers can be recognized by the shorn hair of their temples (*q'ṣûṣē pē'â*, Jer. 9:25[26]; 25:23; 49:32; RSV 'the corners of their hair') and, as is still the case today, by the jewelry (Ezk. 23:42; cf. Gen. 24:22,30; Ex. 32:2f.; Job 42:11) with which they also adorn their camels (Jgs. 8:24-26).

The sedentary Israelites' fear of the wandering nomads manifests itself in their portrayal as brigands (Gen. 16:12; 21:20; cf. Isa. 21:13-17) and robbers (*šôd'ēdîm*, Isa. 21:2; Jer. 12:12; 48:32; cf. 4:20; 10:20; Job 12:6; Prov. 24:15; Zec. 11:2f.). Their attacks were a constant threat to farmers and herdsmen (Jgs. 6:2-6; 7:12; 1 S. 30 *passim*; Job 1:15; Isa. 16:4; Jer. 25:36; 48:15-20; Ob. 5), whose riding animals could not match the speed of the nomads' camels (1 S. 30:17). These camels enabled the desert tribes to establish a monopoly over caravan trade along the roads criss-crossing the great wilderness tracts, roads to which they alone had access (Gen. 37:25-28; 39:1; 1 K. 10:2; 2 Ch. 9:1; Isa. 21:13; 30:6; 60:6; Jer. 6:20; Ezk. 27:21-23; 38:13).

52. Haldar, 13.31ff., 68ff.; Funk, 205; Eph'al, 133.

53. On the reconstruction of this text, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*

Temporary settlements, especially of small livestock herdsman, are able to establish themselves in such areas only in places in which during the rainy season water collects from the mountain runoff (Gen. 37:22-24). Permanent settlements come about in isolated oases whose water springs render possible a seminomadic living based on small livestock and limited, periodic cultivation of grain, vegetables, and date palms. Such was the case with *'êlîm*, where during their wanderings the Israelites came upon twelve springs of water and seventy palm trees (schematic numbers; Nu. 33:9).

c. *Grazing Land*. In contradistinction with *y^ešîmôn* and *m^elēhâ*, which are of no use at all, fallow *midbār* spaces adjacent to villages and towns, in the borderland between cultivated land and desert (metaphorically: Ps. 65:13[12]), can serve as the grazing land par excellence, above all for the sheep and goat flocks of seminomadic small livestock herdsman, although also for the livestock⁵⁴ of sedentary farmers. This connotation of *midbār*, which is best rendered by “drift,” is also attested in rabbinic literature. The Mishnah (*B.Qam.* vii.7) prohibits the rearing of sheep and goats (*b^ehēmâ daqqâ*) in the “land” because they endanger fruits and trees by their grazing. One exception is *midbāriyyôt šebb^eereš yiśrā'ēl*, in which one is permitted to keep small livestock (cf. also Bab. *Beša* 40a-b; Jer. *Beša* v.3 (63d); Tosefta *Beša Yom Ṭob* iv.11).

In this context the use of *nāweh* as a designation for pasturage settlements is richly attested, although only once in the immediate context with *midbār*. The author of Isa. 27:10f. compares the besieged (read *n^ešûrâ* instead of *b^ešûrâ*) city (Jerusalem) with a desolate and forsaken *nāweh* (cf. Isa. 34:13; 35:7; Jer. 49:20; 50:45; Ezk. 25:5) in whose *midbār* cattle graze (cf. Jer. 12:10,11) and goats strip the bare branches (cf. Isa. 17:1f.; 33:8; Zeph. 2:13-15). The positive foil to this negative imagery (cf. Job 18:14f.) is found in Isa. 33:20, where Jerusalem is portrayed as *nāweh ša'^anān* (cf. Isa. 32:18; 49:19; 50:24; Hos. 9:13), an immovable tent no longer subject to a nomadic fate (*bal-yiṣ'ān*). In this comparison of the city of Jerusalem with a stable and secure *nāweh* as the counterpart of the unstable *midbār* there resonates an evocation of the temple itself, which is repeatedly circumscribed by the epithet *nāweh* (2 S. 15:26; Jer. 10:25 par. Ps. 79:7; Jer. 25:30; 31:23), the secure resting place (in contrast to 2 S. 7:6) to which God leads his people (Ex. 15:13; Jer. 23:3; 33:12; 50:7,19; Ezk. 34:14). These images and motifs (cf. also Job 18:15; Prov. 3:33; 21:20; 24; Job 5:3 is textually uncertain) reflect a socio-economic reality with which Jeremiah, from Anathoth in the *midbār* region of Jerusalem, was especially well acquainted.⁵⁵

In the *‘arābâ*, in the Negeb, and in the “great (Sinai) desert” grazing land was limited to those *midbār* spaces in which or in whose vicinity the herdsman had access to wells or cisterns (*ma'^ayānôt* — *b^eērôt* — *bōrôt*). In the patriarchal traditions, which are themselves of a largely pastoral nature, water springs play a central role (Gen. 14:10; 16:14; 21; 24; 26; 37 *passim*, and 36:24, where one should perhaps read *mayim* instead of MT *yēmim* [cf. Syr.]). The same is true of the David narratives localized in the Negeb. It is reported that the Judahite King Uzziah built watchtowers in the *midbār* and hewed out

54. → בָּקָר *bāqār* (II, 209-16).

55. Hareuveni.

many *bōrôt* for his numerous herds (2 Ch. 26:10; cf. 1 S. 13:6). In the wilderness such grazing lands were located near oases, *n'ôt midbār* (Jer. 9:9[10]), which for that reason are also called *n'ôt deše'* (Ps. 23:1f.; cf. Joel 2:22) or *n'ôt rō'im* (Am. 1:2; cf. Ps. 65:13f.[12f.]; also Jer. 25:37: *n'ôt šālôm* in an obviously pastoral context). If they were taken by enemies (Lam. 2:2), usually nomads (Ps. 83:12f.[11f.]), this put an end to the peaceful life of herdsmen (Jer. 9:9-11[10-12]; 23:10; 25:34-38; Joel 1:19,20; Mal. 1:3 and Ps. 74:20 are textually uncertain). This *midbār* milieu is reflected in the Moses narratives localized in Midian (Ex. 2:15-22; 3:1ff.), which are very closely related to the Mt. Sinai traditions (e.g., Ex. 4:27; 10:9; 18:5; 19:2f.). These narratives resonate both in biblical (Ps. 77:16[15]; 78:51; cf. Isa. 49:10) and postbiblical imagery (1[Eth.]En. 89:28-40).

3. *Place of Refuge*. Due to this geographical remoteness, people living in the wilderness are only to a limited extent affected by the institutions of civilization or subject to its laws. As a result, the *midbār* becomes the refuge of rebels and outlaws, and the asylum of outcasts and fugitives, both literally and as a literary topos. The prototype of the wandering nomad is the fratricide Cain, whom God drives out from the (cultivated) ground (*mē'al p'ne hā'ādāmā*) as punishment (Gen. 4:11-14). Hagar fled with her infant into the wilderness, driven out by her rival Sarah (Gen. 16:6-14). Moses escaped into the wilderness of Midian from Pharaoh's men (Ex. 2:15ff.; 3:1). David took to the *midbar y'hūdā* (Ps. 63:1[superscription]) in his flight before Saul and became the captain of four hundred men who were "in distress . . . and . . . in debt," 1 S. 22:1f.), *wayyēšeb . . . bammidbār bamm'šādōt . . . bāhār b'ēmidbar-zīp . . . baḥōr'šā* (1 S. 23:14f.; cf. 1 Ch. 12:9[8]). From there he escaped into the *midbar mā'ôn bā'rābā* (1 S. 23:24,25; cf. 25:1: MT *pā'rān*, LXX *Maan*). The regional meaning of *midbar mā'ôn* is specified by the proper noun *mā'ôn/m'ûnîm* (1 Ch. 4:41; cf. 2 Ch. 20:1 MT: *mēhā'ammônîm*, LXX *Minaïôn*), a desert tribe mentioned along with the Amalekites (Jgs. 10:12) and the *'arābîm* (2 Ch. 26:7). David sought refuge from Absalom in the wilderness (2 S. 15:23ff.). Elijah saved himself by fleeing into the *midbar b'ēr šeba'* (1 K. 19:3f.) and finally found refuge at Horeb, the mount of God (vv. 8ff.) in the "great wilderness," as did Moses in his own time. After the unsuccessful battle against the other tribes, the Benjaminites fled into the *midbār* near their city (*gib'ā*, Jgs. 20:42) just as the Israelites once did after the battle at Ai (Josh. 8:15ff.), and then retreated even deeper into the Judean wilderness (Jgs. 20:45ff.). The prophet Jeremiah exhorts the Moabites to flee for their lives into the desert before their advancing enemies (Jer. 48:6). In the *midbār* the despairing prophet intends to seek lodging (Jer. 9:1[2]), a wish echoed in the words of the psalmist "truly, I would flee far away; I would lodge in the wilderness" (*'ālîn bammidbār*, Ps. 55:7f.[6f.]). Not always, however, does the *midbār* offer protection, since there, too, one's pursuers lie in wait (Lam. 4:19).

V. Historico-spatial Dimension Between the Exodus and Conquest. In over half its occurrences in the OT the term *midbār* exhibits not only spatial but also temporal connotations. In all these instances the term refers to the "forty years" of the wilderness wanderings between the exodus from Egypt and the conquest of Canaan. The portrayal of the events associated with this period, and their evaluation in the historico-social

experience of Israel and of biblical faith in the larger sense, are the primary concerns of the Pentateuch (with the exception of Genesis) from the beginning of the book of Exodus to the end of Deuteronomy. Compared with the other three books, Leviticus offers only sparse factual information about the course of those events. In this component of the Pentateuch, interest focuses exclusively on the giving of the law as it affected the cult, a complex which only through occasional references is “dated” to the years after the exodus itself (Lev. 18:3; 19:34,36; 23:43; 25:38) and before the conquest (e.g., Lev. 14:34; 18:3; 19:23,33; 20:22-24) and localized at the mountain of God in the wilderness of Sinai (Lev. 7:38; 26:46; 27:34).

Detailed descriptions of the Israelites’ itinerary through the various regions of the “great wilderness” and exact information concerning rest stations are found particularly in the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy.⁵⁶ The accounts differ in many details regarding the exact route, the onomasticon, and also the description of “historical” events. OT scholarship traces these differences back to differing sources and/or to what were once independent strands of tradition (“Sinai tradition” and “conquest tradition”) available to the compiler of the Pentateuch and actually used in composing the work.⁵⁷ Deuteronomy especially seems yet to contain traces of otherwise lost traditions.⁵⁸

These multilayered sources for the wilderness accounts in the Pentateuch are also reflected in the OT writings generally. What is decisive for the biblical understanding is that it ascribes prototypical significance to the unique experience of a wilderness period in the history of Israel. That *midbār* period acquires the character of a fulcrum symbol and motif, a development that affected the entire context of *midbār* in the extrapentateuchal biblical literature, and to a significant extent in postbiblical literature as well.

VI. Theological Connotations.

1. *General Considerations.* The use of the *midbār* vocabulary within the tradition of the wilderness wanderings essentially determines its theological dimension. That epoch in Israel’s history is characterized by two seemingly opposite and yet complementary phenomena revealing its estimation in OT belief. One primary element is the forceful emphasis on the immeasurable beneficence (Dt. 2:7; 32; Pss. 78,105,106), the fatherly forbearance, and the love which God manifests toward his people in the awe-inspiring, howling wilderness. The framework of the period of wilderness wanderings includes the miracles God performed to and for Israel, the renewal of his covenant with the fathers as a covenant with the entire people, and the giving of the law at Mt. Sinai. Diametrically opposed to this is the second main element: Israel’s doubt that God’s power would indeed be able to actualize the promise of land. In a series of episodes, the people’s apostasy and rebellious behavior runs like a leitmotif through the majority of accounts of the wilderness wanderings.⁵⁹

56. De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 376-388.

57. G. von Rad, “The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch,” *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans. 1966; repr. London, 1984), 1-78.

58. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 59ff.

59. Carroll, 197.

These contrasting elements generate the enormously varying estimations the OT attests concerning that period and its significance for the development of Israelite faith. In the overwhelming majority of reminiscences, allusions, and literary imagery, the period of wilderness wanderings serves as a topos for Israel's sinfulness. It was the era of "rebellion" par excellence (Ex. 16:2; Nu. 14 *passim*; 16 *passim*; 20:1-13; 21:4ff.; 27:14; Dt. 9:7; 32:51; Ezk. 20:13ff.; Ps. 78:17-19,40; 95:8; 106:14),⁶⁰ rebellion which cannot be portrayed as merely a secondary motif,⁶¹ and the age of a wicked generation the likes of which cannot be found a second time in biblical historiography. In contrast, a minority of witnesses exhibit a seemingly affirmative estimation of the period of wilderness wanderings. In the *midbār* God made the people his own (e.g., Dt. 32:10; Jer. 31:12; Hos. 9:10), guided them reliably through the wilderness (Dt. 8:15; 29:4[5]; Neh. 9:19-21; Ps. 136:16; Am. 2:10), protected them as does an eagle its brood (Dt. 32:10f.), and carried them in his arms as a father carries his child (Dt. 1:31). It was Israel's "bridal period," in which the people entrusted itself to God and followed him "with youthful love" into the barren wasteland without hesitation (Jer. 2:2f.).

2. *History of Scholarship.* OT scholarship has proposed various theses to explain these antithetical traditions. One traces them back to older portrayals and strands of tradition which were simply incorporated parallel without being harmonized. Another views them as signs of a diachronic, inner-biblical development in the estimation of the wilderness wanderings. The originally positive estimation resulted from the fact that in the earlier period the interest of the biblical thinkers and authors focused exclusively on God's "salvific deeds," paying scant attention to Israel's own behavior.⁶² This situation changed dramatically after the conquest. In the struggle against pagan cults and rituals which had crept into biblical monotheism from the very beginning of contact with the Canaanite population (Nu. 25), the postexodus experience was embellished in contrast to the Israelite-Canaanite syncretism predominating in the "land." This experience was recognized and idealized retrospectively as the locus of the ideal relationship between God and his people.⁶³

This idealization of the wilderness period is attributed especially to the preexilic prophets, who according to Ernst Sellin⁶⁴ viewed the period of wilderness wanderings as the "normal period" in Israel's history.⁶⁵ In the development of this thesis a significant role was played by the — today largely outdated or at least decisively revised — assumption of prophetic opposition to ritual and sacrificial cult. The wilderness wanderings were presented as a time during which the relationship between Israel and its God was based on a "pure faith" unencumbered by cultic institutions. Amos was considered to be a typical representative of this view; as the oldest writing prophet he allegedly rejected all formalized institutions of sacrificial worship not practiced in the "ideal"

60. Coats; Tunyogi.

61. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness*, 249f.; Carroll.

62. Von Rad; Bach, 15f.

63. Barth, 15.

64. KAT, XIII (³1922), 236.

65. Moscati, *Ancient Semitic Civilizations*, 136f.

stage of the wilderness wanderings. This allegation presupposes the hardly defensible hypothesis that Amos (like Hosea and Jeremiah) either did not know or genuinely rejected the entire Pentateuch tradition that so often mentions "sacrificing" and "sacrifices." Furthermore, this view rests on the extremely slender evidence of Am. 5:21ff. Contextual interpretation of this passage suggests that this does not constitute a complete rejection of the "external sacrificial cult" (JB mg. "religion of mere form"), but rather the hybrid cult that proliferated in Israel after the conquest especially in the northern kingdom. The decisive verse Am. 5:25 should be translated in conjunction with v. 26 approximately as follows: "Did you bring to me sacrifices and meal-offerings for forty years in the wilderness [cf. Jer. 7:22 without mention of *midbār*⁶⁶] and did you then [at the same time] carry [about in processions the statue of] Sakkuth your [idol] king and . . . idols [and] star [images] which you made for yourselves?" With these rhetorical questions the prophet does indeed condemn the Israelites' syncretism, syncretism permeated with Canaanite and Mesopotamian idolatry (cf. Hos. 2:4-9, 19[2-7, 17]); such worship during his own time stood in sharp contrast to the pure Yahweh worship of the (first) exodus-Mt. Sinai phase of the wilderness wanderings and ultimately would result in the punishment of exile (Am. 5:27).

It is further suggested that at the end of the first temple period a renewed pessimistic-negative attitude developed toward *midbār* and life in the wilderness, an attitude reflected in the Pentateuch accounts of the wilderness wanderings and also evident, e.g., in the book of Ezekiel (ch. 20) and in several historiographical psalms (78, 105, 106).

These schematic models are hardly tenable. Although a decisively deprecatory attitude toward the period of wilderness wanderings and the phenomenon "wilderness" is indeed adequately attested by biblical texts, the postulated affirmative attitude — whether conceived as running parallel to the negative or as belonging to a "middle period" in a diachronic developmental schema — is based on a precarious interpretation of isolated biblical statements⁶⁷ representing the "middle period."

a. "*Desert Ideal*." Although the purely statistical evidence⁶⁸ shows that the thesis of a clearly positive OT wilderness tradition is untenable,⁶⁹ there has been a tendency in OT scholarship since the end of the nineteenth century to present the notion of "wilderness" and "nomadic life" as eminent components in OT faith and Israelite civilization. It is asserted that a return to the religious and social conditions of the *midbār* period was the eschatological ideal above all of the prophets. The impetus for this development was Karl Budde's rather cautious and fairly balanced presentation of the "desert" as a formative factor in what he termed the "nomadic ideal in the OT." Budde had taken as his point of departure a presentation of the hypothesis that the *b'ne bêt rēkāh* (Jer. 35) were the proponents of a religious belief which conceived of the God of Israel as a typical god of the desert. Budde interpreted the Rechabites' abstinence from sedentary life, agriculture, and

66. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans., 1977), 264-66.

67. Barth, 19; Fox, 448.

68. See III above.

69. Bach, 20-23.

viticulture, and their insistence on living in tents rather than fixed houses (Jer. 35:6f.) as indications that they intended this mode of life to recreate the “original” Israelite experience of God in the desert. Drawing into the discussion the genealogical note in 1 Ch. 2:55, which connects the Rechabites with the Kenites,⁷⁰ and also the theory that the Israelite religion emanated from a Kenite (or Midianite) Yahwism, Budde concluded that even during Jeremiah’s time the *bēnê bêt rēkāb* served as missionaries of that desert religion. Because of the association of the eponym of the Rechabites Jonadab ben Rechab with Jehu (2 K. 10:15), Jehu himself was dubbed the “‘wilderness’ king,” and Jeremiah was pronounced a “later sympathizer” of the Rechabites and their worldview.⁷¹

According to Budde, the prophets rejected this primitive concept of Yahweh as a desert god. But Budde nevertheless agrees that the notion of an original, ideal historical desert period left clear traces in Israel’s thinking. Paul Humbert took Budde’s thesis further and asserted that “the desert is the classic home of Yahwism,”⁷² and that a “return to the life conditions of the Mosaic period constitutes Hosea’s program for the future.”⁷³ This theory reached its peak in an essay by J. W. Flight,⁷⁴ who elevated the postulated prophetic “desert idea” to a “nomadic ideal” which believing Christians even today should adopt as the goal of their religio-social efforts.

The discovery of the Qumran literature provided a new impetus for this hypothesis. It is suggested that the *yahad* commune, from which this literature emerged in the last two pre-Christian centuries, provides proof that the “desert ideal” represents not only the anticipated ultimate goal of the prophetic hopes for the future, but also a concept capable of being actualized historically and in fact actualized at the end of the OT era itself.⁷⁵

b. *Traces of Nomadic Culture.* This hypothesis of an OT desert ideology is based on dubious socio-historical assumptions. Interpreters postulate a developmental stage in which Israel was a true nomadic society, a situation now reflected in presumed traces of nomadic culture or vocabulary⁷⁶ in the OT writings and echoed in prophetic eschatology. These conjectures can hardly be maintained. Apart from splinter groups which attached themselves to Israel in the course of its early history and which require a separate treatment, the OT offers no indications that the Hebrews in the narrower sense of this term ever passed through a stage of true nomadism.⁷⁷ As early as patriarchal times the Israelite society bears the imprint of semisettled life in which only occasionally reflections of nomadic life can be discerned.⁷⁸ Tradition ascribes to them an “agricultural orientation” similar to that of the postexodus generations.⁷⁹

70. Talmon, *IEJ*, 10 (1960), 174-180.

71. Williams, 17; cf. Meyer, 136.

72. *RHPR*, 1 (1921), 106.

73. *Festschrift K. Marti*, 162; cf. Meyer, 129-141; Soloweitschik; Mauser, 45ff.

74. *JBL*, 42 (1923), 158-226.

75. *Anclsr*, 14.

76. Delcor.

77. Mendenhall, 150; contra Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History*, 91.

78. Moscati, *Ancient Semitic Civilizations*, 155f.

79. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh*, 435-473.

Even in the accounts of the wilderness wanderings, the tribes of Israel are not presented in the organizational pattern of a typical nomadic society. The main characteristics of nomadic culture, as they were abstracted from an analysis of the pre-Islamic Arab tribes, find little expression in the Pentateuchal books which recount the *midbār* period. "Tribal solidarity, (nomadic) hospitality, and blood vengeance,"⁸⁰ insofar as they are reflected in OT literature, more frequently appear in the accounts of Israel's sedentary history in Canaan (e.g., the institution of "cities of refuge," Nu. 35:9-19; Dt. 19:1-3; Josh. 20f.; 1 Ch. 6:42ff.[57ff.]) than in those concerning the patriarchal period or the wilderness. The OT sources record only one case of executed blood vengeance during the monarchy against a clearly political background — Abner's murder by Joab (2 S. 3:27). The sagas of Cain and Lamech (Gen. 4:13-16, 23f.) are set in hoary antiquity and cannot be viewed as reflections of historical Israel. The rallying of the sons of Levi to the help of Moses in the Golden Calf episode (Ex. 32:26; cf. Dt. 33:8f.) and Korah's rebellion (Nu. 16:1-35) at best reflect guild rather than tribal solidarity.

Also, the Rechabites themselves cannot be adduced in evidence of the presupposed prophetic desert ideology. Their mode of life was prompted by an anti-urbanism⁸¹ reflecting a socio-economic reality, not a religious idea,⁸² an occupation, not a vocation. Nowhere are we told of any missionary activity on their part. Neither is Jehu a "desert king," nor Jeremiah a "desert prophet" who has joined with the Rechabites. By way of a simile the prophet sets up the Rechabites before the nation as an example of steadfastness. However, the *tertium comparationis* lies not in the ideas they represent, but rather in the tenacity with which they follow the guidance of their human forefathers, whereas Israel flagrantly transgresses against divinely appointed ordinances. Although Jeremiah has respect for this tenacity, he by no means identifies with the primitive forms of Rechabite life, nor does he conclude from their behavior any guidelines for his own understanding of faith.⁸³ The formulations of the desert-ideal hypothesis did not consider that the biblical texts themselves exhibit no enthusiasm whatever for nomadic life,⁸⁴ nor that — quite the contrary — "the ideal of the Hebrew writers for themselves was agricultural."⁸⁵ God's works and activity are parabolically equated with the work rhythms of a farmer (Isa. 28:23-29). As Frank S. Frick correctly emphasizes,⁸⁶ it is a mistake to interpret prophetic criticism of the luxurious, socially reprehensible urban life rampant during the monarchy as an entreaty for a return to the kind of nomadic desert life with which Israel presumably was acquainted from the "golden age" of its early history, and which it allegedly highly regarded.⁸⁷

80. Causse; Nyström; Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History*, 94.

81. Frick, *JBL*, 90 (1971), 279-287; *idem*, *The City in Ancient Israel*, 210ff.; Carroll, 179.

82. Seidensticker, 119.

83. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT*, II. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1967), 353f.; Talmon, *Biblical Motifs*, 37; Fox, 450.

84. Causse, 74.

85. H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel* (New York, 1914), 12.

86. *The City in Ancient Israel*, 209ff.

87. *Anclsr*, 14.

The representatives of true nomadic culture in OT literature are non-Israelites: Cain, Ishmael, Esau — certainly no ideal types, Hagrites (Ps. 83:7[6]; 1 Ch. 5:9f.), Meunim, Amalekites (1 Ch. 4:41–43), Midianites (Jgs. 6–8), and Kenites (Jgs. 4:17–21; 5:24).

We cannot treat here the fundamental question whether during the stage of the conquest in Canaan the Israelite tribes are to be understood as a social group in transition from nomadism to sedentary life, or whether this process resulted from a “peasants’ revolt.” Nor can we investigate the solutions which suggest a combination of itinerant herdsman and rudimentary agriculture (transhumant pastoralism).⁸⁸

VII. OT Usage. Any interpretation of the semantic context of *midbār* and its word field must consider several factors not usually given sufficient attention in OT scholarship.

1. *Time-Space Connotations.* The recollection of a period of wilderness wanderings lends to the spatial concept *midbār* also a temporal aspect. This fusion of spatial and temporal dimensions is not attested for the use of equivalent concepts. Neither in the Hebrew vocabulary nor in the biblical worldview do spatial terms such as, e.g., *har*, *mîšôr*, *’ēmeq*, *nāhār*, *yām* also exhibit a temporal dimension. Only two other antithetical terms exhibit such a corresponding fusion of spatial and temporal dimensions: *’ereṣ kēna’an/yiśrā’ēl* as a designation of (the period of) sedentary life in the land, and *gôlâ/gālûṭ* as a circumscription of a time of exile spent in a foreign land.⁸⁹ The linguistic-conceptual uniqueness of these three terms underscores the estimation of the original *midbār* experience as a situational transitory stage between bondage in Egypt — the prototypical exile — and independence in Israel’s own land.

The uniqueness of the period of wilderness wanderings as a transitory stage finds literary expression in the ring composition into which it is embedded. It is situated between the Passover Festival symbolizing the exodus (Ex. 12) and the Passover celebration in Gilgal, which is intended as the first sign of sedentary life in the land (Josh. 5:10–12). Of comparable note is its bracketing between the circumcision of Moses (son?) as a prelude to the Exodus Narrative (Ex. 4:24–26) and the carrying out of the circumcision commandment “on the whole people” in Gilgal (Josh. 5:2–8), in both cases before the celebration of the Passover Festival. During the wilderness wanderings themselves — an historical hiatus — the Israelites kept the first of these regulations only once (Nu. 9:1–5), and the other never, something the author of Joshua specially emphasizes (Josh. 5:5–7).

a. *Subordinate Significance of the Period of Wilderness Wanderings.* The subordinate position assigned by biblical historical understanding to the period of wilderness wanderings manifests itself in the relatively brief span of time allotted to it: *only* “forty years” (e.g., Ex. 16:35; Nu. 14:33,34; 32:13; Dt. 1:3; 2:7; 8:2; Josh. 5:6; 14:10; Am. 2:10; 5:25), the (schematic) life expectancy of a single generation (e.g., Nu. 32:13; Dt. 2:14; cf. Dt. 1:35; Ps. 78:8; 95:10; cf. Jgs. 3:11; 5:31; 8:28; 13:1; 1 S. 4:18). The

88. On the status of scholarship, cf. Mendenhall, Weippert, Gottwald.

89. Talmon, *Exil-Diaspora-Rückkehr*, 32ff.

comparison with the “bondage in Egypt,” to which (again, schematically) “four generations” were allegedly subjected (Gen. 15:16) and which in one version lasted 400 (Gen. 15:13) and in another 430 years (Ex. 12:41), underscores the relatively minor significance accorded to the period of wilderness wanderings in OT historical thinking. Comparison with the Babylonian exile, predetermined to last seventy years (2 Ch. 36:21; Jer. 25:11,12; 29:10; Dnl. 9:2; Zec. 1:12; 7:5), yields similar results.

Juxtaposition with the epoch of actual sedentary life, however, is even more striking. Biblical tradition figures the period from the exodus from Egypt to the construction of Solomon’s temple at 480 years (1 K. 6:1),⁹⁰ i.e., at twelve generations of forty years each, of which only one was involved in the wilderness period.

The extreme differences between these schematic quantities offer a concrete impression of the limited significance attributed to the wilderness epoch in the biblical historical model.

b. *Provisional Period.* These features characterize the early *midbār* experience as a provisional period, and precisely that characterization carries over as a motif to all comparable situations later. The “wilderness” symbolizes passage from a negative pole (bondage, exile) to a positive one (promised land). As a provisional period the wilderness does not possess any historical substance as such; as a transitory stage it exhibits only derivative intrinsic value. Against this background it is highly unlikely that within OT thinking a new desert stage could acquire the status of a future goal, and even less that it would be propagated as the eschatological end stage of Israel’s history.

2. *Two Stages in the Wilderness Wanderings.* It is important to remember that a portion of the biblical wilderness tradition does indeed offer some support for the development of a positive estimation of that epoch. Any consideration of this material must be mindful that all the strata of the basic Pentateuchal tradition subdivide the forty-year period of the wilderness wanderings into two stages of quite unequal length and significance.

a. *The Positive Stage.* The first stage, which tradition figures at just over one year (Nu. 10:11f.), encompasses Israel’s experiences from the crossing of the Red Sea to its arrival at the mount of God (Ex. 3:12; 4:27; 18:5; 19:2). The finale and high point of this period are God’s covenant with Israel “on the third new moon [stereotypical time frame] after the Israelites had gone out of the land of Egypt” (Ex. 19:1ff.), the Sinai theophany, and the giving of the law (Ex. 20:1ff.; 34:27ff.; Dt. 5). For this initial stage of the trek — from the Red Sea to the mount of God — tradition records no impudence or rebelliousness on Israel’s part. Hence this year can with some justification be called Israel’s “bridal time,” a time during which in faith and devotion it “followed God in the wilderness (*midbār*), in a land not sown” (Jer. 2:2).

b. *The “Mount of the Covenant.”* It must be emphasized that the locus of the making of the covenant was not the desert, but rather the “mount of God,” Sinai (Ex. 19:3ff.; 34:1ff.) or Horeb (Dt. 5:2ff.; 28:69[29:1]), which to be sure was located in the wilder-

90. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 58ff.

ness. All mention of the tables of the covenant (Dt. 9:9,11,15) and of the Decalog (Ex. 34:28; Dt. 4:13) and all allusions to them reflect the divine revelation “on the mountain,” which is localized conceptually not far from the Egyptian border in the wilderness (e.g., Ex. 3:18; 5:3; 8:24[28]; Jer. 31:31ff.; Ps. 78:12f.). Thus it is a distortion of the witness of the OT writings to portray the wilderness as the “most appropriate place for the revelation of the true God,”⁹¹ or to conceive “Bedouinism and Yahwism” as not only historically related, but as existentially consanguineous phenomena as well.⁹² Similarly, the biblical evidence renders untenable Max Weber’s conclusion, based on “empirical studies,” that a provenance from the borderland between desert and cultivated land is characteristic of the biblical prophets.⁹³ If a geographical characterization of Israel’s God is permissible at all, he would have to be understood as a mountain deity,⁹⁴ not as a desert deity. This concept lingers on into the period of the monarchy, at least among the surrounding nations. According to an unaffected and hence especially trustworthy account, the servants of the Aramean King Ben-hadad explain the loss in the battle for the city of Samaria by pointing out that Israel’s God is an *‘ēlōhē hārīm*; they advise fighting the Samaritans in the *mîšôr*, where they surely can be defeated (1 K. 20:23,25). In this context, *mîšôr* cannot refer to the Moabite plain in Transjordan (Dt. 3:10; Josh. 13:9,16,17,21; Jer. 48:8,21), but rather must — similar to *midbār* — be understood as “flat country.” The occasional synonymous nature of these two terms is shown in the mention of *mîšôr* along with *šepēlâ* and *midbār* as typical grazing land (2 Ch. 26:10), and especially in the localization of the city of refuge Bezer *bammîdbār b’ereš hammîšôr* (Dt. 4:43; Josh. 20:8).

c. *The Negative Stage.* The second stage, which lasted around thirty-eight years (Dt. 2:14), begins with the account of the transition from the *midbar sînay* into the *midbar pā’rân*, in the second year, on the twentieth day of the second month (after the exodus from Egypt, Nu. 10:11), and ends with the war against the Midianites (Nu. 31). This final skirmish which Israel conducts against a desert people before the conquest of Canaan (cf. Jgs. 6–8 and elsewhere) signals the finale of the wilderness period. According to the biblical account, immediately after this episode Israel entered the territories of the transjordanian states in which the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh gained a foothold (Nu. 32).

Consistent with a historiographical model appearing repeatedly in OT literature (cf. Josh. 23f.; 1 S. 12; Neh. 9:6ff., and elsewhere), the author of the book of Numbers offers at this “critical point” in Israel’s history a retrospective summary of the last period, namely, the “routes (and stages) of the people of Israel (*mas’ê b’ēnē-yiśrā’ēl*) since they went forth out of the land of Egypt,” a summary whose authorship he attributes to Moses (Nu. 33:1ff.; Dt. 1:1ff.). That second stage of thirty-eight years was the period of actual wilderness wanderings, the many years (*yāmîm rabbîm*, Josh. 24:7)

91. R. Kittel, 38f.

92. Nyström.

93. Talmon, *Biblical Motifs*, 48f.; Weber.

94. → *har* VI (III, 442–47).

of “wandering about” in the wasteland. The original divine plan for an exodus from Egypt, to be followed without delay by the giving of the land as promised to the fathers (Ex. 6:2-9), did not anticipate a long sojourn in the wilderness. The trek into the desert had but one goal. The people were to proceed along the quickest route, after “three days” (Ex. 3:18), to the divine mountain in the wilderness to sacrifice to their God and to serve him (e.g., Ex. 5:1; 7:16,26[8:1]; 8:16,23,24[20,27,28]; 9:13; 10:3,9).

The delay in reaching the goal of the conquest resulted from Israel’s own sinfulness. All the traditions and literary-historical strata of the Pentateuch and their reflection in the extrapentateuchal writings reveal an understanding of this stage of wilderness wanderings as a time of affliction and tribulation imposed upon Israel as divine punishment for its transgressions *l’ma’an ‘annōtēkā* (Dt. 8:2,16). This stage is precisely identified: “And the length of time we had traveled from Kadesh-barnea until we crossed the Wadi Zered [the natural boundary between Edom and Moab] was thirty-eight years, until the entire generation of warriors had perished,” who because of their lack of faith were not to participate in the taking of the land (Dt. 2:14-16; Josh. 5:4-6; Ps. 106:26; Hos. 9:10). Ezekiel views this period as the prototype of divine judgment which must precede any future covenant with Israel: “And I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples (*midbar hā’ammîm*, cf. 1QM 1:3), and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face. As I entered into judgment with your ancestors in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so . . . I will purge out the rebels among you, and those who transgress against me; I will bring them out of the land where they reside as aliens [exile], but they shall not enter the land of Israel” (Ezk. 20:35-38; cf. 39ff.).

The episodes of this — hardly “ideal” — period are surveyed comprehensively in what may be called “the book of Israel’s failings,” which comprises Nu. 11:1–31:5. This literary complex — which does not constitute a self-contained unity (cf., e.g., 26:1–30:17[16]) — is compositionally clearly set apart from the surrounding text. The preceding part of Numbers ends with the “war song of the ark” (Nu. 10:35f.; cf. Ps. 68:2[1]), which already in rabbinic tradition is considered a separate book (Bab. *Šabb.* 115b-116a; *’Aboth R. Nat.* version A. c.30; *Sifre* 22a⁹⁵; *Sop.* vi.1). This “book of iniquities” concludes with an epilogue (Nu. 33:1-49), and the following material (Nu. 33:50–36:13) exhibits no substantive relationship with it.

It is noteworthy that in the twelve chapters constituting the heart of this textual complex (Nu. 11–17,20,21,25,31,33) the term *midbār* is mentioned 24 times, and in the other chapters of Numbers only 19 times. Furthermore, several of these latter occurrences refer directly to episodes recounted in the “book of failings.” It is thus no wonder that the atmosphere predominating in this complex decisively influenced the notion of the wilderness period in the extrapentateuchal biblical literature, thereby either directly or indirectly determining both the biblical conception of the “desert” and the biblical attitude toward it.

It is likely that this influence on the overall conception was precipitated not only by isolated literary citations and allusions, but also — and perhaps even more decisively

95. Ed. M. Friedmann (Vienna, 1864).

— by the recitation of historical traditions, primarily within a cultic framework. This was doubtlessly the case regarding the “historical” or, perhaps better, “historiographical” psalms (e.g., Pss. 78, 105, 106),⁹⁶ and can be postulated with high probability at least for Nu. 11–21, 33.

Such secondary employment of the wilderness tradition presupposes that its life setting (*Sitz im Leben*) was the cult of a community which itself had a completely different socio-historical form than the “Israel in the wilderness.” It was a sedentary, agricultural, and urban society which found in the wilderness reminiscences primarily negative “archetypes”⁹⁷ rather than a reflection of its own life in history. This explains why the descriptive historical passages of the Pentateuch never employed the wilderness vocabulary in any figurative-literary fashion (motifs, material, imagery), as is the case in the retrospective extrapentateuchal OT literature. In the Pentateuch, the semantic field “wilderness” always refers to the thing itself, to a “reality,” not an image. A few examples of “actual” *midbār* features are attested in the book of Job (1:19; 24:5; 38:26), which itself reflects a society resembling Israel in its developmental phase before the conquest. In contrast, the term *midbār* is used in Prov. 21:19 as a purely literary figure.

3. *Motif Variations.* The contrasting estimations of the period of wilderness wanderings in the “historical accounts,” though especially in the nonhistoriographical parts of the Pentateuch (Dt. 32) and in extrapentateuchal writings, result at least in part from the amplification of the *midbār* motif with traditions and material from other areas of experience. Of particular importance are conceptions rooted in the mythic-cultic sphere of the ancient Near East, and the connotations of *midbār* as “grazing land,” “drift.”

a. *The Netherworld.* The fundamentally negative estimation of *midbār* in its connotation as “wasteland, wilderness” reflects notions attested in other ancient Near Eastern literatures. In the Egyptian Book of the Dead (175:2), Osiris complains about the desert, in which there is neither water nor air, which is limitless and completely dark, and in which a person can find not a single of love’s joys. Babylonian-Assyrian mythology associates the “mistress of the desert” (the sister of Tammuz) with the netherworld, “where she occupies the office of a ‘table scribe of hell.’ ”⁹⁸ In Ugaritic myth, the desert or the netherworld is the natural habitation of Mot, the antagonist of the creator-god Ba‘al.⁹⁹ This explains how *mdb̄r* and *thmt* can be used synonymously in *parallelismus membrorum*.¹⁰⁰ The same pairing is used in Isa. 63:13; Ps. 78:15.¹⁰¹ One can compare here Ps. 77, which in addition to the explicit mention of *tʿhōmōt* (v. 17[16]) also contains an unmistakable allusion to the desert wanderings: “You led your people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron” (v. 21[20]); and Ps. 29, where the mention

96. See Talmon, *Proceedings*.

97. Coats, Tunyogi.

98. Meissner, 33.

99. KTU, 1.4 VII, 55–57.

100. KTU, 1.92, 3–5.

101. Dahood, AB, XVII, 240; AB, XVIIA, 452; *idem*, and T. Penar, “Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs,” RSP, I, 256; Watson, 466.

of *midbār* and *midbar qādēš* (v. 8) is preceded by that of *mayim rabbîm* (v. 3; reference to *t^ehôm*; cf. also Hab. 3:3-10).

The desert is full of phantomlike creatures.¹⁰² Such mythical beings also populate the *midbār* in the OT understanding: *yēmîm* (Gen. 36:24), whom the midrash identifies as demonic beings; *'iyyîm*, *šiyîm* (Isa. 13:21,22; 34:14; Jer. 50:39); and *lîlî*, the “night hag” (Isa. 34:14). There “*š^eîrîm* [satyrs] will dance” (Isa. 13:21). The presence of such monsters indicates that the wilderness yet persists in the primeval state of chaos, of *tōhû wābōhû* (Dt. 32:10; Job 6:18f.; Isa. 34:11; Jer. 4:23-26; cf. Ps. 107:10), similar to the salt wasteland to which God reduced the wicked cities Sodom and Gomorrah (Dt. 29:22[23]; Isa. 13:19-22; Jer. 49:17f.; 50:39f.; Zeph. 2:9; cf. Joel 2:3). Into this godforsaken land¹⁰³ (*'ereš g^ezērâ*, Lev. 16:22; cf. 2 Ch. 26:21; Ps. 31:23[22]), the antithesis of the “land of the living” (Isa. 53:8; Ps. 7:6[5]; Lam. 3:53f.; Ezk. 37:11; cf. Joel 2:5; further Gen. 4:14; Isa. 57:20), God himself casts the king of Egypt (*ûn^etašîkâ hammidbārâ*) so that he may perish there (Ezk. 29:5). One reflection of this mythic aspect of the wilderness in OT thought is the annual atonement ritual carried out on the Day of Atonement, when a goat (*šā'îr*) carries the sins of the entire people into the *'ereš g^ezērâ . . . la^azā'zēl hammidbārâ* (Lev. 16:10,21,22), thereby symbolically guaranteeing the community new life for the coming year.

b. *The “Drift”-Connotation.* Within the semantic field of *midbār* as “grazing land” two main themes apparently underlie the predominating motif variations.

(1) *God as the “Shepherd of Israel.”* In late prophetic literature and in some psalms, the notion of God as father (Dt. 32:6,18,19), protector, and caretaker of his people (Ex. 19:4; Dt. 32:10f.; also vv. 4,15,18,30,31), which has its roots in the period of wilderness wanderings, is fused with the image of God as “Israel’s shepherd,” a notion drawn from the semantic field “drift” but not attested in the Pentateuchal wilderness accounts: “Then he led out his people [from Egypt] like sheep, and guided them in the wilderness like a flock” (Ps. 78:52; cf. 77:21[20]; Isa. 40:11; 63:11-14, etc.).

(2) *Love in the midbār.* In Canticles, which reflects a pastoral milieu, we encounter the motif “love in the *midbār*.” The beloved maiden “comes up from the drift (*midbār*), like a column of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense [an allusion to the pillar of smoke of the wilderness tradition?] . . . leaning upon her beloved [shepherd]” (Cant. 3:6; 8:5).

Another possible source is Ugaritic myth. The *'Anat* cycle offers a rather crude description of Ba'al's “love in *dbr*” with a heifer.¹⁰⁴ Considering the circumstances, *dbr* in this context cannot have the otherwise attested connotation “netherworld.”¹⁰⁵

c. *Love in the Post-Exodus midbār in Preexilic Prophets.* The fusion of the motif “love in the *midbār*” with the wilderness sojourn tradition, a fusion found in the book of Hosea and — presumably dependent on Hosea — in Jeremiah, played a decisive role in the formulation of the hypothesis of an OT “desert ideal.” In Hos. 1-3, and in

102. Gaster, 132 and n. 19; Porter, 3; Wellhausen, 198ff.

103. Mauser, 44.

104. KTU, 1.5 V, 18-22.

105. Contra Driver, 107.

this precise form only in these chapters,¹⁰⁶ the relationship between Israel and its God is conceived as that between husband and wife. The unfaithful people (the wife) must be subjected anew to the wilderness experience so that it may atone its sins there and return in faithfulness to God (the husband) (Hos. 2:16-21[14-19]). This (return) trek into the wilderness, however, is not set up as an aim per se,¹⁰⁷ but rather again as a necessary transitional stage to be followed by reestablishment in the land: "From there [the wilderness] I will give [back to] her her vineyards, and make the Valley of Achor [an allusion to the Achan episode in Josh. 7, esp. v. 25] a door of hope" (Hos. 2:17[15]). This employment of the motif combination love-*midbār* is a subsidiary theme in the book of Hosea and cannot be interpreted as the expression of a presumably prophetic "desert ideal." It testifies to a literary process, not a theological or existential idea.

The question must be raised, however, whether or not such a concept can be discerned in Jeremiah. This prophet apparently inserted the God-people-love motif into the tradition of the historical wilderness wanderings with an emphasis on the "wasteland" aspect of *midbār* rather than the "drift" aspect. Whereas Hosea focuses on the husband's (God's) steadfast love for his spouse (Israel) (Hos. 2:16[14]; 13:5; cf. 9:10; Dt. 32:10), Jeremiah emphasizes the devotion of the young people to their God. Translated somewhat freely, and without the *parallelismus membrorum*, the text reads as follows: "I remember . . . the love of your bridal period (*ḥesed*, *'ah^abâ*), how you followed me into the *'ereš midbār*, in a land that was not sown" (Jer. 2:2). Jeremiah is referring here presumably to the first (positive) stage of wilderness wanderings, the stage between the exodus and the Sinai theophany. For him, too, the wasteland is neither a goal nor an ideal, but rather the transition from bondage to freedom, a situation Israel will experience again in the future (Jer. 31:2-6): "Thus says Yahweh: The people who survived the sword [again] found grace in the *midbār*, when I [God] let the people Israel come to rest [in its land] . . . I loved you with an everlasting love (*'ah^abat 'ôlām 'ahab^tik*); therefore with steadfast love (*ḥesed*) I have drawn you to me [cf. 2:2] . . . for a [the] day will come when sentinels will call [out] in the hill country of Ephraim: 'Arise, let us go up to Zion, to Yahweh our God'" (cf. Isa. 2:5). From this we can conclude that the book of Jeremiah also attests the understanding predominating in the OT writings of a sojourn in the *midbār* as a transitory stage and prelude to the conquest, and that it by no means is propagating any "desert ideal."

d. *midbār* in Postexilic Prophetic Writing. This is precisely the role played by the word field *midbār* in the imagery of Deutero-Isaiah, who uses it extensively. The prophet conceives postexilic events as a reflection of Israel's fundamental historical experience: exodus, wilderness, conquest,¹⁰⁸ though with a shift of emphasis prompted by the changed circumstances. Since with the destruction of the temple and the Babylonian exile Israel had already passed through the stage of catharsis (e.g., Isa. 40:1f.; cf. 4Q176; Jer. 31:1ff.), the new (typological) trek through the desert could be freed

106. Kaufmann, 93-95 [Heb.].

107. Contra Mauser, 44ff.; Wolff, *ZThK*, 48 (1951), 129-148.

108. B. W. Anderson, *Festschrift J. Muilenburg*, 177-195.

from the negative aspect of "rebellion" and the concomitant necessity of purification, and invested instead with images of promise and hope. The blossoming, verdant wasteland of the Isaianic vision of restitution (Isa. 35:1f., 6-10; 41:18f.; 43:19f.; 48:21; 51:3; cf. Ps. 107:33-38) contrasts with the *'ereš (midbār) lō' z'rû'â* (Jer. 2:2) of the early period (e.g., Dt. 32:10). God's mercy manifests itself in the restructuring of chaotic nature and in the restitution of Israel to its land under a ruler from the house of David (Isa. 55:3; cf. ch. 32; Jer. 17:25; 22:4; 23:5; 33:14-17; Hos. 3:5; Am. 9:11).¹⁰⁹ Neither here nor in any other postexilic prophet (Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi) do we find an idealization of the desert or of the period of wilderness wanderings.

VIII. Qumran. The inclusion of the literature and theology of Qumran in a discussion of the semantic field and fundamental meaning of *midbār* in the OT is justified by the following considerations: (a) The *yaḥad* commune exhibited a pronounced OT orientation culminating in its self-understanding as the reestablished postexilic Israel.¹¹⁰ (b) The retreat of the founders of this group into the Judean desert, where they established their community center, has resulted in their association (without convincing evidence) with the Rechabites. (c) The messianic-millennial character of the *yaḥad* of Qumran encouraged the interpretation of this group's desert life as an historical realization of the presumably OT eschatological desert ideal.¹¹¹

Against this background it is striking that the term *midbār* occurs only rarely in the specific Qumran literature. K. G. Kuhn¹¹² records 12 occurrences of the word, some of which are in tiny, unintelligible fragments. Only one mention of *midbār* is a direct reminiscence of Israel's desert trek, and it cites, most significantly, the extermination of the unbelieving desert generation with direct mention both of Dt. 9:23; Ps. 106:25: "They hearkened not to the voice of their Maker . . . and they murmured in their tents . . . and the anger of God was kindled against their congregation" (CD 3:5-9). The authoritative character of CD prompts the conclusion that this isolated citation documents in a concentrated fashion the Qumranites' agreement with the majority of OT writers in their depreciative attitude toward this period of wilderness wanderings. This agreement also manifests itself in their understanding of their own retreat into the desert as a transitory and preparatory stage in the reexperience of (self-imposed) exile and of a renewed future establishment in the land, founded on the "New Covenant" which God established with the "community of saints," *yaḥad b'eñē 'ēl* (CD 6:19; 8:21; 1QpHab 2:3). The reestablishment of the "new Jerusalem" (Temple scroll) will be preceded by a purificatory stage conceived on the model of the OT portrayal of the wilderness wanderings: "At the end [of this new interim period] of forty years they [the wicked] shall cease to exist [*hammamrîm yittammû*] and no wicked man shall be found on earth" (4QpPs^a). The identification of the adversaries of the *yaḥad* with the

109. Talmon, *Exil-Diaspora-Rückkehr*, 31-56.

110. Talmon, *Frankfurter Universitätsreden*, 42 (1971), 71-83.

111. See VI.2.a above.

112. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten*.

evil desert generation is made explicit by the reference to “forty years” (cf. CD 20:14ff.) and is further fortified by the employment of typical terminology borrowed from the Pentateuchal traditions: *mamrîm* (Nu. 20:10,24; 27:14; Dt. 1:26,43; 9:7,23,24; 31:27; cf. Ps. 78:17,56; 106:7,33,43; 107:11; etc.) and *yittammû* (Nu. 14:34-45; Dt. 2:14-16).

Evocations of the *midbār* motif from Deutero-Isaiah also play a role here. The Qumranites applied to themselves the prophet’s call to prepare God’s way in the wilderness (Isa. 40:3) and to live there as “penitents of the desert” (*šābê hammidbār*, 4QpPs^a 3:1)¹¹³ according to the laws which had been revealed to them (1QS 9:19f.). As “returners to the Torah” (*šābîm lattôrâ*, 4QpPs^a 2:1f.)¹¹⁴ they will prepare themselves for the coming time of salvation: “They go into the desert for a season, to be born again as the New Israel.”¹¹⁵ The Qumran community did not develop any nomadic way of life based exclusively on small livestock herds, although they may naturally have kept sheep and goats to a limited extent. Archaeological evidence (water reservoirs and irrigation works) testifies to an agricultural economy adapted to the ecological conditions of the Judean desert and accommodated in the Qumran statutes (CD 10f.).¹¹⁶

Summarizing we can say that in the Qumran literature, consistent with OT evidence, various aspects of *midbār* are fused. The desert was initially a place of refuge from persecution for the *yahad* believers. It became the locale of purification and preparation for the new conquest of the land. The Qumranites, too, viewed the sojourn in the desert as a provisional period, not as a goal, as an unavoidable hiatus along the way to their goal, a rite of passage.¹¹⁷ Although John the Baptist presumably propagated a similar agenda, one reflected in early Christian sources, it was only with the development of the hermit movements that a theological conception crystallized within Christianity which attributed intrinsic value to the desert.

Talmon

113. Cf. H. J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel ŠûB in der Qumran-Literatur*. BBB, 46 (1975), 64-68.

114. Cf. *ibid.*, 28-32.

115. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 56.

116. For further discussion cf. F. F. Bruce, “Preparation in the Wilderness: At Qumran and in the NT,” *Int*, 16 (1962), 280-291.

117. Talmon, *Biblical Motifs*, 62f.

מִדָּבָר *māḏad*; מִדָּה *middâ*; מִדָּה *mad*; מִמָּד *mēmad*

Contents: I. Etymology and Distribution: 1. Akkadian; 2. Ugaritic; 3. Other Semitic Languages; 4. Distribution in the OT; 5. Structural Variations; 6. Synonyms; 7. LXX. II. 1. Secular Usage; 2. Cultic Building Plans; 3. Land Measurement; 4. Legal Contexts; 5. Anthropological Contexts; 6. Theological Usage: a. Creation; b. Increase; c. Land Measurement in Zec. 2:5f.; d. Reprisal; 7. *mad*. III. 1. Qumran; 2. Rabbinic Judaism.

I. Etymology and Distribution. The root *mdd*, which in Hebrew constitutes the basis of the forms *mādad*, *middâ*, *mad*, and *mēmad*, is attested in almost all the Semitic languages, although in many cases the verification of homographs is difficult, especially in Akkadian (*madādu* II/III, *nadānu*¹), Ugaritic (*mūdûm*), and Hebrew (*middâ*). At a later stage in the development of Hebrew, the secondary prefixing of *aleph*-prostheticum to the root generated the verbal root *'md*.²

1. *Akkadian.* The root *mdd* already occurs in several different forms in Old Akkadian texts. The verb *madādu I* (with no relation to *madādu II*, "to love," or *madādu III*, "to escape") means "to measure" in the broadest sense of the term,³ with most of its attestations occurring in agricultural-mercantile contexts: measuring out grain,⁴ beer,⁵ measuring off wood,⁶ a field,⁷ or a boundary.⁸ It thus includes not only the comparison of objects with given standards (a measuring reed⁹) and weights, but also the measuring and meting out of portions partitively from given quantities. The term *madādu* apparently encompasses the entire process.¹⁰

Measuring is an important activity in house construction.¹¹ Later texts also speak of the magical measuring of a person.¹² Marduk is said to measure the waters of the sea.¹³ Several equivocal attestations use the verb to mean "measure off," perhaps in the sense of "to terminate": Enki is to "measure off (= interrupt)" a canal with sludge.¹⁴ This semantic valence also manifests itself in the "mene tekell" passage in Dnl. 5:25ff.

In addition to the verb, Akkadian also attests several nominal forms: already Old Bab. *middatum*/*mindatum*, "measure," both in the sense of a standard unit and instrument of measurement as well as an overall measurement (e.g., of heaven).¹⁵ Early

mādad. J. Reider, "מִדָּד in Job 7 4," *JBL*, 39 (1920), 60-65; W. Thiel, "Zur gesellschaftlichen Stellung des *mudu* in Ugarit," *UF*, 12 (1980), 349-356; J. Trinquet, "Métrologie Biblique," *DBS*, V (1957), 1212-1250; P. Vargyas, "Le *mudu* à Ugarit: Ami du roi?" *UF*, 13 (1981), 165-179; O. Wahl, "Göttliches und menschliches Messen: Zur Botschaft von Sacharja 2,5-9," *Künder des Wortes. Festschrift J. Schreiner* (Würzburg, 1982), 255-272.

1. Cf. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 98.
2. Cf. *WTM*, I, 94.
3. *AHW*, II (1972), 571; *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 5-9.
4. Cf. *VAB*, 5 (1913, repr. 1971), 535.
5. *VAS* (1983), 6, 104, 14.
6. Cf. H. Zimmern, "Assyrische chemisch-technische Rezepte," *ZA*, N.S. 3[36] (1924/25), 202, 50.
7. G. Dossin, *Correspondence de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils*. *ARM*, I (1949, repr. 1978), 7, 44.
8. R. F. Harper, *ABL*, 621, 10.
9. S. H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*. *VAB*, 4 (1912), 62, 27.
10. See the entries in *CAD*.
11. G. Dossin, "Tablette administrative," *Textes divers. Festschrift A. Parrot*. *ARM*, XIII (1964), 7, 15.
12. *CT*, 17, 15, 21.
13. *RAcc*, 134, 241; 138, 309; cf. Job 38:5; Isa. 40:12.
14. *CT*, 32.4 XII, 25; cf. *BWL*, 36, 100.
15. *AHW*, II, 650.

occurrences are also attested for *namaddum/namandum*, “measuring vessel,”¹⁶ and *namdattum*, “something measured.”¹⁷ Not until Middle Babylonian is the term *mādidu/mandidu*, “measuring official (for grain, etc.),” attested,¹⁸ an official engaged in the immediate vicinity of the temple. His office *māditūtu/mandidūtu* was bestowed as sinecure or compensation.¹⁹

Herbert Huffmon has noted that Amorite personal names constructed from this verbal root also suggest the meaning “to help.”²⁰

2. *Ugaritic*. The root *mdd* itself does not occur in Ugaritic, although it might have provided the basis for the plural form *mdm*²¹ and the noun *md*, “cloak.”²²

The term *md/mudu* occurs frequently in administrative texts from Ugarit, especially in lists of royal servants, where it refers perhaps to a vocational group of “surveyors,”²³ “measurers” or cultic custodians of weights and measures (since these were protected by divine sanction),²⁴ or more generally “courtiers.”²⁵ This designation, however, is also frequently derived from Akk. *ēdû*, “to know,”²⁶ or *ydd*, “to love.”²⁷ That this is not the case, however, is suggested by the lists themselves,²⁸ in which these officials are classified with status equal to that of craftsmen, especially builders and lower military officials, but below that of priests and merchants; thus the term is apparently not referring to the highest “counselors” and closest “friends” (“privy councilor”) of the king.²⁹

The reading “refugee,” from *madādu III*, “to escape,”³⁰ does not fit the context in most cases. Although they are classified above all other groups in some lists,³¹ this may be a result of the peculiar nature of the lists themselves. Winfred Thiel³² identifies *mdm* as a specific vocational group (?) that was elevated from its previous status to a privileged position. However, this cannot be supported by more specific evidence, nor

16. *AHw*, II, 725.

17. *AHw*, II, 727.

18. *AHw*, II, 572.

19. For documentation, see *AHw*.

20. For a listing, see *APNM*, 229.

21. *UT*, no. 1427.

22. *UT*, no. 1423; *WUS*, no. 1516.

23. *UT*, no. 1427.

24. J. Gray, “Feudalism in Ugarit and Early Israel,” *ZAW*, 64 (1952), 50f.; cf. *idem*, *The Legacy of Canaan*. *SVT*, 5 (1965), 214.

25. P. Xella, “Lexicographische Randbemerkungen,” *UF*, 12 (1980), 452.

26. P. Jensen, “Akkadisch *mudû*,” *ZA*, n.s. I[35] (1924), 124-132; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*. *CB*, 5 (1971), 63-69.

27. M. L. Heltzer, *Semitskie jazyki*, 2/1 (1965), 335-358; J. Nougayrol, *PRU*, VI, 151.

28. E.g., *KTU*, 4.38; 4.47; 4.99.

29. E. A. Speiser, “Akkadian Documents from Ras Shamra,” *JAOS*, 75 (1955), 163; cf. Vargyas: “one guild among others.”

30. Cf. A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna*. *AASOR*, 31 (1956), 111.

31. *KTU*, 4.69; 4.103.

32. *UF*, 12 (1980), 349-355.

does it seem particularly probable. P. Vargyas³³ identifies *mdm* as a frequently mentioned social group belonging to a class of attendants with medium social status,³⁴ obligated to pay tributes or fees on the basis of certain investitures. Vargyas makes the etymological connection with the Nuzi term *muddu*, “amount of tribute, payment quota,”³⁵ from the root *madādu*, “measure.” The geminate form, however, makes a precipitous comparison with *mdm* difficult.

Ugaritic also attests personal names with *mdd*, “measure, measure out, help,” e.g., *ymd* and *ilmd*, the latter of which perhaps also reflects Akk. *ili-ma-addu*, “my god, verily, is Addu.”³⁶

3. *Other Semitic Languages.* This root is widely distributed in the other Semitic languages. Although Syr. *md*, “follow after, flee from,”³⁷ likely does not derive from this root³⁸ (cf. *madādu* III), South Semitic has preserved some interesting semantic aspects: OSA *mdd*, “to measure,” “standard, time period”;³⁹ Arab. *madda*, “spread out, stretch out,” IV “to help, grant a respite,” VI + VIII, “stretch, extend”; *madd*, “extension”; *mudd*, “measure of quantity”; *mudda*, “period of time”; *madad*, “succor, aid”; *madīd*, “extended,” etc.; and Tigré *m^adda*, “spread out, stretch out,” to “attack, strike.”⁴⁰

Within this South Semitic linguistic sphere the meaning “extend, stretch, stretch out” has preserved a semantic specification that undeniably belongs in the immediate vicinity of the original meaning, even if in view of the East Semitic findings it cannot actually constitute that meaning itself⁴¹ (cf. the hithpael in Hebrew). This semantic component also justifies the etymological association of *mad*, “cloak,”⁴² with *mdd* (= *madādu* I).

4. *Distribution in the OT.* The verb *mādad* occurs 52 times in the Hebrew OT⁴³: 43 times in the qal, 3 in the niphal, 4 in the piel, and once each in the hiphil and hithpael. Abraham Even-Shoshan counts 53 occurrences, since he also counts Hab. 3:6.⁴⁴ As its distribution clearly shows, the verb definitely belongs to late OT vocabulary: 36 occurrences in Ezekiel (primarily Ezk. 40–42); one each in Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, Zechariah, Ruth, and Job; the few occurrences in the Pentateuch can be attributed to

33. *UF*, 13 (1981), 165–179.

34. *Ibid.*, 169.

35. M. Müller, “Einige bemerkenswerte Urkunden aus Tell al-Fahhār zur altmesopotamischen Rechts-, Sozial-, und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,” *WO*, 9 (1977), 30.

36. *PNU*, 40.156.

37. *LexSyr*, 374.

38. Contra *HAL*, II (1995), 547.

39. ContiRossini, 175.

40. *TigrWb*, 141; Leslau, *Contributions*, 30.

41. Contra J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959), 43.

42. *KBL*³, 518; *DISO*, 142.

43. Lisowsky, 752f.

44. *A New Concordance of the OT* (Jerusalem, 1990), 622.

P. Later redactors are also responsible for the occurrences in Dt. 21:2; Jer. 31:37; 33:22, as well as those in the Deuteronomistic history: 2 S. 8:2 (twice); 1 K. 17:21. The remaining occurrences are Hos. 2:1(Eng. 1:10);⁴⁵ Ps. 60:8(6); 108:8(7).⁴⁶ Thus Hos. 2:1(1:10) likely constitutes the earliest and perhaps only preexilic occurrence.

The term *middâ* also occurs 53 times and is part of late OT vocabulary (25 times in Ezekiel; 6 in P; 5 in the Deuteronomistic history; 11 in the Chronicler's history); *mad* occurs 12 times (7 in the Deuteronomistic history, also in P and Job); Ps. 109:18; 133:2 attest perhaps the earliest occurrences. Jer. 13:25 exhibits textual difficulties. Considering the parallels in the Chronicler's work, 2 S. 21:20; 23:21 should probably also read *middâ*.⁴⁷ Finally, the term *mēmad* (cf. Akk. *namaddu*, "measuring vessel"⁴⁸) occurs only in Job 38:5, and is thus also postexilic.

5. *Structural Variations.* In more than two thirds of its occurrences, the verb *mādad* is used in factitive, largely consecutive forms, and thus within the framework of narrative texts and descriptions. In most instances human beings are the subject: the Israelites (e.g., Ex. 16:18; Nu. 35:5; Ezk. 43:10); Boaz (Ruth 3:15); David (2 S. 8:2); the judges and elders (Dt. 21:2). The verb *mādad* thus refers to an actual procedure from the daily life of human beings. This is reflected in the fact that God occurs only 3 times as its subject: Isa. 65:7 (Yahweh); Ps. 60:8(6); 108:8(7) (*'lōhîm*). The *šš* in Ezekiel's temple vision and in Zechariah's third vision, with 30 + 1 occurrences, constitutes more than half of all occurrences by itself. Considering this latter usage, one might suspect that *mādad* is a legal term.⁴⁹ Direct objects are usually given without the particle, though occasionally with *'el* (Dt. 21:2) or *'et* (Zec. 2:6[2]; Ezk. 40). The process of measuring off something is indicated by *min* (Ezk. 40:23), that of measuring by comparison with a given standard by the particle *b^e* (Ex. 16:18) or *k^e* (Ezk. 40:35), and that of measuring out something by *'al* (Isa. 65:7).

The noun *middâ* is combined with the cardinal number *'ahat*, "one measure" (= "an equal measure"; e.g., Ex. 26:2,8; 36:9) and with the ordinal number *šēnîl*, "the second measure" (Neh. 3). A corresponding *hammiddâ hāri'sônâ*, "the first [= earlier] standard" (2 Ch. 3:3), implies a purely historical connotation. Other construct combinations

45. This occurrence is considered a product of the exilic period by O. Procksch, *Theologie des ATs* (Gütersloh, 1950), 160 (cf. also *idem*, *Die kleinen prophetischen Schriften vor dem Exil. Erläuterungen zum AT*, 6 [Calw, 1910, repr. 1929]); K. Budde, *Geschichte der althebräischen Literatur* (Leipzig, ²1909), 73f. (cf. *idem*, *Das prophetische Schrifttum* [Tübingen, ²1922]); T. H. Robinson, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha*. HAT, XIV (²1954), *in loc.* Both H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 25-27, and W. Rudolph, *Hosea*. KAT, XIII/1 (1966), *in loc.*, think Hos. 2:1f.(1:10f.) reflects genuine words of the prophet Hosea used by a later compiler.

46. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), *in loc.*, ascribes a provenance after 587. J. Wellhausen, *The Book of Psalms* (Eng. trans., New York, 1898), and W. Staerk, *Lyrik (Psalmen, Hoheslied, und Verwandtes)*. SAT, III/1 (²1920), consider it a product of the Maccabean period.

47. Cf. KBL³, 519.

48. AHW, II, 725.

49. Cf. discussion below.

are *ʾiš middâ*, “man of stature” (Isa. 45:14) and *ʾanšê middôt* (Nu. 13:32); cf. also *bêt middôt*, “spacious house” (Jer. 22:14). These last examples show that *middâ* can take on adjectival properties. Further construct combinations include the designations for the various measuring instruments: *ḥebel middâ* (Zec. 2:5[1]), *qaw hammiddâ*, “measuring line” (Jer. 31:39), and *qēnēh hammiddâ*, “measuring reed” (Ezk. 40,42). The term *middâ* is used as *nomen rectum* to *yāmîm*, “measure of days” (= “span of life”) (Ps. 39:5[4]), and to various objects associated with buildings: *šaʾar*, “gate” (Ezk. 40:21f.); *bayit*, “temple” (Ezk. 42:15); *mizbēah*, “altar” (Ezk. 43:13); and *gāzît*, “hewn stones” (1 K. 7:9,11). Finally, Neh. 5:4 mentions *middat hammelek*, “king’s standard” (= “tax”; cf. also *ʾeben hammelek*, “royal standard weight,” in 2 S. 14:26⁵⁰). Considering the preceding discussion,⁵¹ it does not seem advisable to conclude on the basis of this passage the presence of an etymologically independent term *middâ* II.⁵²

Aram. *middâ* or *mindâ* (Ezr. 4:13,20; 6:8; 7:24) also occurs with this meaning.

6. *Synonyms*. Synonyms for the verb include *zrh* II, “to measure off” (= “examine”); *kûl* in connection with measure of quantity, “to measure” (= “contain, hold”); and *tikkēn*, “determine the measure of something,” whereby the connotation “examine” also clearly resonates. Of a purely descriptive nature is the term *nāṭâ*, “stretch out,” used with *qaw* (e.g., Job 38:5; Isa. 44:13): “stretch out a measuring line” (as a legal term esp. in Isa. 34:11).

The subst. *middâ* apparently has no real synonyms, since *qaw*, *qāneh*, *pāṭîl*, *ḥebel*, and *ḥût* all refer to measuring instruments, the latter (“line”) occurring in this sense only in connection with the temple pillars (1 K. 7:15; Jer. 52:21). The only possibility is perhaps *matkōnet*, “measurement, proportion,” which does, however, refer clearly to measurements in a cultic context (Ex. 30: anointing oil; Ezk. 45:11: standard measures in connection with offerings).

Finally, *maḏ* is a general term for “clothing” and is similar to terms such as → בגד *begeḏ* (*beghedh*), → לבש *lābēš*, and *kēsût*.

7. *LXX*. The LXX renders *mādad* largely with *metreín* (4 times) and its compounds *diametreín* (36 times!) and *ekmetreín* (3 times). In contrast, *middâ* is rendered by *métron* (36 times) and *diamétrēsis* (4 times); isolated renderings occur with *áarithmos*, *geōmetrikós*, *symmetrós*, and other terms; *maḏ*, understood as a piece of clothing, is nonetheless given various interpretations: *mandýas* (5 times), *himátion* (twice), *lampénē*, and *chítōn* (once each); *mēmaḏ* is rendered by *métron*.

II. 1. *Secular Usage*. As the previous discussion suggested, *mādad* and *middâ* for the most part occur with the completely concrete meanings of “to measure” and

50. → לבן *ʾeben* (*ʾebhen*), I, 50.

51. See I.1 above.

52. Cf. *GesB*, 399; *HAL*, II, 548; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, “Haushalt und Heerwesen im aksümitischen Reich,” *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1967/2, 311f.

“measure, standard,” frequently specified more closely by familiar units of measurement: cubit, bath, kor.⁵³ A purely secular usage of these terms can no longer be clearly distinguished. The most likely candidates are those occurrences in which *middâ* is used with quasi-adjectival force in construct combinations with the meaning of a genitive of quality.⁵⁴ Within the framework of the Yahwistic reconnaissance report a Priestly redactor calls the original inhabitants of Canaan “people of great size” (Nu. 13:32). 1 Ch. 20:6 also alludes to the colossal size of these people; the par. *māḏôn*, “quarrelsome,” in 2 S. 21:20 should be emended according to 1 Chronicles. Isa. 45:14 calls the Sabeans of South Arabia “tall of stature,” and 1 Ch. 11:23 mentions a giant Egyptian whom Benaiah, one of David’s mighty men, slew. Here, too, the par. *mar’eh*, “[pleasing] of appearance” (2 S. 23:21) should be emended accordingly. All these examples disclose the narrator’s intention of portraying Yahweh’s salvific actions as ever greater and mightier. Any person, however, who intends to undertake something great “beyond measure,” such as Jehoiakim’s plans to build a *bêt middôt*, must be mindful of the criticism of the prophet (Jer. 22:14).

2. *Cultic Building Plans.* These terms occur with particular frequency in connection with cultic building plans and descriptions.

a. *Tabernacle and Ark.* In the Priestly account of the making of the holy tabernacle,⁵⁵ the ark,⁵⁶ and the tabernacle equipment (Ex. 25:10-40), the terms *mādad* and *middâ* do not occur despite numerous detailed dimensions. In all these cases the dimensions themselves are indicated numerically. Only 4 passages speak of curtains and drapes, which are to be made according to the “same measure” (*middâ ’aḥaṭ*, Ex. 26:2,8; 36:9,15). These are to serve the complicated covering above the *miškān*, and thus come from the redaction of P^s, which amplified the Priestly description of the holy tabernacle on the basis of the postexilic Second Temple. “Contrary to the intentions of the Priestly design, these additions make the tent sanctuary conform to the accoutrements of the postexilic temple. . . . This adaptation of the Priestly design to the realities of the temple shows that in the postexilic period the tent sanctuary of Sinai was understood as the prototype and reflection of the Jerusalem temple.”⁵⁷ The wooden *miškān*, however, is yet ambiguous from an architectural perspective (*šēlā’ôṭ*?) regarding its intended counterpart within the edifice of the postexilic temple.⁵⁸

b. *Solomonic Temple.* The consistency regarding standard dimensions characteristic of the Priestly writing is also emphasized in connection with the Solomonic temple. Both cherubim in the *dēbîr* had the “same measure” and the “same form” (*qeṣeb ’eḥād*, 1 K. 6:25), as did the ten stands (*mēkōnôt*, 7:37, uncertain text?). The stones for

53. Cf. *BRL*², 204ff.

54. Cf. *GK* §128s,t.

55. → אהל *’ōhel* (I, 118-130).

56. → ארון *’arōn* (I, 363-374).

57. Cf. V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt*. *WMANT*, 47 (1977), 122, 165f.

58. On the construction of this span of curtains, cf. B. Pelzl, “Das Zeltheiligtum von Ex 25ff.,” *UF*, 7 (1975), 379-387.

Solomon's palace were also to be hewn "with quadrilateral evenness" (NRSV "according to measure"; 1 K 7:9,11; 6:36 and 7:12 speak only of *gāzîṭ* for the stones of the encompassing walls), probably also the stones for the temple, which according to the problematical and perhaps secondary verse 1 K. 6:7 were already prepared at the quarry. Perhaps, however, the expression *'eben-š'lēmâ massā* is describing the stones as "unhewn"⁵⁹ as a characterization of their numinous integrity and the builders' artistic and technical skill. Solomonic wall construction has been preserved especially in Megiddo.⁶⁰ An archaic standard (*middâ hāri'sônâ*, 2 Ch. 3:3) was probably still used in connection with the Solomonic temple.

c. *Ezekiel's "Draft Constitution."* The largest and most concentrated accumulation of occurrences of *māḏad* and *middâ* is found in Ezekiel's "draft constitution" (Ezk. 40–48). In Ezekiel's great vision of the new temple and the new land, an *îš* leads the prophet through the temple area and presents to him the layout in a series of silently executed measurement procedures explicated only by brief remarks. The prophet is probably concerned primarily with contrasting this new cultic layout — as the ideal, pure, and cultically appropriate locus of the cult — with the preexilic temple environs.

Chs. 40–48 do not constitute a literary-critical unit. Hartmut Gese⁶¹ and after him Walther Zimmerli⁶² have illuminated the literary prehistory involved and shown that the numerous additions to the text corrected the first draft of the vision "consistently according to the historical structures of the Second Temple."⁶³

(1) As far as specifics are concerned, the text's basic layer consists of a "guidance vision" (40:1–37,47–49; 41:1–4) (with 26 occurrences of our root) which has been reworked and expanded at least five times. In contrast, Ernst Vogt⁶⁴ postulates a smaller fundamental text (40:1–2; 43:4–7a; 47:1–12) that underwent three expansions: 40–42 (extensive temple description); 44–46 (extensive collection of laws); and 47–48 (addendum concerning the holy land and holy city). Vogt's point of departure, however, is problematical, since even the literary-critical break he postulates in 40:2,3 cannot be carried through. Ezk. 40:3 follows upon 40:1 seamlessly through the stylistic device of repetition.⁶⁵ Actually, 40:2 does seem (contra Gese, Zimmerli, and Vogt) to contain a later insertion.

(2) An initial amplification inserts a description into the guidance vision (41:5–15a; 42:15–20; 47:1–12) (with 13 occurrences of our root), which complements the basic

59. HAL, II, 548; M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK*, IX/1 (21983), 116.

60. Cf. Y. Yadin, "New Light on Solomon's Megiddo," *BA*, 23 (1960), 62–68; *idem*, "The Megiddo Stables," *Nelson Glueck Memorial Volume. Erišr*, 12 (1975), 57–62 [Heb.]; D. Ussishkin, "King Solomon's Palace and Building 1723 in Megiddo," *IEJ*, 16 (1966), 174–186. → אֶבֶן *'eben* (*'ebhen*) (I, 48–51); → חֹמָה *hômâ* (*chômāh*) (IV, 267–271); → חֶשֶׁב *hāṣab*, V, 126, II.3 (*gāzîṭ*).

61. *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40–48) traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BHTh*, 25 (1957).

62. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 547–553.

63. Gese, 108.

64. *Untersuchungen zum Buch Ezechiel. AnBibl*, 95 (1981).

65. Cf. C. Kuhl, "Die 'Wiederaufnahme' — ein literarkritisches Prinzip?" *ZAW*, 64 (1952), 1–11.

outline presented in the vision itself. Neither account mentions any dimensions regarding height!

(3) Within the later expansions (according to Zimmerli) one can distinguish a *nāšî'* ("prince") stratum (44:1-3; 45:21-25; 46:1-12) and a "Zadokite" stratum (44:6-16, 28-30a; 45:13-15) with additions (44:17-27, 30b, 31; 45:1-9), all of which probably originated completely outside the context of the present tradition. Neither stratum contains any occurrences of our root, and neither contains any reminiscence of the numerous measuring procedures. Additions inserted possibly at the same time (43:1-11; 48:1-29) attest 2 occurrences of the root.

(4) Further redactional activity toward the end of the exile worked in additional texts reflecting the growing disputes concerning priorities between Zadokites and Levites, especially texts more sharply delimiting sacred areas within the sanctuary itself (42:1-14; 43:12-17; 45:1-9; 46:16-24; 48:30-35) (with 6 occurrences of our root).

(5) A fourth redaction stresses the notion of atonement in the postexilic cult (no occurrences of our root).

(6) The section encompassing 41:15b-26 (with 1 occurrence) offers a description of the temple interior and constitutes an extraneous element in the course of the narrative. Despite indications of dimensions (v. 22), *mādad* and *middâ* do not occur at all (cf., however, v. 17⁶⁶).

Gese⁶⁷ already noticed that the alternation between stative and factitive verbal forms seems to exhibit literary-critical significance. Actually, this is even more evident than Gese suspected. The basic stratum uses the narrative *wayyāmôd* so consistently that Zimmerli speaks in this context of a "measurement formula" (cf. 40:5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13). In most instances the object is indicated by the accusative particle *'et*, although this can be omitted even when the object is definite (e.g., 40:20).⁶⁸ Only twice does the basic stratum use the stative with *waw* (40:24, 35), where accordingly the accusative particle *'et* does not appear. These exceptions are apparently not caused by the immediately preceding guidance formula (cf. also 40:28, 32; 41:1), nor are they secondary. In contrast, the first reworking (2) uses *mādad* consistently in the stative (41:13, 15; 42:16-20), although not in 41:5 nor in the section 47:1-12, where factitive consecutives appear (47:3-5). While the isolated stative exceptions can be attributed to the increasing linguistic malleability of later Hebrew, the findings in 47:1-12 suggest that this section either belongs yet to the basic stratum itself or — if it does indeed belong to the first stratum of reworking — it has come from a different redactor.⁶⁹ As a parallel example, cf. 2 K. 23:4-20. The 2 occurrences within the *nāšî'* stratum (3) (Ezk. 43:10; 48:16) and the 6 occurrences in stratum (4) are strikingly different from the previous findings.

66. See following discussion.

67. Pp. 29ff.

68. Cf. *ibid.*, 15.

69. Concerning the displacement of narrative verbal forms by statives + *waw*, cf. G. Beer-R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* III (Berlin, ³1972), 46f. On the literary-critical valence of these forms, cf. W. Gross, "Otto Rössler und die Diskussion um das althebräische Verbalsystem," *BN*, 18 (1982), 68f. and n. 167.

The verb is used only twice. In 43:10, Israel is to measure, and in 45:3 Ezekiel; all the other occurrences involve the substantive. There the section encompassing 48:30-35 (4) is even more of an anomaly in that it uses *middâ* absolutely as a standard indication of "measure."

Finally, the use of *middôt* in stratum (6) in 41:17 is also of literary-critical significance, since here, apart from text-critical difficulties, the term must have a different meaning. Standing isolated at the end of the verse the term *middôt* is probably a secondary textual insertion, since it is not yet attested by the LXX tradition. G. R. Driver⁷⁰ and Zimmerli⁷¹ have suggested various solutions. Zimmerli suspects that *middôt* here means "measured off area, strip, field," a "geometrical division of the ornamented area into precise fields."⁷² However, this semantic peculiarity of *middâ* as a "(flat) surface dimension" raises serious questions, since it is otherwise understood only in the sense of "linear measurement" (it first occurs as a "[flat] surface dimension" only during the rabbinic period⁷³); furthermore, the "impossible" insertion into the present context begs the question of its elimination.⁷⁴ Finally, *middôt* cannot be taken as part of v. 18,⁷⁵ i.e., "gigantic figures," since that prompts further changes in MT.⁷⁶

Although it seems highly likely that the differing formal usage within the individual strata also generates semantic shifts, this is difficult to demonstrate.

Within the guidance vision, *mādad* apparently serves as a structural element for the vision account itself, consolidated into the "measurement formula" especially in the form *wayyāmôd* (alongside the "guidance formula" *way'êl'ênî*, 40:17,28,32,35,48; less frequently as *wayyābē*, 40:1,3; *wayyôlikēnî*, 40:24). Vogt takes a different view: "This activity of guiding and measuring is simply a stylistic device designed to render a vivid visual account of the carefully conceived temple outline. The temple outline itself was not given in a vision, but is rather the result of considerable reflection and precise calculations."⁷⁷ The *ʾîš* incorporates the prophet, as a witness of this proclamatory testimony, into the series of measurements, whereby this "measuring" now becomes a common activity shared by the *ʾîš* and the prophet. The measurement procedures extend from the external gates to the interior ones, and thence to the outer courts, aiming all the time at an overall survey of the temple edifice.

In three measurement processes its vestibule (vv. 48f.), main hall (41:1f.) and inner sanctuary (41:3f.) are described. In the case of this last structure, for the first time on the whole progress through the temple a brief word of interpretation is heard from the man

70. "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Ezekiel," *Bibl*, 19 (1938), 184f.; "Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems," *Bibl*, 35 (1954), 306.

71. P. 384.

72. *Ibid.*, 387.

73. Cf. *WTM*, III, 25.

74. With J. Ziegler, *Ezechiel. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, 16/1 (Göttingen, 1977); H. F. Fuhs, *Ezechiel 2. EB* (1988); Gese, 176. Contra Zimmerli. There is no need then to eliminate the entire verse. Cf. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 535 and n. 11.

75. G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel. ICC* (1936, repr. 1951), 450.

76. *Ibid.*, 455.

77. P. 137.

who . . . has hitherto completed the whole process of guidance and measurement in silence. From the point of view of form, too, this is a goal of the whole leading of the prophet from the periphery of the temple buildings to the threshold of the innermost, central part.⁷⁸

The actual measurement is carried out by means of a *pāṭil* and a *q^enēh hammiddā* (40:3,5; stratum 2 speaks of a *qaw*, 47:3; Zec. 2:5[2:1] speaks of a *ḥebel middā*), measuring instruments suitable for both longer and shorter distances.⁷⁹ In what follows the unit of measurement is first the “rod” (*qāneh*, Ezk. 40:4-8), then consistently the “cubit” (*‘ammā*).⁸⁰ For any attempt at determining the theological significance of these relatively vivid measurement processes (exception: Ezk. 40:5), both the point of departure and goal of the measurements as well as the accompanying interpretation given by the *š* (41:4: *zeh qōdeš haqqōdāšim*, “This is the most holy place”) are of particular importance. The measured dimensions are also of consequence, since in addition to the individual valences (the number twenty-five and multiples; rhythm of creation, etc.)⁸¹ they seem to express the “mysterious symmetry and proportion” relating to the temple complex.⁸² Finally, one must also consider that the outer court and the *l^ešāḳōt* along the outer wall are merely described, but not “measured” (40:17f.). This yields the following conclusions for the interpretation of *mādad*:

(1) In both proximity to and distance from tradition, these measurement processes reveal new proportions and pure dimensions. The term *mādad* becomes an indirect term of *revelation*.

(2) Zimmerli correctly points out⁸³ that the *š* is involved in measuring a divine work, not a human work, and to that extent this activity takes on the character of a *promise*.

(3) Ps. 48:13-15(12-14) shows that the goal of any precise examination of the temple is to proclaim Yahweh’s greatness. Thus here, too, the activity of measuring is ultimately directed toward *proclamation* (cf. Ezk. 40:4: *haggēd*).

(4) The measuring process subdivides the overriding process of guidance from the outer gate to the holy of holies. In measured stages the human being draws closer and closer to that goal, so as to “measure” its significance for himself. “The orientation towards the holy is unmistakably expressed as guidance for man.”⁸⁴

(5) The process of measuring implies the process by which Yahweh *takes possession* of the temple complex as he enters his sanctuary from the east. Since the secular areas are not counted as part of this separated area, neither are they measured.

(6) Finally, this “measuring” could also become a representation of the *rhythm of creation*.

78. Zimmerli, 343.

79. For extrabiblical examples of these instruments, cf. E. D. Van Buren, “The Rod and Ring,” *ArOr*, 17 (1949), 434-450.

80. Cf. R. B. Y. Scott, “Weights and Measures of the Bible,” *BA*, 22 (1959), 22-40; Zimmerli, 349.

81. Vogt takes a different view of this.

82. Zimmerli, 344.

83. *Ibid.*, 361.

84. *Idem.*

The first redactional stratum functions to supply previously missing dimensions (41:5,13,15 concerning the temple itself, and 42:16-20 concerning the temple complex). Here the term *mādad* exhibits the additional connotation of a separation of the holy from the secular. In 47:3-5, the same (?) redaction portrays by means of ever increasing dimensions the rapid enlargement of the temple spring from its modest beginnings, employing the term *mādad* in a clearly disparate fashion.

The additions made in connection with the *nāšî* stratum in 43:1-11 look back at the concluded measurements, pick up on them, and now speak explicitly of the entry of Yahweh's *kābôd* as he moves to take possession of the temple. In view of this theophany the following conclusion is drawn from the original proclamatory commission (40:4) to the prophet. The "measurement" (= proclamation) of the sanctuary and of the accompanying commencement of Yahweh's salvific activity along with the people's own measuring on the same pattern is intended to effect "shame" (43:10f.),⁸⁵ a renewed reflection on the appropriate way to conduct oneself with regard to the holy. Finally, 48:16 — completely aside from the intention of the original guidance vision and its initial amplification — speaks of the dimensions (*middôt*) of the city. Within the framework of a land allocation list the system of spheres of graded sanctity is to be extended beyond the actual temple area. The fourth stratum of additions also tries to accommodate itself stylistically to the traditional material here: 43:13 speaks of the *middôt* of the altar; a pre-Priestly addendum to the land allocation list (45:3, standing at the wrong location) speaks of "measuring off" land for the sanctuary from that apportioned the priests. This qualifies the priests' land as a sacred sphere (cf. 48:12).⁸⁶

d. *Nehemiah*. In the postexilic period the term *middâ* in connection with construction plans is attested in Neh. 3. Here the term apparently refers to "sections" of the city wall which are not identified more specifically but whose location was probably familiar, and which were assigned to various city families for repair. Work on the city wall was distributed across many groups whose appointed sections variously were situated "next to the other" (*'al-yādô/yādām*, vv. 2,4,5, and *passim*). The list of those who built the wall is amplified by the insertion of a second list of those who — in stereotypical formulation — repaired a *middâ šēnît* (vv. 11,19,20,21,24,27,30). This refers apparently to the repair of a "second section" after the corresponding builder had already fulfilled his construction quota (compare v. 21 with v. 4; v. 24 with v. 18; v. 27 with v. 5; v. 30 with v. 8). This second list of those who were over-zealous probably comes from a second listing which was unsystematically inserted. For vv. 19,20 the preceding "first section" is not mentioned, and for v. 11 it is added subsequently in vv. 23 and 31. Finally, two repair sections are reported for Meshullam in vv. 3 and 30 without either being designated as *middâ šēnît*. This makes an additional semantic connotation for *middâ šēnît* unlikely.

85. → כִּלְמָ *klm*, IV.2.b (VII, 191-94).

86. On the special meaning of *middôt* in the sixth stratum of additions, see the previous discussion on Ezk. 41:17.

3. *Land Measurement*. It is astonishing that the terms *mādad* and *middâ* do not appear at all in the boundary and land registers concerning the land Israel. This may be because these land-register lists were already set long before our root became fixed in Hebrew language usage, although perhaps also because *mādad* is apparently not suited for secular application. This is supported by the fact that *mādad* occurs only in connection with the measuring off of levitical cities,⁸⁷ and in that context more specifically concerning the measuring off of the surrounding area (*migrāš*, Nu. 35:5). The parallel lists of levitical cities and cities of refuge (Josh. 21 and 1 Chr. 6) speak in nonspecific fashion of “given” instead of “measured off” (*nātan min*, e.g., Josh. 21:3 par. Nu. 35:2 par. 1 Ch. 6:40[55]). It seems that this measuring off, in contrast to the more neutral “marking a boundary” (*t’h*, Nu. 34:7,8,10), is to emphasize the functionally intended separation of these cities.

Although *mādad* occurs in the land allocation list in Ezk. 47:13–48:29 (at 47:18), it is obviously the result of scribal error; although it could be understood as an allusion to the measuring of the temple complex, it stands quite out of context in the present text.⁸⁸

4. *Legal Contexts*. The terms *mādad* and *middâ* occur in a few legal contexts in the OT. In the Holiness Code, *middâ* is used in a prohibition against doing wrong in judgment, in *middâ*, weights (*mišqāl*), and quantity (*m^eśûrâ*; Lev. 19:35). Although in this context *middâ* is easily understood as “linear measure,” its appearance in this legal sequence is somewhat surprising, since the following, explicative v. 36 as well as the parallel stipulations in Dt. 25:13ff. speaks only of weights and measures of quantity (cf. also Ezk. 45:10ff.; in contrast, the cultic sphere is treated differently: 1 Ch. 23:29).

Dt. 21:2 uses *mādad* in what is apparently a very old legal passage: “If, in the land that Yahweh your God is giving you to possess, a body is found lying in open country, and it is not known who struck the person down, then your elders and your judges shall come out to *measure* the distances to the towns that are near the body.” In this way one should determine which community is obligated to atone the capital guilt. Yet even the process of measuring off shows that this “magical procedure”⁸⁹ comes from a very early period in which the field areas were not yet legally fixed in land registers.

The 2 occurrences in 2 S. 8:2 (Deuteronomistic history) allude to the context of martial law. In a punitive sanction against the Moabites, David “measures” the prisoners so as to have two thirds put to death and one third spared. To view as an act of “mercy” David’s stipulation that a “full” (*m^elō*) third be spared borders on sarcasm.⁹⁰ The division of prisoners into thirds was probably based on a stipulation of martial law no longer known to us in its specifics. Actually, the fact that David carried out this stipulation by measuring as opposed to counting off leaves more room for humanitarian mitigation.

87. → לָוִי *lēwî*, IV (VII, 494-96); A. G. Auld, “The ‘Levitical Cities’: Text and History,” ZAW, 91 (1979), 194-206.

88. E.g., Zimmerli, 520f.; J. Ziegler, *Das Buch Ezechiel*. EB (21958), 144; W. Eichrodt, *Der Prophet Hesekiel*. Kap. 19–48. ATD, 22/2 (21969), 417.

89. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy*. OTL (Eng. trans. 1966), 136.

90. H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*. OTL (Eng. trans. 1964), 291.

Conviction concerning the sacredness of the ark of the covenant prompts Joshua's stipulation that no one be permitted to approach nearer than a "distance" (*middâ*) of two thousand cubits (distance of a Sabbath day's journey; Josh. 3:4). The consequences of transgression against this stipulation are shown in 2 S. 6:7.

Passages such as Ex. 16:18; Ruth 3:15, which speak of "measuring out" foodstuffs, allude to the social regulations of ancient Israel.

5. *Anthropological Contexts.* The term *mādad* is scarcely attested in anthropological contexts. Job 7:4 is text-critically extremely problematical, and most translations prefer the LXX reading: "When I lie down, I say, 'When will day come, that I arise?' and when I arise, 'when will night come?'"⁹¹ The LXX, however, has distanced itself considerably from the MT, so that a different solution for the difficult expression *ûmiddad-āreb* must be found. Georg Fohrer⁹² suggests replacing it with *ûmiddê*, "and as soon as it is evening, I am sated with restlessness."⁹³ I think, however, that Robert Gordis's suggestion⁹⁴ is still worthy of consideration, namely, that the MT be maintained. To be sure, one would have to point a qal instead of piel⁹⁵ or an otherwise unattested (?)⁹⁶ poel **ûmodad* and translate reflexively: "When I lie down, then I say, 'when will I arise?' and when the evening 'stretches [extends] itself,' then I am sated with restlessness till dawn." In this sense *mdd* poel accentuates the dimension of limitless duration in Job's misery (cf. vv. 13ff.). (Joseph Reider⁹⁷ also maintains the MT, although he does interpret *middad* as crasis of *min* + *dad*, Arab. "front" = "and from early eve. . . ." This attempt is suspect, however, since in Hebrew *dad* has clearly been attested with a different meaning.⁹⁸) The poel would have approximately the same meaning as the hithpael (cf. 1 K. 17:21, though here it is said concretely that the prophet Elijah "stretches himself" upon the dead youth [perhaps an ancient sympathetic rite of energy transfer?]).

In Ps. 39:5(4), the petitioner implores Yahweh to let him know the "measure" of his days. Despite figurative usage here, the parallel use of *qēṣ*, "end," and *hādēl*, "transient," renders the meaning of *middâ* immediately clear.

6. *Theological Usage.* a. *Creation.* In connection with God's creative activity, several OT passages also speak of a "measuring" of the waters (Job 28:25, par. "weighing" of the winds), of the earth (Job 38:5, *mēmad*), and of the heavens (Jer. 31:37). Otto Wahl⁹⁹

91. Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD*, XIII (1951, ⁷1980), *in loc.*

92. *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 163.

93. Cf. *HAL*, I (1994), 219; II, 547.

94. "Quotations as a Literary Usage in Biblical, Oriental and Rabbinic Literature," *HUCA*, 22 (1949), 182.

95. Cf. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK*, XVI/1 (⁴1983), 97: "and the evening extends itself."

96. Cf. the crux Hab. 3:6; also G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 51-56, esp. 54f.; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968, repr. Winona Lake, 1987), 252.

97. Pp. 61, 64.

98. *HAL*, II, 214.

99. P. 262.

points out that this measuring is an activity intended to render things "comprehensible, so that one is clear just how things really are." The human being confesses that only God is capable of this. Here Job 38 and Deutero-Isaiah converge: "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?" (Isa. 40:12; cf. 4Q511 30:4). Despite parallels from the ancient Near East (Marduk as *mâdidi mê tām̄tim*, "measurer of the waters of the sea"), Karl Elliger has emphasized that this should be taken as a circumscription of the enormous difference between God and human beings rather than as a description of God's creative activity: "No human being can presume to measure the dimensions of creation" (cf. Sir. 1:1-3), i.e., comprehend it.¹⁰⁰ Human beings can but stand in astonishment and reverence. As little as the heavens can be measured and the foundations of the earth be explored, just as little can Israel be cast off anew over Yahweh's steadfast love (Jer. 31:37).

b. *Increase*. In a formulation differing from that found in the promises of increase given to the patriarchs (cf. Gen. 15:5; 22:17; 32:13[12]), Hosea refers to the "immeasurability" of the sand of the sea to proclaim the eschatological increase of the people after the suspension of judgment (2:1[1:10]). A "Jeremianic" commentary (Jer. 33:14-26), emphasizing Yahweh's steadfastness through a rich collection of motifs, similarly predicts that the descendants of David and (!) of the levitical priests will be "immeasurable" as the sands of the sea. "The hyperbole is unmistakable."¹⁰¹

c. *Land Measurement in Zec. 2:5f.(1f.)*. Just as in Ezekiel's constitution draft, so also in Zec. 2:5f.(1f.) an *ʾiš* appears, although here he "measures" Jerusalem with a "measuring line."¹⁰²

These verses present enormous difficulties for any interpretation. The identity of this *ʾiš* is disputed. If dependence on Ezk. 40ff. is assumed,¹⁰³ then one can take this as an angelic being.¹⁰⁴ But how is one then to understand the "correction" following in Zec. 2:8f.(4f.)? This is why other interpreters take the *ʾiš* to be a person carrying out measurements in preparation for construction.¹⁰⁵ The "correction" given in vv. 8f.(4f.) has an "overriding"¹⁰⁶ function intended to clarify the true relationship between human and divine measure.¹⁰⁷ An additional point of contention involves just what is being "measured." The text states: *ʾet-yêrûšālayim* with the further specification *lir'ôṭ kammâ-roḥbāh w'kammâ 'orkāh*. The measuring of Jerusalem is to yield information concerning *rōḥab*, "width," perhaps specifically "breadth," and *'orek*, "length." "Length and

100. Deuterocesaja. BK, XVI/1 (1970), 49f.

101. W. Rudolph, *Jeremiah*. HAT, XII (31968), 200.

102. On the relationship with Ezk. 40, cf. C. Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*. FRLANT, 117 (1977), 164.

103. This is the position of Jeremias.

104. F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Nahum bis Maleachi*. HAT, XIV (21954), 223f.

105. M. Bič, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*. BSt, 42 (1964), 19-22; W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 1-8*. KAT, XIII/4 (1976), *in loc.*

106. So Jeremias.

107. Wahl.

breadth” sooner suggest surface measurements¹⁰⁸ than a measuring of the length of the city wall.¹⁰⁹

These interpretive antitheses become irrelevant if one takes this third vision of the prophet as the portrayal of role-playing intended to elucidate the imminent commencement of the end time and Jerusalem’s function in this new epoch. On the one hand, the “measuring” signals the beginning of construction, just as in the case of preparations for construction (cf. Zec. 1:16); on the other hand, in correspondence to the “overriding correction” (vv. 8f.[4f.]) this “measuring” of earthly dimensions proclaims the “immeasurable” dimension of the end time. In this case the vision is concerned neither with the construction of the wall nor with the rebuilding of Jerusalem (cf. in contrast Jer. 31:39, where “measuring line” and *bānâ* are parallel). As in Ezk. 40ff., one can observe that here, too, *mādad* has the connotation of “taking possession.”

This is consistent with the use of *mādad* piel in the oracle of good news in Ps. 60:8(6) par. 108:8(7). Yahweh divides (*hālaq*) the city of Shechem as war spoils and “measures” the Vale of Succoth. Both the implication of taking possession (cf. 60:10[8] par. and the rite of “casting one’s shoe”) and — indicated by the par. *hālaq* — the assignment to Israel constitute the meaning of *mādad* here.

d. *Reprisal*. Only once does *mādad* occur in the context of reprisal, in connection with the oracle of judgment in Isa. 65:7.¹¹⁰ Yahweh will repay the apostates and “measure” their deeds (*p^eullôt*).¹¹¹ This recalls the *m^enē*’ of the “mene tekem” passage in Daniel (Dnl. 5:25).

7. *mad*. The term *mad* is for the most part theologically irrelevant. It refers to “battle dress” (of David, 1 S. 17:38f.; Jonathan, 18:4; Joab, 2 S. 20:8), whose complement included the sword (*hereb*), helmet (*qôbâ*), and coat of mail (*širyôn*). Without these military accessories, *mad* probably designated an unexceptional piece of clothing (Jgs. 3:16; 1 S. 4:12).¹¹² According to Lev. 6:3(10), the *mad* and *miknēs*, “breeches,” constitute the garments (*b^egādîm*, v. 4[9]) of the priests who are to clear away the ashes of the burnt offering. Ps. 133:2 uses the *mad* in an even more general sense to refer to priests’ clothing. Ps. 109:18 uses the term metaphorically. The psalmist cites¹¹³ the curses his enemies have directed against him, which now surround him like a “coat” (*mad*), “garment” (*begeḏ*), and “belt” (*mēzah*, v. 19). Perhaps this is also an allusion to a protective “sphere of the curse” effected through “self-malediction.”¹¹⁴

III. 1. *Qumran*. The root *mdd* occurs only rarely in Qumran texts. The great scrolls do not attest the verb at all, and it occurs only 3 times in 4Q. 4Q185 1f.II.10 speaks

108. So Rudolph and Jeremias.

109. So J. Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (Leipzig, 1910), 79f.

110. → פָּקַד *pāqad*; → שָׁלַם *šlm*; → שׁוּב *šûb* hiphil.

111. Cf. *BMAP*, 5, 7, and also the textually problematical Jer. 13:25.

112. On the textually problematical term *middîn* in Jgs. 5:10, referring to “garments” or “carpets on which one sits,” cf. *HAL*, II, 546.

113. Kraus, 338.

114. *Ibid.*, 340f.

of the “measure of goodness” (*mdt t̄b*) used as a standard for measurement. 4Q511 30:4 contains a citation from Isa. 40:12 in a characteristic Qumran-Essene reformulation (instead of *mayim* we now read *mê rabbâ*, etc.). The nominal form *mdh* occurs in Qumran with the meaning “tribute” (1QapGen 21:26f.), “garment” (1QS 4:8, the splendid garment as reward for the faithful), and “measure, standard.” According to 1QS 8:4, “walking according to the standard of truth” is already one of the basic requirements of the Qumran founders. God’s creative power manifests itself in the fact that he establishes words with the measuring line (*qaw*) and according to measure (*middâ*; 1QH 1:29). His *kābôd* (1QH 5:21) and his wisdom (9:17) are without measure. Finally, *middâ* occurs as expected in the Temple scroll (13 times); the verb does not occur, since the character of Ezekiel’s guidance vision in 11QT is no longer given.¹¹⁵

2. *Rabbinic Judaism*. In rabbinic Judaism it was above all the nominal form *middâ/middôt* that experienced rich semantic extension. In addition to its former meanings,¹¹⁶ it now also refers to the rules of exegetical interpretation of scripture,¹¹⁷ though also to the various modes of behavior and characteristics of God,¹¹⁸ his “righteousness” (*dîn*) and “mercy” (*rah̄mîm*), on which the world is grounded (*Gen. Rab.* xii.15). The Mishnah tractate *Middoth* deals with the measurements and accoutrements of the temple.

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115. On the similarities with Ezekiel’s draft, cf. J. Maier, “Die Hofanlagen im Tempel-Entwurf des Ezechiel im Licht der ‘Tempelrolle’ von Qumran,” *Prophecy. Festschrift G. Fohrer. BZAW*, 150 (1980), 55-67.

116. Cf. *WTM*, III, 24-28.

117. Cf. H. L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Eng. trans. 1931, repr. New York, 1978), 93-104.

118. Cf. J. Maier and P. Schäfer, *Kleines Lexikon des Judentums* (Stuttgart, 1981), 210.

מהה mhh; אחר ḥr

Contents: I. Occurrences and Distribution. II. LXX. III. 1. Human Tarrying; 2. Divine Tarrying. IV. ḥr.

I. Occurrences and Distribution. Outside Hebrew, the root *mhh* is attested only in Arabic, although Arab. *mahah*, variously rendered as “slow, ambling pace,”¹ sooner suggests the nuance of “gentle, delicate.”² It occurs 8 times in the Hebrew OT, always in the hithpalpel.³ Almost all occurrences are preexilic. Although in Isa. 29:9α MT

1. *GesB*, 402; *HAL*, II (1995), 552.

2. See M. Ibn Mukkarram Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Beirut, 1979), s.v.

3. *BL*, §283v.

hitmahm^ehû can be derived from *mhh*, scribal error from *hittamm^ehû*⁴ is generally assumed on the basis of LXX *eklýthēte* and Vulg. *obstupescite*, as well as the parallelism with v. aβ. Occurrences are also found in Sir. 12:16; 14:12; 32:22 (= 35:18) as well as 2 in Qumran; 1QM 11:18 and 11QPs^a 19:6 (Plea for Deliverance) attest the formative מהמה, which Jean Carmignac⁵ derives from *mhh*, while Yigael Yadin⁶ refers to the as-yet-unexplained *mhmhm* in Ezk. 7:11. The first Qumran text becomes comprehensible if one assumes defective spelling of *m^ehûmâ*, “confusion, panic,” while the second occurrence might be interpreted as *mēhēmmâ*, “from inside.”

II. LXX. The LXX was unable to offer a genuine Greek equivalent for this word. The terms *bradynein*, *epiménein*, *hypoménein*, *hystereín*, and *chroníxein* all belong to the general semantic field “delay, hesitate, come late.” Twice the LXX reads a form of *mhh*, *strateúein*, and twice it derives the form from *hwm*, *tarássein*. Also at Sir. 12:16 a distinction is evident between the Hebrew text *bšptyw ytmhmh šr*, “the enemy hesitates with his lips,” and the *glykaneí* of the LXX, “the enemy speaks sweetly with his lips,” which might presuppose a form such as *yamtîq* or *yísmah*. The verse’s parallelism, however, permits all three possibilities.

III. 1. Human Tarrying. With few exceptions, human beings are always the subject of the *hitmahmah*. In certain cases the context permits ambiguity; this delay might sometimes refer to neutral waiting, in other instances to actual hesitation seeking to prolong a period of decision for the sake of delaying an unpleasant decision.

a. On their flight from the Egyptians the Israelites could not wait for the leavening of the dough (Ex. 12:34,39 [J¹]), and had to nourish themselves with unleavened bread. The expression *lō’ yāk^elû l^ehitmahmēah* effects a circumscription of the situation of hasty flight, and simultaneously provides the historicizing element for the Yahwistic redactor, who thus fixes the location of the historically unbound rite of the unleavened bread within Israel’s history of salvation (cf. Ex. 12:15-20).⁷

The independent, pre-Deuteronomic Ehud tradition in Jgs. 3:15b-26 reports that the servants of the Moabite King Eglon “wait” in the vestibule (*yāhîlû*, v. 25), although during “their delay” (*hitmahm^ehām*, v. 26) Ehud has already made his escape. The Levite (Jgs. 19:8) also “lingers” at his father-in-law’s, though it is not clear for what

4. → תמה *tāmâ*, “be shocked”; cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*. HKAT, III/1 (21902); F. Delitzsch, *KD*, VII; BHK, BHS; H. W. Hoffmann, *Die Intention der Verkündigung Jesajas*. BZAW, 136 (1974), 51f.; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39*. BK, X/3 (1982), *in loc*.

5. J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de lumière contre les Fils de ténèbres* (Paris, 1958), 169.

6. Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1957), 314.

7. On the literary-critical and tradition-critical problems, cf. J. Schreiner, “Exodus 12,21-23 und das israelitische Pascha,” *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 69-90; B. N. Wambacq, “Les origines de la Pesah israéliite,” *Bibl*, 57 (1976), 206-224; *idem*, “II: Suite et fin,” 301-326; *idem*, “Les Maššôt,” *Bibl*, 61 (1980), 31-54.

he is waiting. He delays his journey home for several days although he has already reached the goal of his journey.

However, the *hitmahmah* is also attested as goal-oriented “lingering, patient waiting.” Joseph’s brothers assert, “if we had not delayed, we would now have returned twice” (Gen. 43:10). Based on the course of the Joseph narrative, their hesitation is variously motivated: fear of arrest because of actual failure to make payment; pressure because of Joseph’s command to bring Benjamin to Egypt; delay in relaying this command to Jacob. That this hesitation ultimately serves to facilitate a decision is shown by the fact that only Judah’s willingness to take complete responsibility brings this phase to an end and sets in motion a second journey to Egypt.

b. According to the pre-Deuteronomic Succession Narrative of David, after his flight from Absalom David waited at the “fords of the wilderness” for word from the priests (2 S. 15:28). This is first of all doubtlessly a sophisticated chess move enabling him to gain information from a secure distance concerning the political events in Jerusalem. At the same time, however, *hitmahmah* acquires a religious component inasmuch as David intends to await divine initiative. The word moves into the proximity of verbs of waiting⁸ and hoping;⁹ “the king is quite serious in his belief.”¹⁰ A reciprocal relationship between “delaying” and “believing” manifests itself both in the older passage Gen. 19:16 (J) and in the later passage Ps. 119:60 (postexilic¹¹). It is not just Lot’s curiosity that makes him delay leaving the threatened city Sodom (cf. Gen. 19:16); his objections (vv. 18ff.) and those of his sons-in-law (v. 14) show that he needs further reasons for making the grave decision of leaving his possessions behind. Finally, his lingering is the direct result of lack of faith. Gen. 19 does not clearly show just whether or when Lot recognizes the two *mal’ākîm* as such so as to accept and obey their demand as Yahweh’s salvific will. Yahweh, however, does not in any case allow human hesitation to impede his saving work, as Gen. 19 clearly shows. According to Ps. 119:60, “not delaying” is synonymous with “hastening” (*hûš*). The postexilic psalmist emphasizes the spontaneity of his Torah observance, which in connection with his “reflective self-observation”¹² (Ps. 119:59) in the face of the intrigues of his adversaries is a visible criterion of the integrity of his faith.

2. *Divine Tarrying*. Only in Sir. 32:22 (= 35:18) is God the explicit subject of *hitmahmah*, “delay.” The *terminus classicus* for “God’s tarrying” is *ḥr*, here especially in Ps. 40:18(17).¹³ Sirach emphasizes that God will not delay in smiting the unmerciful. According to Sir. 14:12, death does not tarry, but rather comes inescapably to all human beings.

8. → יחל *yāḥal* (VI, 49-55).

9. → שבר *šibbēr*.

10. H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*. OTL (Eng. trans. 1964), 343.

11. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), *in loc.*

12. *Ibid.*, 417.

13. See IV below.

It is said metaphorically of the *hāzôn* of the prophet Habakkuk that it is determined only for a certain time (Hab. 2:3). Through synthetic parallelism of the verbs *pûah*, “hasten” (uncertain), *lō’ kâzab*, “not disappoint [expectations],” *hākā*, “wait, look forward to impatiently,” and *’hr*, “fail to appear, be delayed,” the verse as a whole encompasses precisely the semantic field covered by *mhh*. This semantic concentration goes together with the commission to the prophet to write down the following tablet text,¹⁴ “Behold, he whose spirit is not upright in him shall perish, but the righteous shall live by his faithfulness.”¹⁵ “The command to write down the words guarantees that this revelation will actually come to pass.”¹⁶ The certainty of this promise is thus so secure that any delay can be recognized precisely as such, and should not be permitted to discourage one’s faith in the ultimate fulfillment.

IV. ’hr. The verb *’hr*, well attested in Akkadian, Arabic, and in the immediate linguistic vicinity of Hebrew, should probably be understood as a denominative from *’ahar*, meaning “linger” (qal), “delay, hesitate” (piel), “be delayed” (hiphil).¹⁷ It occurs 16 times in the OT, but cannot be assigned to a specific time period. The term is also attested in Qumran. The verb refers first of all to a person’s “tarrying” during a normal or set period of time (cf. Gen. 32:5[4], par. *gûr*), then to similar lingering beyond the normal period (2 S. 20:5; Isa. 5:11; Prov. 23:30). It can also refer to “hesitation” in connection with reaching a decision (Gen. 24:56; 34:19) or to hesitation in the sense of failing to appear, which can also coincide with the expectation of another person (Jgs. 5:28, par. *bwš* pilel).

In connection with the cult, the prohibitive *lō’ t’ahēr*, “you shall not delay,” occurs several times in connection with fulfilling the obligation of offerings (Ex. 22:28[29]) and vows (Dt. 23:22[21]; Eccl. 5:3[4]).

God knows no delay, hence all occurrences are negated that insinuate either implicitly or explicitly that God is the subject. One can recognize Yahweh in that he destroys “without delay” those that hate him (Dt. 7:10).

The term *’hr* occurs in the language of prayer only in connection with the plea for deliverance from extreme distress. In these situations the oppressed turns to God and implores him to render aid without delay: “hasten to me!” (*hûšâ* [textual emendation], Ps. 40:18[17]; cf. Ps. 70:6[5]); “hearken!” (*šēmā’â*); “forgive!” (*sēlāhâ*); “take notice!” (*haq’šibâ*); “act!” (*’āšēh*, Dnl. 9:19). The extreme urgency of these pleas is then intensified by the addition of the concluding prohibitive *’al-t’ahar*, “do not tarry!” In a reverse fashion, God’s own salvific promise is spoken into his people’s most extreme mortal distress: “I bring near my deliverance, it is not far off, and my salvation will not tarry” (Isa. 46:13).

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14. For a delimitation, cf. P. Jöcken, *Das Buch Habakwuk*. BBB, 48 (1977), 520.

15. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, “Der Gerechte wird durch seine Treue leben. Erwägungen zu Habakuk 2,4f.,” *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 367-375; W. T. In der Smitten, “Habakuk 2,4 als prophetische Definition des Gerechten,” *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck*. BBB, 50 (1977), 291-300.

16. W. Rudolph, *Habakuk*. KAT, XIII/3 (1975), 215f.

17. HAL, I (1994), 34f.

מהר *mhr*; מהרה *m^ehērâ*; מהיר *māhîr*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Use as an "Auxiliary Verb" and as an Independent Verb. III. Theologically Interesting Examples: 1. Quick Inclination to Evil; 2. Quick Downfall; 3. God's Imminent Action; 4. Other Aspects; 5. Isa. 8:1-3. IV. Niphal. V. *māhîr*. VI. LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. Hebrew attests two roots *mhr*. One is found in → מהר *mōhar*, "bridal money" (perhaps also as a verb in Ps. 16:4), while the other means "to hasten," a meaning attested only in Hebrew. In other Semitic languages *mhr* means "be practiced, skilled": Syr. *m^ehîr*, "skilled," verb pael, "teach"; Arab. *mahara*, "be practiced, skilled"; Eth. *mahara*, "teach."¹ The verb occurs 78 times in the OT in the piel, 4 times in the niphal. The noun *m^ehērâ* occurs 20 times, *māhîr* 4 times.

II. Use as an "Auxiliary Verb" and as an Independent Verb. The root *mhr* in the piel is often used together with another finite verb and functions then as an auxiliary verb with the meaning "quickly," e.g., *watt^emahēr wattōred kaddāh . . . wattašqēhû*, "she quickly let down her jar . . . and gave him a drink" (Gen. 24:18; cf. vv. 20,46; similarly also 44:11; 45:13; Ex. 34:8; Josh. 4:10; 8:14,19, etc.²). The situation is similar in the imperative, e.g., *mahēr himmālēt*, "save yourself quickly" (Gen. 19:22); *mah^arû wa^alû 'el-'ābî*, "go up quickly to my father" (45:9); *mah^arû 'āšû kāmônî*, "do quickly, as I have done" (Jgs. 9:48). The inf. *mahēr* is also often employed adverbially in the sense of "quickly," e.g., *sārû mahēr*, "they have turned aside quickly" (Ex. 32:8; cf. Dt. 9:12,16); *'ābôd tō'bēdûn mahēr*, "you will quickly perish" (Dt. 4:26; cf. Dt. 9:3; 28:20); *riḏpû mahēr 'ah^arêhem*, "pursue them quickly" (Josh. 2:5).

The term *mhr* can also be used with an infinitive with or without *l^e*, e.g., *maddûa' miharten bô'*, "why do you come so quickly" (Ex. 2:18); *mah-zzeh mihartā limšō'*, "how is it that you have found it so quickly" (Gen. 27:20); *way^emahēr la^ašôṭ 'ôṭô*, "he quickly prepared it" or "he hastened to prepare it" (Gen. 18:7; cf. also 41:32; Ex. 10:16; Isa. 51:14; 59:7; etc.).

In other instances *mhr* is used independently with the meaning "hasten to some-

mhr. P. Humbert, "Mahēr Šalāl Hāš Baz," ZAW, 50 (1932), 90-92; A. Jirku, "Zu 'Eilebeute' in Jes 8,1.3," ThLZ, 75 (1950), 118; S. Morag, "On Some Semantic Relationships," Festschrift H. L. Ginsberg. Eriśr, 14 (1978), 137-147 [Heb.]; S. Morenz, "Zu 'Eilebeute,'" ThLZ, 74 (1949), 697-99; L. G. Rignell, "The Oracle 'Maher-šalal-ḥaš-bas,' Is 8," StTh, 10 (1957), 40-52; E. Vogt, "Einige hebräische Wortbedeutungen," Bibl, 48 (1967), 57-74, esp. 63-69: "'Eilig tun' als adverbielles Verb und der Name des Sohnes Isaias in Is. 8,1."

1. Cf. Heb. *māhîr*, V below; E. Ullendorff, "The Contribution of South Semitics to Hebrew Lexicography," VT, 6 (1956), 195 = *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 194.

2. HAL, II (1995), 553, incorrectly adduces Gen. 45:9; Ps. 102:3, which in fact belong to the next group with the imperative.

where,” “come hurriedly,” “bring quickly,” and so on. According to Ernst Vogt,³ this is often a case of ellipsis, i.e., the main verb is omitted: e.g., *mah^arû [qir^u] ’et-hāmān*, “call Haman quickly” (Est. 5:5); *rā^atô mih^arâ m^e’ôd [lābô’]*, “his doom comes quickly” (Jer. 48:16); *y^emah^arû [yēl^ekû] hômātāh*, “they will quickly go to the wall” (Nah. 2:6[Eng. v. 5]; cf. also Gen. 18:6; 1 K. 22:9).

III. Theologically Interesting Examples.

1. *Quick Inclination to Evil.* Human beings are quick to do evil. In Dt. 9:12, Yahweh says to Moses at Sinai that the people “have acted corruptly. They have been quick to turn from the way that I commanded them” (cf. Ex. 32:8). When Moses descends from the mountain he finds the golden calf and says: “You had been quick to turn from the way that Yahweh had commanded you” (Dt. 9:16). The people had allowed itself to be seduced with remarkable ease into apostasy and idolatry. The same expression recurs in the thematic introduction to the book of Judges (Jgs. 2:17): the people “played the harlot after other gods and bowed down to them. They quickly turned aside from the way in which their ancestors had walked.” The people’s inclination to engage in idolatry is thus described as “precipitousness.” A similar notion occurs in Ps. 106:13 (probably with some Deuteronomistic influence): “They quickly forgot his works; they did not wait for his counsel.” Although the exodus (Ps. 106:9-11) awakened the people to faith in God, in the wilderness they quickly forgot everything he had done for them, and dedicated themselves to idolatry in the form of the golden calf. Such inclination to evil is also qualified by *mhr* elsewhere. In a context that speaks of the people’s sins as the cause of their misfortune, Isa. 59:7 asserts: “Their feet run to evil, and they rush to shed innocent blood.” Prov. 6:18 speaks of “feet that hurry to run to evil” (the same expression is developed somewhat more fully in 1:16).

2. *Quick Downfall.* The consequence of apostasy is a quick downfall. Just as Yahweh had once promised to cast down the people of the land before Israel so that Israel might quickly destroy them (*w^eha’abadtem mahēr*, Dt. 9:3), so also will he destroy Israel if it serves other gods (*’ābōd tō’bēdūn mahēr*, 4:26). Israel will be driven from the land (cf. *wa’abadtem m^ehērâ*, Dt. 11:17; *w^ehišmīd^ekā mahēr*, 7:4). The two verbs *’bd* and *šmd* are combined in the curses in Dt. 28: *’ad hiššāmedkā w^e’ad-’abodkā mahēr* (v. 20: “until you are quickly destroyed and perish”). God’s wrath ignites against any idolatry, and his judgment cannot be delayed.

3. *God’s Imminent Action.* God’s action is imminent. The day of Yahweh “is near, near and hastening fast” (*qārôḥ ūmahēr m^e’ôd*, Zeph. 1:14). Yahweh’s wrath will not hesitate; he will soon intervene. Joel’s assertion concerning world judgment (Tyre, Sidon, and the Philistines are being addressed) is similar: “I will turn your deed back upon your own head swiftly and speedily (*qal m^ehērâ*)” (Joel 4:4[3:4]). Concerning Moab, Jer. 48:16 asserts: “The calamity of Moab is coming soon (*qārôḥ lābô’*), and

3. Pp. 65f.

his doom approaches swiftly (*mih^arâ m^e’ôd*)” (again the combination *qārôb* — *mahēr*). In contrast, Isa. 5:26, where Yahweh “entices” the nations of the world to advance against Israel, employs the juxtaposition *qal m^ehērâ*.

Quick intervention, however, can also bring about a positive turn of events. Although Jeremiah does indeed castigate the false prophets who proclaim quick deliverance from Babylon (Jer. 27:16), Deutero-Isaiah asserts: “The oppressed shall soon (speedily) be released” (Isa. 51:14). Fundamental motifs from the lament resonate here,⁴ especially the plea for quick response.⁵ The salvation oracle asserts that Yahweh, the creator who “stirred” the sea, is also able to subdue the oppressor. Cf. also Isa. 58:8: “Then your healing shall spring up quickly”; although these expressions suggest a gradual process,⁶ the imminent commencement of the healing process is emphasized.

Ps. 147:15 says in a general fashion that Yahweh’s word “runs swiftly” (*’ad-m^ehērâ yārûš*), i.e., it is quickly actualized. The context speaks of God’s effective power within nature. Thus when the unbelievers say mockingly, “Let him make haste, let him speed (*y^emahēr yāhîšâ*) his work that we may see it” (Isa. 5:19; the context also attests the verbs *qrb* and *bô*), this is an enormous presumption.

When it is a question of God’s quick intervention, the word *piṭ’ôm* is frequently used, e.g., “whose crash comes suddenly” (Isa. 30:13); “suddenly the destroyer will come upon us” (Jer. 6:26); “[the Lord] will suddenly come to his temple” (Mal. 3:1). This emphasizes the unexpected nature of the action.

Pleas for quick intervention occur in several psalms of lament, usually in the expression *mahēr ’anēnî*, “answer me (respond to me) quickly” (Ps. 69:18[17]; 102:3[2]; 143:7). However, other expressions occur as well: “Let your compassion come speedily (*mahēr*) to meet us” (Ps. 79:8); “rescue me speedily” (*m^ehērâ haššîlēnî*, Ps. 31:3[2]). It is noteworthy that the synonymous term → *חָשַׁב* *hûš*, which occurs several times in psalms of lament and elsewhere is used with *mhr* (Isa. 5:19; 8:1), is not used here.

4. *Other Aspects.* Other aspects of quickness or swiftness emerge from the following examples. The tongues of the stammerers hasten, i.e., speak normally (Isa. 32:4). Just as the bird hastens into a snare, so also does the fool rush to his own ruin (Prov. 7:23). The sinners fade as quickly as the grass withers (Ps. 37:2). God is a swift witness (*’ēd m^emahēr*; according to Vogt,⁷ one should emend *la’anôt*: “who immediately testifies”) against the sorcerers and adulterers (Mal. 3:5). He is simultaneously both witness and judge, and swiftly carries out the trial.⁸ “What your eyes have seen do not hastily bring into court,” i.e., one should maintain control and not act prematurely (Prov. 25:7f.). This illustrates the wisdom ideal of self-control, just as in Eccl. 5:1(2): “Never be rash with your mouth, nor let your heart be quick to utter a word before God”; impetuous words only cause trouble.

4. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 243f.

5. See discussion below.

6. Westermann, 338.

7. P. 65.

8. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II: Maleachi. ATD, XXV* (1982), 196.

5. *Isa. 8:1-3*. The symbolic name of Isaiah's son *mahēr šālāl hāš baz* (*Isa. 8:1,3*) presents several problems. The terms *mhr* and *hwš* are more or less synonymous,⁹ as are *šālāl* and *baz*. The term *hāš* seems to be a participle, *mahēr* an imperative. The two verbs are thus not equivalents unless one takes *mahēr* as an abbreviated participle = *m^emahēr*. The imperative is supported by an Egyptian parallel appearing in the documents of the eighteenth dynasty where the two imperatives *is h'k* ("hasten, plunder") can also be used as substantives to refer to light booty.¹⁰ Anton Jirku,¹¹ on the other hand, refers to Ugar. *mhr*; "servant, soldier," which leads to the translation "warrior of spoils, hastening for plunder." Vogt¹² understands *mahēr* adverbially and translates, "soon one will carry off spoils, and shortly plunder." Reference has also been made to Akk. *humuṭ-tabal*, "quickly, take away," the name of the ferryman of the underworld,¹³ where the imperatives of *hamāṭu*, "to hasten," and *tabālu*, "to take away,"¹⁴ function as a personal name.

In and of itself *mahēr šālāl hāš baz* could be an Isaianic ad hoc construction. As far as the *l^e* preceding the name is concerned, it could either refer to the possessor (*l^e possessoris*) as in *Ezk. 37:16*,¹⁵ or merely function as an introductory colon to the inscription.¹⁶ In any case, the sense of the name is clear enough: Assyria will soon "carry away the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria" (*Isa. 8:4*).

IV. Niphal. The niphal occurs only 4 times, and the passages concerned are fairly diverse. In *Job 5:13*, Eliphaz says that God thwarts all human hubris and "takes the wise in their own craftiness, so that the schemes of the wily dash headlong," i.e., are quickly frustrated. *Isa. 32:4* predicts a time when "those who once acted rashly, reached false conclusions and carried out false acts,"¹⁷ finally gain insight. *Hab. 1:6* refers to the Chaldeans as a *gôy mar w^enimhār*, approximately "fierce and impetuous." In contrast, in *Isa. 35:4* the *nimh^arê-lēḥ* are those who are anxious and despondent.

V. mähîr. The term *mähîr* means "skilled, experienced," and as such is closely related to the meaning of this root in the other Semitic languages.¹⁸ *Prov. 22:29* speaks of persons skillful in their work,¹⁹ *Ps. 45:2(1)* of a skillful scribe; cf. also *Ezr. 7:6*, according to which

9. See previous discussion.

10. See Morenz, 697.

11. P. 118.

12. Pp. 66f.

13. *HAL*, II, 554; E. Ebeling, "Dämonen," *RLA*, II (1932), 111.

14. *AHW*, I (1965), 316; III (1981), 1297.

15. O. Kaiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja, Kapitel 1-12*, *ATD*, XVII (1960), 80, refers to a deed of purchase such as that in *Jer. 32:16*, which does not, however, use *l^e*. Cf. also *idem*, *Isaiah 1-12*, *OTL* (21983), 178.

16. On the *l^e inscriptionis*, cf. S. Moscati, *L'epigrafia ebraica antica 1935-1950*, *BietOr*, 15 (1951), 85-89; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 335.

17. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 323.

18. See I above.

Ezra is *māhîr* in the law of Moses. Isa. 16:5 uses the expression *m^ehîr šedeq* to refer to a judge who “seeks justice (*dōrēš mišpāt*) and is swift to do what is right.”

VI. LXX. The LXX usually uses words such as *speúdein*, *táchos*, *tachýs*, *tachéōs*, and for *māhîr* the words *oxýgraphos*, *oxýs*, *speúdein*, and *tachýs*.

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19. → מלאכה *m^elā'kâ* (VIII, 325-331).

מֹהַר *mōhar*

Contents: I. 1. Meaning; 2. Usage; 3. Legal Questions. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Ugarit. 2. Alalakh; 3. Mari and Mesopotamia; 4. Elephantine; 5. Hittites.

mōhar. S. Bialoblocki, *Materialien zum islamischen und jüdischen Eherecht* (Giessen, 1928); M. Burrows, “The Complaint of Laban’s Daughters,” *JAOS*, 57 (1937), 259-276; *idem*, *The Basis of Israelite Marriage*. *AOS*, 15 (1938); G. Cardascia, *Les lois assyriennes* (Paris, 1969), esp. 69-71, 165-170, 192-96; P. Cruveilhier, “Le droit de la femme dans la Genèse et le recueil de lois assyriennes,” *RB*, 36 (1927), 350-376; M. David, *Vorm en wezen van de huwelijksluiting naar de oud-oostersche rechtsopvatting* (Leiden, 1934); G. R. Driver-J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford, 1935), 126-271; *idem*, *The Babylonian Laws*, I (Oxford, ²1956), 245-324; R. Dussaud, “Le ‘mohar’ israélite,” *CRAI*, 1935, 142-151; A. Eberharter, “Was bedeutet Mohar?” *ThQ*, 95 (1913), 492ff.; *idem*, *Das Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer*. *ATA*, 5/1f. (1914); T. Engert, *Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer* (Munich, 1905); L. M. Epstein, *Marriage Laws in the Bible and the Talmud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942); A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, I. *ABAW*, n.s. 39 (1956), 78-81; A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna*. *AASOR*, 31 (1956), 75-89; C. H. Gordon, “The Status of Women Reflected in the Nuzi Tablets,” *ZA*, n.s. 9[43] (1936), 146-169, esp. 157f.; *idem*, “The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets,” *BASOR*, 66 (1937), 25-27; H. Holzinger, “Ehe und Frau im vordeuteronomischen Israel,” *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift J. Wellhausen*. *BZAW*, 27 (1914), 229-241; K. Kahana, *The Theory of Marriage in Jewish Law* (Leiden, 1966); W. Kornfeld, “Mariage I: Dans l’AT,” *DBS*, V (1957), 905-926; V. Korošec, “Ehe,” *RLA*, II (1938), 281-299; P. Koschaker, “Eheschliessung und Kauf nach alten Rechten, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der älteren Keilschriftrechte,” *ArOr*, 18/2 (1950), 210-296; B. Landsberger, “Jungfräulichkeit: ein Beitrag zum Thema ‘Beilager und Eheschliessung,’” *Symbolae Iuridicae et Historicae. Festschrift M. David*, II (Leiden, 1968), 41-105; E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*. *ÄgAbh*, 1 (1960); D. R. Mace, *Hebrew Marriage* (London, 1953); P. E. van der Meer, “Tirhātu,” *RA*, 31 (1934), 121-23; I. Mendelsohn, “On Marriage in Alalakh,” *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought. Festschrift S. W. Baron* (New York, 1959), 351-57; J. Morgenstern, *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions among the Semites* (Cincinnati, 1966); Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*. *StDI*, 8 (1969; repr. New York, 1973), 51-56, 84ff., 163f.; J. Neubauer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des biblisch-talmudischen Eheschliessungsrechts*. *MVÄG*, 24f. (1920); E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (London, 1944), 94-110; P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt*

I. 1. *Meaning.* The word *mōhar* occurs only 3 times in the OT, always in older texts (Gen. 34:12; Ex. 22:16[Eng. v. 17]; 1 S. 18:25; LXX *dóma* and *phernē*). It also occurs in the texts of Ugarit,¹ in the Egyptian-Aramaic contracts of the Jewish community at Elephantine,² in the Targumim, and in rabbinic writings. The *mōhar* is also well known among the Arabs in Syria, Palestine, and the Transjordan, who use the words *mahr* or *mahar*. The term always refers to gifts which the bridegroom or his father must give to the father or guardian of the girl before she is “given over”³ to her “lord.”⁴ The *mōhar* never occurs in the sense of an actual purchase price. The amount of the *mōhar* was determined by the claims of the father (Gen. 34:12) and the social situation of the family (1 S. 18:25), and was paid in silver or in kind (Ex. 22:16[17]). It does not appear that the validity of the marriage depended on actual payment of the *mōhar*, as, e.g., the payment of a purchase price was the *conditio sine qua non* for establishing the validity of a purchase contract. In fact, payment of the *mōhar* could be replaced by services rendered, as in the case of David before his marriage to Saul’s daughter (1 S. 18:17-27) or Othniel before his marriage to Caleb’s daughter (Josh. 15:16f.; Jgs. 1:12f.). The girl was then given as a reward. The *mōhar* could also be replaced by a longer period of work, as was the case before Jacob’s two marriages (Gen. 29:15-30). The *mōhar* could even be dispensed with entirely if the marriageable daughters were simply exchanged (cf. the suggestion Jacob’s sons make to the Shechemites, Gen. 34:16). The Arabs call this *badal*, “substitute.”⁵

These various agreements show that the *mōhar* was understood as compensation granted the family for the loss of the girl as an economic asset, as a worker, or as a means to advantageous connections. It should not be forgotten that the girl performed economically important functions in her father’s house, e.g., she tended the flocks (Gen. 29:6,9), went to the well and drew water (Gen. 24:11-16; 1 S. 9:11), and worked to

(Leiden, 1961), 13-20, 52; W. Plautz, “Die Form der Eheschliessung im AT,” ZAW, 76 (1964), 298-318; A. van Praag, *Droit matrimonial assyro-babylonien* (Amsterdam, 1945), 128-160, 202f.; J. J. Rabinowitz, “Marriage Contracts in Ancient Egypt in the Light of Jewish Sources,” *HTHR*, 46 (1953), 91-97; *idem*, “The Puzzle of the ‘Tirhâtum bound in the bride’s girdle,’” *BiOr*, 16 (1959), 188-190; H. F. Richter, *Geschlechtlichkeit, Ehe und Familie im AT und seiner Umwelt*, BBET, 10 (1978); A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London, 1954); E. A. Speiser, “New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws,” *AASOR*, 10 (1928/29), 1-73, esp. 23f.; E. Szlechter, “L’affranchissement en droit suméro-akkadien,” *AHDO-RIDA*, n.s. 1 (1952), 127-195, esp. 136-144; R. de Vaux, *Anclsr*, 32-36; J. Wellhausen, “Die Ehe bei den Arabern,” *NGWG*, 1893, 431-480; E. A. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, II (London, 1922), ch. 23; B. Wilanowski, “Une nouvelle interprétation du §31 du Recueil de Lois assyriennes,” *JJP*, 4 (1950), 267-273; R. Yaron, “Aramaic Marriage Contracts from Elephantine,” *JSS*, 3 (1958), 1-39; *idem*, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1961), 45-50; C. Zaccagnini, “Lo scambio dei doni nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII,” *OrAnt*, 11 (1973), 12-32.

1. *KTU*, 1.10 I, 11; 1.24, 19; 1.100, 74f.

2. *TAD* B2.6; B3.8.

3. → מֹכַר *mākar* (VIII, 291-96), Gen. 31:15.

4. → בַּעַל *ba'al* (II, 181-200).

5. Wehr, 58.

gather scattered grain behind the harvest workers (Ruth 2:2). Furthermore, a good marriage might bring appropriate respect to the girl's family, as well as honor and material advantages. It is self-evident that the *mōhar*, understood in this way, only made sense in a patrilocal society in which a married couple lived in the husband's community, so that the young woman left her parents' house in order to live at that of her husband.

The notion of economic compensation also determines the etymology of the term *mōhar*. The suggestion made by Heinrich Zimmern,⁶ namely, that *mōhar* derives from Akk. *maḥīru*, "equivalent, going price,"⁷ certainly misses the mark. Although the root *mhr* I is probably a variant of *mwr*⁸ or *myr*, which in Aramaic means "to procure food for oneself," the Hebrew hiphil exhibits the more general sense of "to give in exchange for" (*hēmîr b^e*). The sense of the qal of *mhr* I would thus have to be "to procure for oneself through compensation." Precisely this interpretation fits Ex. 22:15(16): *māhōr yimhārennâ llô l^eiššâ*, "he shall procure her for himself as his wife." Here the verb *māhar* does indeed imply an expenditure. The term *māhar* exhibits the same meaning in Ps. 16:4 even without the context of marriage: *yirbû 'aṣṣ^ebōtām 'aḥēr māhārū*, "although their idols multiply, they have procured another for themselves." This yields an acceptable meaning despite suspected corruption of the MT⁹: not satisfied with the spontaneous increase of gods as alleged by theogonic myths, the psalmist's contemporaries commission yet another idol to be produced at their own cost. Thus *māhar* implies procurement involving expenditure, although one cannot speak of "price" or "purchase" in the normal sense. Hence *mōhar* in the literal sense could also refer to the "compensation" one could exact when a girl left her parents' house for the purpose of marriage.

One might counter that the expression *mōhar habb^etûlōt* (Ex. 22:16[17]) refers rather to the *pretium virginitatis*.¹⁰ In this case, the *mōhar* would be compensation to the girl for the loss of her virginity. This explanation, however, is unacceptable, since it proceeds on the assumption that the term *b^etûlâ* means "virgin." This may doubtlessly be the case in many passages, but in Joel 1:8, *b^etûlâ* refers to a married woman who had been "possessed" by her husband (*ba'al*); *b^etûlâ* thus refers to a marriageable girl who was physically able to cope with a man, "taking her into his possession." Here the term *b^etûlâ* says nothing about her virginity.¹¹ Ex. 22:16(17) (*kesep yišqōl k^emōhar habb^etûlōt*) can thus be translated "he shall weigh out as much silver as is required for marriageable girls."

In this context we should point out that ancient Hebrew custom did not associate marriageability with puberty. In contrast to the marriageable girl (*b^etûlâ*), the → עלמה *'almâ* refers to a girl in puberty capable of conception. Girls could in fact already be

6. *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (Leipzig, 1917), 18.

7. → מחיר *m^ehîr* (VIII, 231-34).

8. *GesB*, 171.

9. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 233f., 237.

10. Cf. Neubauer and Eberharder.

11. → בתולה *b^etûlâ* (*b^ethûlāh*), II, 340-43.

given in marriage long before actual physical maturity, perhaps even as young as five years old (cf. Lev. 27:5), and it did happen that marriages were already consummated with prepubescent girls. Thus the paragraphs of old legal codices concerning infertile women can also refer precisely to such prepubescent girls who were coerced into consummating the marriage.¹²

2. *Usage.* The stipulation in Ex. 22:15f.(16f.) presupposes that there was a customary price which could vary from village to village and from clan to clan. In the case of a marriage compelled by the “rape of a marriageable girl who is not yet married,” Dt. 22:29 directs that 50 shekels of silver be paid; this might correspond to the highest price of the *mōhar*, or in any case to a higher price than was customary (cf. Ex. 22:16[17]). This sum is also significantly higher than the purchase sum for a slave. The killing of a female slave was requited with 30 shekels (Ex. 21:32). According to Lev. 27:4, the valuation of a woman was also 30 shekels, and a girl between the ages of five and twenty was even valued at a mere 10 shekels (v. 5). These differing sums show that ultimately the *mōhar* was not intended as a purchase sum. This becomes all the more obvious if one compares it with genuine purchase contracts, e.g., Ex. 21:7-11: a girl could be “delivered”¹³ by her father to another man who could designate her to be his own or his son’s concubine. In this case she became an *’āmâ*, “maidservant”; *de facto*, however, she was — like the Assyrian *ēsērtu*¹⁴ — a second-class wife.¹⁵ This legal status of a girl purchased as a “maidservant” with the obligation of “marital” relations is well known in the rest of the ancient Near East as well.¹⁶ This *’āmâ* could also be sold again to others, though not to a foreign people (Ex. 21:8). Hos. 3:2 might contain such a case: the prophet buys the woman for 15 shekels of silver and a homer and a lethech of barley, which also corresponds to approximately 15 shekels of silver. Hosea thus pays the customary price for a female slave (cf. Ex. 21:32).

The biblical evidence does not allow the conclusion that the father of the girl kept the *mōhar* for himself.¹⁷ Quite the opposite seems to have been the case when Rachel and Leah turn against their own father, who has “delivered” them after he “has been using up their money” (Gen. 31:15). The *mōhar* thus actually seems to have become a financial gift to the woman to secure her in case she was cast out or lost her husband. This is also the interpretation that emerges from the fifth-century-B.C. documents from Elephantine,¹⁸ in which the *mōhar* is part of the dowry even though it was handed over to the girl’s father or guardian. In a reverse fashion, this *mōhar* was no less distinguished

12. Cf. CH §§147, 163.

13. → מִכַּר *mākar* (VIII, 291-96).

14. Cf. Middle Assyrian laws, A, §41.

15. Cf. N. Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judaean Archive*. *Qedem*, 4 (1976), 11-13, 31f. [Eng. and Heb.].

16. Cf. A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908, repr. 1948), 60f.; *idem*, *Coutumes palestiniennes*, 1; *Naplouse et son district* (Paris, 1927), 129f.

17. See II below.

18. *AP*, 15; *BMAP*, 7.

from the gifts which the father or the bridegroom gave to the girl at the wedding. On this distinction, cf., e.g., Gen. 34:12: *mōhar* and *mattān*, “gift.” These gifts to the girl or to her relatives provide compensation as it were for the acceptance of the marriage proposal. After Rebekah’s marriage, Abraham’s servants give costly gifts both to her and to her relatives (brother and mother; Gen. 24:53), another indication that *mōhar* by no means implied a purchase sum.

3. *Legal Questions.* Full payment of the *mōhar* sealed the marriage, which from that moment on was considered *matrimonium ratum*. This emerges from 2 S. 3:14, where David demands that his wife Michal be handed over to him, having acquired her as his wife (^a*šer ’ēraštî lî b^e*) for a hundred foreskins of the Philistines. Here he is doubtlessly alluding to a *mōhar* demanded by Saul (1 S. 18:25ff.). The conclusion of the *matrimonium ratum* is being demanded by use of the piel *’ēraś*, which is usually incorrectly translated by “to betrothe.” From the moment of marriage, the legally married woman — even if she has not yet been “taken into possession” by her husband — is called *m^e’ōrāśâ* (pual ptc.). Her rape is punished as adultery (Dt. 22:23-27), and this shows that the lawgivers already equate her status with that of a wife (Dt. 22:24; cf. 2 S. 3:14). The transition from *matrimonium ratum* to *matrimonium consummatum* was introduced by the formal transfer of the wife into the house of her husband (*lāqah*, Dt. 20:7; 24:1; cf. Gen. 20:3), an act comparable to that of the *traditio puellae*. The actual marital act is circumscribed by *bā’al*, “possess” (Dt. 21:13; 24:1; Mal. 2:11).¹⁹ Thenceforth the wife is called *b^e’ulat-ba’al* (Gen. 20:3; Dt. 22:22) or *b^e’ûlâ* (Isa. 54:1; 62:4; Sir. 9:9). Payment of the *mōhar* thus actualizes the agreement of all parties involved and emerges as the constitutive element of the *matrimonium ratum*. This yields the legal situation designated by the various forms of *’rś*. The legal situation was quite clear when the requisite *mōhar* was delivered to the girl’s father all at once; the marriage was then considered immediately in effect. It did happen, however, that the *mōhar* was paid in several installments. Extrabiblical evidence, nevertheless, shows that the bridal father, after having accepted a portion of the *mōhar* — in whatever form — could no longer withdraw from the transaction without payment of a penalty. If he did so, however, the contract apparently was considered terminated.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Ugarit.* Similar customs are attested in other parts of the ancient Near East, especially among the Western Semites. The oldest attestation of the term *mōhar* is found in the Ugaritic poem on the marriage of the moon-god.²⁰ Here the moon-god Yariḥ asks for the hand of the goddess Nikkal: “I shall give her father her *mhr*: 1,000 shekels of silver and 10,000 of gold.”²¹ In addition, he promises the bride profuse wedding gifts.²² The mediator Ḥirḥib suggests other girls with whom he would like to

19. → *ʔṭʔ yādaʔ* (V, 448-481).

20. *KTU*, 1.24.

21. *KTU*, 1.24, 19-21.

22. *KTU*, 1.24, 21-23; cf. *mattān*, Gen. 34:12.

“wed” him. The expression is *trḥ lk*,²³ which corresponds exactly to Heb. *’ēraštī lī* (2 S. 3:14). The bridegroom is accordingly called *trḥ*,²⁴ and the wife *mtrḥt*,²⁵ which corresponds to Heb. *m’ōrāsā*. In the second scene the family enters to accept the *mōhar*. The description here doubtlessly reflects the reality of daily life.

The word *mhr* also occurs in *KTU*, 1.10 I, 11, but in a fragmentary context. In contrast, the mythical narrative of the charm against snake-bite²⁶ contains an interesting reference to *mhr*. The god Ḥoron has taken the daughter of the sun-goddess as his wife. The daughter demands snakes from him as *mōhar*, and Ḥoron agrees.²⁷ The girl selects the *mōhar*, which is then given to her. This mythical case, however, can be evaluated only with some reservation with regard to any light it might throw on the conditions obtaining in the Ugaritic aristocracy.

The Akkadian word corresponding to the *mhr* is *terḥatu*,²⁸ which derives from the same root as Ugar. *trḥ* and refers to the “wedding gift.” The word occurs in three Akkadian legal texts from Ugarit (14th century). In the first,²⁹ a woman receives “as her *terḥatu*” the house of her father from the hand of an unidentified person. In another,³⁰ we read that a woman has brought along 80 shekels; furthermore, if after the death of her husband she takes this back, she is considered to have settled the account of the *terḥatu*. Finally,³¹ if a woman has joined a family “as daughter-in-law” (*ana kallūti*) and is not treated properly, she can leave and take her *terḥatu* with her. The term *kallūtu* derives from *kallatu*, which corresponds to Ugar. *mtrḥt* and Heb. *m’ōrāsā*. Hence in legal documents the term *terḥatu* refers to goods which the woman brings into the marriage from among the possessions of her father, but which she takes back if the marriage is dissolved. The father of the bride thus does not keep the *terḥatu* himself, but rather passes them on to the daughter, who then consigns them to her husband. The wife maintains the right to take them back if the marriage is dissolved. The same situation is reflected in the Elephantine documents, and is echoed in Gen. 31:15.

2. *Alalakh*. The Alalakh documents (15th century) attest a similar custom. Two of the five marriage documents refer explicitly to the *terḥatu*,³² and in two others³³ it is perhaps implied. It must be pointed out, however, that the Code of Hammurabi³⁴ recognized marriages without *terḥatu*. The first Alalakh text³⁵ suggests that the father

23. *KTU*, 1.24, 28f.; cf. 18, 26, 33; *KTU*, 1.14 I, 14; 1.23, 64.

24. *KTU*, 1.14 II, 47; IV, 26.

25. *KTU*, 1.14 I, 24; 1.24, 10.

26. *KTU*, 1.100.

27. *KTU*, 1.73-76.

28. *AHw*, III (1972), 1341.

29. RS 16.158; *PRU*, III, 62.

30. RS 15.92; *PRU*, III, 54-56.

31. RS 16.141; *PRU*, III, 60.

32. D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953), nos. 92, 93.

33. *Ibid.*, nos. 17, 4-6; 91, 4.

34. CH §189.

35. Wiseman, no. 92.

passed on the *terhatu* to the daughter; in the case of divorce, the *terhatu* went either to the husband or to the wife, depending on who was at fault in the divorce. The second text³⁶ mentions the giving of the *terhatu* after the *traditio puellae*, which means either that the *terhatu* was paid directly to the woman or that it was paid to the father-in-law only after the *traditio*.

3. *Mari and Mesopotamia*. Documents from Mari seem to attest just such a case. One³⁷ mentions the *terhatu* brought to Zimri-Lim when his daughter was already residing in the palace of her husband Ibal-Addu.³⁸ The same situation seems to apply to the marriage between the son of Šamši-Adad and the daughter of the king of Qatna;³⁹ here Šamši-Adad raises the amount of the requisite *terhatu* because he considers it insufficient for a woman from the royal family. Another text⁴⁰ mentions the *terhatu* in connection with the consolidation of a peace treaty through marriage.

The Amarna letters also mention the *terhatu*, first in the letters from the Mitanni king Tušratta to Amenophis III and IV,⁴¹ then also in a letter from Amenophis III to King Tarḥundaradu of Arzawa.⁴² Here, however, the exchange of gifts also involves political considerations.

It should be noted that the Code of Hammurabi⁴³ confirms the practice of Alalakh and Ugarit⁴⁴: the father of the woman passed the *terhatu* on to his daughter. This custom is perhaps of Amorite provenance, although its additional attestation in a marriage contract from Nuzi (15th-14th centuries) suggests that the Hurrians may be its source. The Assyrian laws⁴⁵ also presuppose that the woman kept either all or part of the *terhatu*, and prohibit the husband from making any claim to it. It seems, by the way, that in Assyria the *terhatu* was not paid until the final stage of the marriage negotiations, after the other gifts had been given (cf. Gen. 24:53-58).⁴⁶

4. *Elephantine*. It is noteworthy that the custom attested in Alalakh and Ugarit reappears nine hundred years later in the Elephantine documents. Although one might expect a certain amount of influence from Egyptian marriage contracts, where the woman receives a *šp-n-šhm.t* ("gift for a woman") or *šp-rnwt-šhm.t* ("gift for a young

36. *Ibid.*, no. 93.

37. G. Dossin, *Correspondance féminine*. ARM, X (1978), no. 75, 5.

38. *Ibid.*, no. 74.

39. G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils*. ARM, I (1949, repr. 1978), nos. 24, 46, 77.

40. C.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses*. ARM, II (1959, repr. 1978), no. 40.

41. EA, 19, 48, 58; 27, 14, 64; 29, 23f.

42. EA, 31, 22.

43. CH §§136, 163, 164.

44. Driver-Miles, 253.

45. Middle Assyrian laws, A, §38.

46. On the situation in Nuzi, cf. K. Grosz, "Dowry and Bride Price in Nuzi," *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Festschrift E. R. Lacheman (Winona Lake, 1981), 161-182.

girl”), here the father or guardian of the young woman is the formal recipient of the *mōhar*. Although this involves a legal fiction, it nonetheless means that the Jewish colonists clung to the older West Semitic tradition. The small sum is also noteworthy: 5⁴⁷ or 10 shekels;⁴⁸ the latter sum corresponds to the stipulation in Lev. 27:5.

5. *Hittites*. The Hittite laws⁴⁹ mention the term *kušata-*, which corresponds to *mōhar* and *terḥatu*. It seems that payment of the *kušata-* was required for marrying a free woman, and that it constituted the *matrimonium ratum* whereby the woman was “bound” (*ḥamank-*) to her husband.⁵⁰ Similarly, the daughter of King Tarḥundarada of Arzawa could not be taken to Egypt (*traditio puellae*) before Amenophis III had paid the *kušata-*.⁵¹

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47. TAD B2.6.

48. TAD B3.8.

49. I, §§29, 30, 34-36.

50. §29.

51. EA, 31, 22; cf. II.3 above.

מוג *mûg*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Concrete Usage: 1. Surge, Melt, Dissolve; 2. Waver, Reel, Be Shaken. III. Figurative Usage: Melt with Fear, Go into a Panic.

I. 1. *Etymology, Ancient Near East*. The root *mwg* is attested only in later West Semitic languages, especially Arab. *mwg*, “to surge,” *mauḡ*, “wave,” Jewish-Aram. *mwg*, “to melt.” This evidence as well as the semantic development of the root in Middle and Modern Hebrew suggests a common background, namely, the notion of the rolling sea or of ground becoming soft because of moisture.

2. *Meaning, Occurrences*. This fundamental meaning is also clearly discernible in the OT. In addition, however, the idea of earthquakes also became associated with *mwg*. Here the influence of → מוט *mwṭ* may have played a role, which in Ps. 46:7(Eng. v. 6) (perhaps also Ps. 46:3[2]) parallels *mwg* and attracted other verbs from the conceptual field of earthquakes, such as *rāʾaš*¹ (Nah. 1:5; from the semantic range of *mwg*, cf. also Jer. 49:21; Ps. 46:4[3]; Isa. 14:16) and in an extended sense also *hāmā*² (Ps. 46:7[6]; cf. 1 S. 14:16).

mûg. P. Joüon, “Notes de lexicographie hébraïque: Verbe מוג,” *Bibl*, 7 (1926), 165-68.

1. → רעש (*rāʾaš*).

2. → המה *hāmā* (*hāmāh*) (III, 414-18).

The root *mwg* occurs 17 times in the Hebrew OT (of these, Isa. 64:6[7] should probably not be counted, whereas the root should presumably be conjectured in Ps. 46:3[2]; cf. the comms.), 4 times in the qal, 6 in the niph'al, twice in the pilel, and 3 times in the hithpolel. Of the 4 occurrences in the Qumran texts, 2 are niph'al (1QM 14:6; 4QM^a 4) and 2 hithpolel (1QH 3:34, 35). The root occurs almost exclusively in poetic texts; thus except for Ex. 15:15; Josh. 2:9,24; 1 S. 14:16, it occurs only in prophetic books and in Psalms and Job; a similar situation obtains for the Qumran texts.

For the most part, the LXX apparently translates according to the context. Only *tékō* and *saleúō* occur 3 times each, *tarássō* twice.

II. Concrete Usage. 1. *Surge, Melt, Dissolve.* In one series of passages, the association of *mwg* with the notion of the rolling of the sea is only barely discernible. In Ex. 15:15 — though also in Josh. 2:9 (cf. v. 10!),²⁴ — the miracle of the Reed Sea provides the background. 1 S. 14:16 describes the surging to and fro of a multitude of people. In Nah. 2:7(6), the location of the palace “on the river” suggests the surging of masses of water. And in Ps. 46:3(2) (conj.), the mountains threaten to sink into the sea (cf. v. 4[3]).

Ps. 107:26 (or vv. 23-32 taken together), however, unequivocally addresses the situation of seafarers on the high seas who come into distress during a storm. V. 26 offers a dramatically pointed description of the up-and-down motion of the surging sea: the seafarers are heaved up to heaven and then pulled back down into the abyss. (An echo of this notion can be found in the description of the earthquake in Am. 9:5, where the quaking is compared with the rising and sinking of the Nile.) Similarly, the situation of a person in maritime distress during a storm probably also provides the background to Job 30:22, which speaks of being lifted up and tossed about in the wind.

The term *mwg*, however, refers not only to the waves of the sea, but also to the gently falling rain (or even dew) that softens the ground and makes it dissolve. The term *mwg* is used in this sense in Am. 9:13 together with *nîp*, where it expresses the overflowing fruitfulness characterizing the time of salvation. (The similarly formulated statement in Joel 4:18[3:18] does not use *mwg*.) Here the notion of a great influx of water into the ground immediately suggests its logical consequence, namely, the overflowing fullness of the harvest, without any clear distinction being made between the two. The “rolling” of the grain in the fields and of the vines in the vineyards may have contributed to this manner of expression.

Ps. 65:11(10) attests the same notion, extensively described in vv. 10-14(9-13) (together with *r'p* and *rwh*): the abundance of water from the falling rain causes the fields to overflow with the luxuriant growth of vegetation, becoming thus a symbol of divine blessing.

2. *Waver, Reel, Be Shaken.* Ps. 46:3-7(2-6) shows that there is a fluid transition from the notion of the surging sea to that of an earthquake. When the convulsions assume cosmic proportions, then not only the masses of water surge, but also the seemingly immovable mountains threaten to sink into the sea, and that means: into chaos. 1 S.

14:15f. also reveals that from the biblical perspective earthquakes and surging seas are actually two sides of the same coin, namely, the convulsion and dissolution of the order obtaining since the beginning of the world.

This explains why in some passages *mwg* can refer directly to an earthquake, thus approaching the meaning of *mwł*, whereby the notion of the anchoring of the earth in the sea variously rounds out the context (Am. 9:5f.; Nah. 1:4f.); Ps. 75:4(3) explicitly mentions the pillars on which the earth rests in the middle of the sea (cf. 1QH 3:34f.). In this context we also learn what the antithesis of *mwg* is, namely, a steady foundation (cf. *tkn* in Ps. 75:4[3]; cf. 1QM 14:6).

II. Figurative Usage: Melt with Fear, Go into a Panic. Whereas the surging of the sea and earthquakes affect the entire earth, thus becoming cosmic convulsions, it is the “inhabitants of the land” themselves who are also often explicitly mentioned as victims (Josh. 2:9,24; Ps. 75:4[3]; Am. 9:5; 1QH 3:34), or else the inhabitants of a specific land (the land of the Philistines in Isa. 14:31; Canaan in Ex. 15:15), or of a specific building (a palace in Nah. 2:7[6]). This external threat to their stability inevitably also affects them internally; the external convulsion causes the same to occur internally, the result then manifesting itself in fear and panic. Thus *mwg* repeatedly serves to describe such situations of fear and panic, conditions usually brought about by God’s own intervention.

In some passages it is no longer immediately clear whether the reference pertains more to the external or to the internal disruption of stability. Nah. 2:7(6) might just as easily refer to the chaos resulting from the opening of the gates as to the fear caused by that opening. It is likely, however, that no real alternative is intended here: *mwg* encompasses both aspects. Our word “panic” functions similarly. 1 S. 14:15f. also describes this amalgam of internal and external panic in quite graphic terms. The endangered seafarers also melt from fear in their ship, which has become a plaything for the surging waves (Ps. 107:26; cf. Job 30:22).

The term *mwg* is also used in portrayals of fear caused by Yahweh’s mighty intervention, although without the details of the situation itself being made clear. Ex. 15:15 employs a plethora of words portraying the fear of the nations (cf. vv. 14-16), similar to 1 S. 14:15f. Josh. 2:9,24 is also a general portrayal of fear drawing on the formulation of Ex. 15:15.

Isa. 14:31; Jer. 49:23; Ezk. 21:20(15); 1QH 3:34f.; and perhaps also Isa. 64:6(7) also employ the term *mwg* in descriptions of the panic generated by Yahweh’s mighty intervention in history. In these cases, however, the meaning has faded somewhat and lacks clear contours.

In contrast, several expressions occur describing the effect of fear on the individual. In Ps. 107:26, it is the *nepeš* of the seafarers that is seized by panic. Ezk. 21:20(15) as well as Jer. 49:23 (according to an almost universally accepted textual emendation) says the same thing about the *lēb* of the affected individuals. This refers not merely to part of the person, but emphasizes rather that the entire person is seized by fear and panic. In contrast, when 1QM 14:6; 4QM^a 4 speak of those whose knees have become weak, they are clearly referring to a specific part of the body. Yet even here the intention

may still be a reference to the entire person whose panic manifests itself in knees that are no longer steady, and which tremble.

In all these examples *mwg* shows itself to be a root that has forfeited much of its original identity by being drawn into the context of Yahweh's struggle with the nations and with chaos. Its later semantic development in Hebrew does, however, show that this contextual shift only partially affected its meaning at large, and did so only for a time; the vernacular preserved the older fundamental meaning "to surge, waver, become soft."

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מוט *mwṭ*; מוט *môṭ*; מוטה *môṭâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Secular Usage: 1. Totter, Become Unsteady; 2. Be Unable to Maintain Oneself. III. Religious Usage: 1. Creation Theology; 2. Polemic against Idolatry; 3. Dispute between the Righteous and the Godless; 4. Declarations of Trust and Asseverations of Innocence.

I. 1. *Etymology, Ancient Near East.* The root *mwṭ* is attested only in the West Semitic languages: in Jewish-Aramaic, Syriac, Aramaic, and Palmyrene *mwṭ* means "to totter, waver," in part also "to ponder (in the sense of to weigh)," "to sink." Arab. *myṭ* means "to deviate, retire," Ethiop. *mēṭa* "to turn, bend." The common notion seems to be the deviation from an accustomed position, of the kind observed, e.g., in the beam of a scale or in the bending of a pole.

This basic meaning provided a conceptual transition to the nouns *môṭ* and *môṭâ*, which are generally considered derivations of *mwṭ* and which both mean "carrying pole, yoke." The notion of a carrying pole bending up and down might have suggested this derivation. It is striking, however, that *mwṭ* and *môṭ/môṭâ* nowhere occur in the same context, suggesting that the kinship was not conscious. It is far more likely that the speaker sensed a relationship with → מטה *maṭṭeh*, "staff," "branch," which derives from the root *nṭh* and whose semantic field ("spread out, stretch out, turn from the way, turn away, deviate") exhibits a certain proximity to that of *mwṭ*. Perhaps the semantic development of *môṭ/môṭâ* and of *maṭṭeh* can also be traced back to the influence of Egyp. *mdw*, "staff," and Ugar. *mṭ*, "staff."

2. *Meaning, Occurrences.* The basic meaning of *mwṭ* is probably "totter, waver," whereby the reference is always to something firm, such as the human body or bodily

mwṭ. G. Bertram, "σαλεύω, σάλος," *TDNT*, VII, 65-70; H. A. Brongers, "Darum, wer fest zu stehen meint, der sehe zu, dass er nicht falle: 1 Kor X 12," *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae. Festschrift F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl. StFS*, 4 (1973), 56-70.

parts, or the earth or its foundations. Since the notion of the surging of the sea is quite alien here, and since that of slackening or becoming soft does not really fit into the semantic field, the root is not suited for descriptions of fear in its external and internal manifestations. Rather, the root *mwṭ* suggests primarily the stability or firmness — threatened or secure — of a solid mass.

The root *mwṭ* occurs 40 times in the Hebrew OT, 14 times in the qal, 22 in the niph'al, twice in the hiph'il, once in the hithpolel. An additional occurrence might be in Ps. 99:1, whereas the occurrences in Ps. 140:11(Eng. v. 10); 55:4(3); Prov. 24:11 (in the latter case in favor of *nāṭâ*!) should probably be eliminated. The Qumran texts attest 4 additional occurrences (3 in the niph'al, 1 in the hithpolel). Of the OT occurrences, 26 are in the Psalter alone, and of the rest only Lev. 25:35 represents a genuine prose text, whereas a certain concentration can also be observed in Isaiah (6 occurrences, 4 of those in Deutero-Isaiah) and Proverbs (4 occurrences).

The distribution of *môṭ* and *môṭâ* exhibits completely different results. The word *môṭ* occurs altogether 4 times, 3 of those in Numbers (Nu. 4:10,12; 13:23) with the meaning “carrying pole,” and once in Nah. 1:13 meaning “yoke” (unless this latter occurrence is to be read as a form of *môṭâ*). Although *môṭâ* can also mean “carrying pole” (1 Ch. 15:15), the meaning “yoke, yoke collar” predominates by far: of 12 occurrences in all, 11 exhibit this meaning, whereby the word can be either a concrete (Isa. 58:6a,6b,9; Jer. 27:2; 28:10,12,13a,13b) or a figurative reference (Lev. 26:13; Ezk. 34:27). In Ezk. 30:18 one should probably read *maṭṭeh* instead of *môṭâ*; similarly, *môṭâ* probably fits better in Isa. 9:3(4). One notices that *môṭ* and *môṭâ* do not occur at all in the psalms, and that the other occurrences are also found in biblical books or literary contexts that are quite different from those of *mwṭ*. This confirms the earlier observation that no real awareness of any kinship between the root and its presumed derivations can be ascertained.

The LXX variously translates *mwṭ* on the basis of context. Special preference, however, is given to *saleúō* or *sálos* (which together count for 23 occurrences); a third of the occurrences of *mwṭ* is covered by *saleúō*, which in Greek refers to natural movement, especially of the sea, and is used to render no less than 23 Hebrew roots; this usage, of course, was not without consequences for the meaning of *saleúō* in the LXX.

Aside from *mwṭ*, whose only occurrence (Ps. 99:1) should probably be emended to a form of *mwṭ*, synonyms include especially → מִוֵּג *mûg* (which was augmented, probably under the influence of *mwṭ*, to include the meaning “waver, heave during earthquakes”), *nûd*, and *nûa'*, though also *mwš/myš* (cf. Isa. 54:10) and *m'd*. Antonyms are influenced by the context and are thus discussed separately.¹

II. Secular Usage. 1. *Totter, Become Unsteady.* A person's steadiness is threatened especially when his feet slip or otherwise become unsteady. Thus it is not surprising that human feet² are often associated with *mwṭ* (Dt. 32:35; Ps. 38:17[16]; 66:9; 94:18;

1. See III below.

2. → לָגַל *regel*.

121:3), or a person's "gait" or "steps" (Ps. 17:5). The enormous emphasis on steadfastness in connection with the polemic against idolatry (cf. Isa. 40:20; 41:7)³ points in the same direction. When the assertion is made without further specification that a person — or idol — does not totter, as a rule this is probably also referring to the steadiness of feet and legs. Here the fundamental meaning of *mwṭ* comes to expression most clearly.

2. *Be Unable to Maintain Oneself.* Lev. 25:35 uses *mwṭ* in a metaphorical sense. It is probably no accident that here, too, the term is associated with a bodily part that can contribute to steadiness, namely, with → 7' *yāḏ*, "hand," although even this word is intended here in a metaphorical sense. Instead of referring merely to the "slipping of one's hand," the assertion is that a person's "wealth" is unable to maintain itself, or "cannot endure." The concern is with maintaining a minimum of economic independence when someone within the covenant community slips into poverty.

III. Religious Usage. The majority of the occurrences of *mwṭ* are found in the context of religious statements. Several areas of usage stand out: the context of creation theology, especially the threat posed to creation by chaos and by the assault of the nations; the mockery of alien religions, especially the polemic against idolatry; disputes between the righteous and the godless; and finally, declarations of trust and asseverations of innocence. Although some thematic overlapping does occur between these areas, it seems best to discuss the material within this general outline and sequence.

1. *Creation Theology.* The fundamental convictions of OT creation theology include the assertion that Yahweh "established"⁴ the circle of the earth⁵; Ps. 93:1; 96:10; 1 Ch. 16:30 all associate this statement with the assertion that the earth will "not totter" (NRSV "be moved"). This rejection of the possibility that the earth might lose its stability simultaneously functions to emphasize precisely that stability. (The formula *lō' yimmōṭ/bal-timmōṭ* radiates out into other contexts as well and becomes one of the most frequent designations for stability in general.⁶) The same can be said of *l'ôlām*, which also is frequently used to underscore the notion of stability.⁷

However, precisely such strong emphasis on the stability of the cosmos reveals that this stability was by no means self-evident. Rather, creation is continually in danger of sinking back into the primal chaos constantly lurking about creation itself. The cultic traditions of Jerusalem long had access to expressive possibilities for dealing with these notions, possibilities whose main themes — the "struggle with the gods of chaos" and the "struggle with foreign nations" — emanate from many OT passages.⁸ This same

3. See III.2 below.

4. → כִּין *kân* (VII, 89-101).

5. → תָּבֵל *tēbēl*.

6. See III.4 below.

7. See below.

8. Cf., e.g., F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem*. BZAW, 118 (1970).

thing can be observed in the contexts associated with *mwṭ*. An important consideration was apparently that *mwṭ* could also refer to the threat to the earth's stability posed by earthquakes, such as those constantly occurring in the Syro-Palestinian region. Earthquakes were doubtlessly perceived as a primal menace underscoring the immediacy of the dissolution of all order into primordial chaos.

Earthquakes are explicitly mentioned in Isa. 24:19, which recounts the destructive power of the quaking in an accumulation of expressions and then elaborates on it further in vv. 18-20., where recollections of the Flood also resonate. Such recollections of the Flood also provide the background for Isa. 54:9f., which explicitly states that the waters of Noah should no longer inundate the earth; this provides the proper perspective on the earthquake mentioned in v. 10: although mountains and hills may totter and give way (*mwš*), there is no real danger of a complete reversion to primordial chaos, since Yahweh's *hesed* will not totter or withdraw (*mwš*) from his people, just as according to Isa. 24:18-20 the earthquake is caused by Yahweh and thus can also be stopped by him. Earthquakes are also mentioned in Ps. 60:4(2); 82:5; 46:3(2). Ps. 104:5 in particular emphasizes the stability of the earth in connection with a retrospect of the Flood and the subsequent limits placed on the powers of chaos, which here are especially identified with the sea.

Ps. 46 closely associates the motif of the struggle with chaos with that of the struggle with the nations, motifs even more succinctly paralleled in Ps. 99:1. Ps. 46:3f.(2f.) speaks of earthquakes and of the danger of the mountains sinking in the sea. In 46:7(6) (with *hāmā* and *mwg* as synonyms) it is the assault of the nations against Mt. Zion; and v. 6(5) asserts that the city of God will remain firm. All three verses employ *mwṭ*, which together with *mwg* provides the leitmotif of the whole: although everything else may totter and stagger, God himself and his city do not!

This general framework of the struggle with chaos also includes Job 41:15(23), which says of the primordial sea monster Leviathan that the "folds of its flesh" cling to it as if poured on, and that it "does not move." Here the immovability and invincibility of this power of chaos are briefly characterized, just as they are then more broadly described in vv. 16ff.(24ff.). Here, too, however, it is made clear that this monster is powerless against God: it is, after all, God's creature (v. 25[33])!

Despite all the drama provided by these motifs of struggles with chaos and the gods, drama confirmed by the experiences of earthquakes and war, these statements nonetheless persevere in the conviction that Yahweh, who established the earth itself, will also safeguard it from sinking back into chaos. Here *mwṭ* provides a key word inasmuch as it delineates the contrast between the defective stability of the powers of chaos and even of the seemingly immovable mountains on the one hand, and Yahweh's genuinely imperturbable stability and steadfastness on the other.

2. *Polemic against Idolatry.* Job 41:15(23) already insinuates that Yahweh's adversaries are not so much the powers of nature or the nations and their leaders, as other powers which themselves claim divinity. Ps. 82 addresses this opposition between God and the gods more clearly by tracing the world's own disorder back to its lack of knowledge and understanding, which causes it to fumble around in the dark; as a result,

the foundations of the earth itself shake and totter (v. 5). Dt. 32:35 announces the danger of slipping in connection with the accusation of apostasy to other gods.

In these passages *mwṭ* is used in an extended sense in the context of polemic against other gods. In two passages with close literary connections, however, *mwṭ* acquires a special meaning (Isa. 40:20; 41:7). Here *mwṭ* occurs in the context of polemic against idols,⁹ polemic which in a gleeful portrayal of the actual production of such idols demonstrates the impossibility of these other religions. Here *mwṭ* fulfills an important function by drawing attention to the decisive weakness of an idol, namely, that it cannot provide for its own stability. Rather, it needs the help of an experienced craftsman so that it does not “totter” (40:20); but even when several master craftsmen strive together to insure an especially good rendering of the image, nails must still be used as an aid in securing it so that — in human estimation — it does not “wobble.” Twice the statement *lō’ yimmôṭ* stands emphatically at the conclusion. The OT is well acquainted with the notion that an idol can tip over (cf. 1 S. 5:1ff.). Since idols are such a shaky thing, how can one expect them to exhibit stability (*kwn*) or strength (*ḥzq*) when they themselves need stabilizing? Yahweh, of course, needs no such aid; he sits above the circle of the earth (Isa. 40:22) and is thus able to lend stability to everything else.

3. *Dispute between the Righteous and the Godless.* Yet another sphere of usage is revealed by the numerous passages from the psalms which use the word *mwṭ* to address the antithesis between the righteous (the *ṣaddîq*) and the godless (the *rāšā’*). The polemic against idols resonates here inasmuch as the impious also believe that they will never be shaken, and will be spared any misfortune (Ps. 10:6), just as in a reverse fashion the righteous, when shaken, are fearful before the rejoicing of their adversaries (Ps. 13:5[4]; 38:17[16]). Prov. 25:26 also considers it a great misfortune when a *ṣaddîq* gives way before the wicked. The adversarial relationship between God and the gods is continued in that between the righteous and the godless.

The righteous person, however, also realizes that he indulged in a false sense of security when he earlier asserted that in all eternity he would never totter (Ps. 30:7[6]). Never can a person acquire stability from within himself, but rather only from Yahweh. Thus precisely when the righteous person thought his stability was lost and that he would totter, Yahweh’s *ḥesed* supported him (Ps. 94:18). The righteous person can thus also confidently cast his burdens upon Yahweh, always certain that Yahweh will never allow the *ṣaddîq* to stagger (Ps. 55:23[22]). Or he can express the conviction that he will always be mindful, and will never totter (Ps. 112:6). Prov. 10:30; 12:3 treat the same idea in a similar fashion by juxtaposing the fate of the *ṣaddîq* with that of the *rāšā’*. The righteous person can be certain of never staggering, while the wicked will never endure (*kwn*), and will not dwell in the land.

The occurrences of *mwṭ* in the Qumran texts evoke the same conceptual background. 1QS 11:12 considers the possibility of slipping (with *kāšal* as a synonym), anticipating

9. Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT*. BWANT, 92[5/12] (1971), 193ff., 201ff.

as does Ps. 94:18 the succor of the *ḥasde* or the *ṣidqat* 'ēl. 1QH 6:21,27; 7:7 also speak of the staggering of the godless and of the imperturbability of the righteous, extensively described using the metaphor of a well-structured wall built on a firm foundation.

This field of usage removes *mwṭ* from the broader sphere of convulsions of cosmic proportions as illustrated by the struggles with chaos and the nations, and by earthquakes and war. Here the focus is rather on the personal fate of the individual. Yet even when literal reference is made to the slipping of a person's foot, the imperturbability of the righteous person could likely not be expressed so powerfully by the root *mwṭ* if the mode of expression shaped by the theology of creation, with its high valuation of Yahweh's secure establishment of the world, did not provide its background. In all probability this constitutes a later individualization of statements which originally encompassed a much wider sphere. Thus every emphasis on the stability and imperturbability of the righteous person resonates with the stability and firmness which Yahweh once bestowed upon the earth itself and which again and again he maintains against the myriad destructive forces of chaos.

4. *Declarations of Trust and Asseverations of Innocence.* The way in which this individualization came about can probably be deduced from Ps. 21:8(7). Here the king expresses his trust¹⁰ in Yahweh as well as the confidence that he will himself never stagger through the *ḥesed* of the Most High. All this is said against the background of the king's obligation to take up arms against his enemies, which in vv. 9ff.(8ff.) are clearly identified as Yahweh's own enemies. Nonetheless, the declaration of trust is the primary focus, and is not being made in any polemical confrontation as was the case in the examples discussed in the previous section. Above all, an individual is being addressed here, even if as the king he represents the entire people.

This royal declaration of trust leads to expressions of trust made by pious individuals from a later time. In Ps. 16:8f., the psalmist proclaims his conviction that he will not totter if Yahweh, of whom he is continually mindful, is by his side. In Ps. 62:3,7(2,6), this same confidence is repeated like a refrain and augmented by the assertion that Yahweh is his rock, salvation, and fortress (cf. Ps. 46:8,12(7,11)). This reference to the rock evokes Mt. Zion, which Ps. 125:1 calls a place of trust which bestows eternal stability. Such expressions of trust can also recall experiences in which God has kept the petitioners from slipping (Ps. 66:9), whereby here as in other passages it is uncertain whether the petitioners are being addressed as individuals or as a collective.

Ps. 15:5 uses *mwṭ* at the conclusion of an entry liturgy which enumerates the conditions under which the petitioners may enter Mt. Zion. In Ps. 121:3, *mwṭ* occurs within the framework of a dismissal ceremony. This and the great frequency with which the statement *lō'* or *bal-yimmôṭ*, "he will not totter," occurs (1 Ch. 16:30; Job 41:15[23]; Ps. 10:6; 15:5; 16:8; 21:8[7]; 30:7[6]; 46:6[5]; 62:3,7[2,6]; 93:1; 96:10; 104:5; 112:6; 125:1; Prov. 10:30; 12:3; Isa. 40:20; 41:7 — formulated in part also in the 1st person) suggest that it was a fixed formula often associated with statements concerning eternal

10. → **בטח** *bāṭaḥ* (*bāṭach*) (II, 88-94).

permanence such as *l'êdôr wādôr* (Ps. 10:6), *l'ê'ôlām* (e.g., Ps. 15:5; 112:6; 125:1; Prov. 10:30), or *l'ê'ôlām w'ê'ād* (Ps. 104:5). As such, the formula was apparently part of the framework of worship (perhaps entry or dismissal ceremonies) functioning as the expression directly pledging the stability and imperturbability mediated by trust in Yahweh.

Baumann

מול *mûl*; מולה *mûlâ*

Contents: I. Linguistic Considerations; LXX. II. Ancient Near East. III. Usage: 1. The Rite; 2. Interpretation. IV. Qumran.

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I. Linguistic Considerations; LXX. The verb *mûl*, "circumcise," attested only in Hebrew, occurs 32 times in the Bible (13 times in the qal, 19 in the niph'al). The postulation of a secondary form *mll* as an explanation for *môl* (Josh. 5:2) and *n^emaltem* (Gen. 17:11) is unconvincing.¹ Either the person himself is circumcised (so Gen. 17:10,12,13,26,27; 21:4; 34:15,22,24; Ex. 12:44,48; Josh. 5:2,3,4,5,7), or his *b^eśar 'orlâ* (Gen. 17:11,14,23,24,25; Lev. 12:3) or *'orlâ* (Jer. 9:24[Eng. v. 25]), i.e., the foreskin. In metaphorical usage *mûl* is used with *'orlat l^eḥabkēm* (Dt. 10:16; Jer. 4:4) or *lēbāḥ* (Dt. 30:6) as objects. The Qumran texts twice attest the qal (1QS 5:5; 1QpHab 11:13), once the niph'al (CD 16:6). 1QS 5:5 attests the infinitive construct (which does not occur in the Bible itself). The noun *mûlâ* occurs only in Ex. 4:26.

Synonyms include *krt* (Ex. 4:25) and *sûr* hiphil (Jer. 4:4).

Except for Dt. 30:6 (*perikatharîzō*) and Josh. 5:4 (*perikathairō*), the equivalent used by the LXX is *peritémnō* (also Ex. 4:25; Jer. 4:4).

II. Ancient Near East. In addition to Judah itself, Jer. 9:25(26) also mentions the Egyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, and Arabs as people who practice circumcision. While no witnesses to the custom of circumcision in Mesopotamia have yet come to light,² Egyptian circumcision is richly documented,³ although it does not seem to have been the general custom during all periods. The Egyptian practice itself is attested by Jer. 9:25(26), supported by Ezk. 32:19,28,32, perhaps also Josh. 5:9, as well as Herodotus and Philo.⁴ Greek documents dealing with circumcision from the second

G. Richter, "Zwei alttestamentliche Studien. I. Der Blutbräutigam," *ZAW*, 39 (1921), 123-28; L. F. Rivera, "El 'esposo sangriento' (Ex 4,24-26)," *RevBibl*, 25 (1963), 129-136; J. M. Sasson, "Circumcision in the Ancient Near East," *JBL*, 85 (1966), 473-76; H. Schmid, "Mose, der Blutbräutigam: Erwägungen zu Ex 4,24-26," *Jud*, 22 (1966), 113-18; J. Schmid, "Beschneidung. I. Biblisch," *LThK*, II, 289-291; I. Schur, *Wesen und Motive der Beschneidung im Lichte der alttestamentlichen Quellen und der Völkerkunde* (Helsinki, 1937); M. H. Segal, "The Religion of Israel Before Sinai. IV. The Origin of Circumcision in Israel," *JQR*, n.s. 52 (1961), 53-56; F. Sierksma, "Quelques remarques sur la circoncision en Israel," *OTS*, 9 (1951), 136-169; E. M. Smallwood, "The Legislation of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius Against Circumcision," *Latomus*, 18 (1959), 334-347; L. V. Snowman, "Circumcision," *EncJud*, V (1971), 567-575; B. Stade, "Miszellen. 14. Der 'Hügel der Vorhäute' Jos 5," *ZAW*, 6 (1886), 132-143; St. B., IV (1969), 23-40; F. Stummer, "Beschneidung," *RAC*, II (1954), 159-169; S. Talmon, "The Bloody Husband," *ErIsr*, 3 (1954), 93-96 [Heb.], IV [Eng. summary]; R. de Vaux, *AnIsr*, 46ff.; *idem*, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978); G. Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. StPB*, 4 (1961), 178-192 ("Circumcision and Exodus IV 24-26"); C. Weiss, "A Worldwide Survey of the Current Practice of Milah," *Jewish Social Studies*, 24 (1962), 30-48; H. Wissmann, O. Betz, and F. Dexinger, "Beschneidung I-III," *TRE*, V (1980), 714-724; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 263-69; → חתן *ḥtm* (V, 270-77); → ערל *'rl*; → לב *lēb* (VII, 399-437).

1. Cf. *BLe*, §56u"; 58t; W. Gesenius-G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II (1926, repr. Hildesheim, 1962), §28i; *KBL*³ adduces Gen. 17:11 under both מול and מלל.

2. Cf. E. Ebeling, "Beschneidung," *RLA*, II (1938), 18.

3. Cf. *RÄR*, 109-11.

4. Herodotus *Hist.* ii.36f.; Philo *De spec. leg.* i.2.5; *Quaest. in Gen.* iii.47.

half of the 2nd century, however, mention only the circumcision of priests,⁵ which agrees with the indications given by the church fathers.⁶ In this respect, the oldest witnesses cannot be interpreted unequivocally. On a stela from Naga ed-Der in Middle Egypt (23rd century B.C.) the donor proclaims that he owes his success to this ritualistic operation, which was performed on him together with 120 others.⁷ A funerary relief from Saqqārah (sixth dynasty) portrays a priest performing the rite of circumcision on a youth with a flint knife.⁸ It seems certain that the age at which circumcision was performed was somewhere around puberty (rite of entering manhood?),⁹ or in exceptional instances earlier.¹⁰ In the later period circumcision of priests was obligatory.¹¹ The fact that during the Hasmonean period the Ammonites and Edomites do not practice circumcision (Jth. 14:10; Josephus *Ant.* xiii.9.1; in contrast to Jer. 9:25[26], although Ezk. 32:29 also describes the Edomites as circumcised) does not constitute a contradiction; it might be rather that the inhabitants of the regions of Idumea and Ammon had in the intervening period given up circumcision. Whereas circumcision among the Moabites is not mentioned elsewhere, it is a well-attested tradition among the Arabs (Gen. 17:25f.; Josephus *Ant.* i.12.2).¹² The oldest witness is probably the pericope Ex. 4:24-26, which recent exegetes suggest derives from a Midianite background.¹³ Rabbinic literature views Ex. 4:24ff. as the *locus classicus* for the assertion that God tolerates no delay regarding circumcision (Bab. *Ned.* 31b). Beyond this, the oracle of woe against the prince of Tyre in Ezk. 28 reveals that the Judeans were also aware of circumcision among the Phoenicians (v. 10), which is attested in Sanchuniathon,¹⁴ Herodotus,¹⁵ and Aristophanes.¹⁶ The fact that the Phoenicians do not appear in Jeremiah's enumeration might suggest that his selections were political in nature. Wilhelm Rudolph suggests an anti-Babylonian coalition under Egyptian leadership whose propagandistic vaunting of shared circumcision the prophet here deflates.¹⁷

III. Usage. 1. *The Rite.* Circumcision did not become legally regulated until the exilic and postexilic periods. After that, every male was to be circumcised (Gen.

5. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde* (Leipzig, 1912), I/2, nos. 74-77.

6. F. Zimmermann, *Die ägyptische Religion nach der Darstellung der Kirchenschriftsteller und die ägyptischen Denkmäler* (Paderborn, 1912), 158-162.

7. *ANET*³, 326.

8. *ANEP*, 206; cf. also *ANET*³, 673.

9. K. Sudhoff, *Ärztliches aus griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden. Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin*, 5f. (Leipzig, 1907), 179: twelve to fourteen years old; Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* iii.47: fourteen years old.

10. Mitteis-Wilcken, no. 74: seven and eleven years old.

11. Cf. W. Westendorf, "Beschneidung," *LexÄg*, I (1975), 727-730.

12. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, ²1897, repr. 1961), 174f.

13. So Kosmala, H. Schmid, Kutsch, Forshey; → *יחנ* *htn*, V, 276f.

14. Cited in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* i.10.33.

15. *Hist.* ii.104.

16. *Birds* 504ff.

17. *Jeremia. HAT*, XII (³1968), 64f.

17:10b,11a), the time of circumcision was set at the eighth day after birth (v. 12a), and the circle of those affected was expanded to include slaves (vv. 12b,13a) in order to guarantee the cultic purity of the larger family to which they belonged. The ordinances conclude in Gen. 17:14a with a sanction.¹⁸ Individual elements reappear in other contexts. Ex. 12:43-50 mentions (vv. 44,48) allowing slaves and foreigners dwelling in the land to partake of the Passover if they are circumcised. The stipulation of the eighth day as the time of circumcision was incorporated into Lev. 12:1-8, a compendium of ordinances to be followed at the birth of a child (v. 3).

Circumcision itself can be traced back to the time before the country was unified (Josh. 5:2-9), back to the period of the conquest, and probably even as far back as the end of the patriarchal period (Gen. 34).¹⁹ The presentation of P in Gen. 17; 21:4, which traces circumcision back to Abraham, accommodates itself to the historical framework of the period portrayed.²⁰ The flint knives mentioned in Ex. 4:25; Josh. 5:3 also suggest a very early date. The designation of the eighth day rendered impossible the kind of collective circumcision apparently customary in an earlier period (Josh. 5:2-9).²¹ Comparisons with later circumstances yield only approximate details with which to amplify this picture.

The fundamental elements of the modern practice of circumcision were already fixed at the time of the Mishnah. Three stages of the operation are differentiated: 1. removal (*mîlâ*) of the foreskin (*ḥittûk*); 2. exposing the *glans penis* as far as the corona (*p^eri'â*); 3. sucking off the bleeding vessels (*m^ešîšâ*). The *p^eri'â* can hardly have been a part of circumcision during the biblical period, since it obstructs operations which reestablish the foreskin of the kind familiar from the Hellenistic-Roman period (1 Mc. 1:15; *As.Mos.* 8:3; Josephus *Ant.* xii.5.1; 1 Cor. 7:18; *'Aboth* iii.11). A later introduction of this element is also suggested by the fact that tradition explicitly tries to attribute it to Abraham (Bab. *Yoma* 28b). In general, a father probably circumcised his son, although in emergency situations anyone could perform the rite as long as he or she was a Jew. The modern mohel can also be represented by any Jew.

2. *Interpretation.* Until the end of the monarchy circumcision was a self-evident sign of ethnic identity (Gen. 34).²² The need for religious interpretation emerged at the same time legal regulation became necessary, since it became clear that circumcision on the one hand and personal behavior on the other could very easily diverge. Deuteronomy (10:16; 30:6), Jeremiah (4:4; 9:25[26]), and Ezekiel (44:7,9) all believe that this could be rectified by a "circumcision of the heart" which would fulfill that of the flesh. "Circumcision is circumcision of the heart."²³ P then interprets circumcision as a sign of the covenant (Gen. 17:11) which manifests on the one hand God's steadfastness, and on the other Israel's

18. Westermann, 263, 267.

19. *Ibid.*, 540f.

20. De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 286f.

21. Cf. also *ANET*³, 326.

22. → ערל *'rl*.

23. Hermisson, 76.

commitment. The Talmud expresses this by asserting that circumcision overrides all 613 commandments and prohibitions (Bab. *Ned.* 32a). A third interpretation emerges from the LXX rendering of Dt. 30:6; Josh. 5:4.²⁴ Circumcision is a condition for cultic purity. This apparently reflects the Egyptian understanding.²⁵

IV. Qumran. The Qumran texts follow the interpretations of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and P. An autonomous person omits circumcising the foreskin of his heart (1QpHab 11:13) or the foreskin of his evil inclinations and stiffness of neck (1QS 5:5). CD 16:6 views the day of Abraham's circumcision as the day the covenant was made.²⁶

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24. See I above.

25. Herodotus *Hist.* ii.37; Philo *De Spec. Leg.* i.5).

26. → לב *lēb* (VII, 399-437).

מולדת *môledet*

Contents: I. 1. Grammatical Form; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. Context: 1. Place of Birth, Home, Fatherland: a. 'ereš *môledet*; b. *môledet*; 2.a. Birth; b. Descent, Origin; 3.a. Race; b. Descendants; c. Relatives.

I. 1. Grammatical Form. Among the abstract nouns derived from the root → ל'י *yld* which occasionally exhibit concrete meaning, *môledet* is the most important after *tôlādâ*, with which it is closely associated.¹ The non-segolate form *môlādâ* occurs only as a place name (Josh. 15:26; 19:2; 1 Ch. 4:28; Neh. 11:26).

2. Occurrences. The term *môledet* occurs 22 times in the Hebrew Bible, although with uneven distribution (in particular, it occurs nowhere in the Deuteronomistic history, nor in the greater Ketubim). It occurs 9 times in Genesis (8 of those among the older narrators), 4 times in the remaining Tetrateuch; the rest occur in Jeremiah (twice), Ezekiel (3 times), Ruth (once), and Esther (3 times). Temporal distribution thus extends from the Yahwist to the Hellenistic period.

3. Meaning. Of the three semantic categories which the grammars generally attribute to substantives constructed with *ma-*, namely, place, instrument, and verbal-abstract,² the

1. On the construction with the preformative *ma-* (*maq̄al-t*), see *GK*, §85e-g; Joüon, §88 l.e; on the segolate ending cf. *GK*, §94g; Joüon, §89g.

2. Cf. esp. H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik* (Uppsala, 1952), 205-8.

instrumental does not apply to *môledet*. Accordingly, two fundamental meanings emerge: 1. place of birth, home, fatherland; 2. birth, and thence descent, lineage; or as *concretum pro abstracto*: a) tribe; b) descendants; c) persons of the same descent = relations, family.

In all these variations, however, the fundamental meaning of *yld* is always present. In contrast to the nomadic tribal and clan structures, which are often supported by artificial genealogies, *môledet* is that identification and connection based on consanguinity and birth which still obtains even if the tribal and clan structures themselves are dissolved.³

For a consideration of the LXX renderings of *môledet*, see the individual sections below.

II. Context. 1. *Place of Birth, Home, Fatherland.* a. *'ereš môledet*. The meaning "place of birth, home" is to be read in particular in those passages that speak of *'ereš môledet*, "homeland." It is not really accurate to understand *môledet* here in the derivative sense of "kindred," in which case *'ereš môledet* would be the "land of one's kindred."⁴ Rather, *'ereš môledet* is the land in which a person has his physical, though also his spiritual roots. Of the 7 passages with *'ereš môledet*, 2 belong to the Abraham cycle, and one to the Jacob cycle. One fixed biblical tradition places Abraham's home in Mesopotamia. This is his (*'ereš*) *môledet*, which he gives up under Yahweh's guiding hand. As is well known, P deviates from this by having Abraham's father Terah's wanderings begin in Ur of the Chaldeans (Gen. 11:31), though significantly without calling it his home (*'ereš môledet* does not occur in the P source). It is rather the Yahwist who considers Aram Naharaim and more specifically Haran to be Abraham's *'ereš môledet*. This is doubtlessly his reference in Gen. 11:28, where "Ur of the Chaldeans" functions "merely to harmonize."⁵ And in Gen. 24:7 (cf. v. 10) he formally names Aram Naharaim and the city of Nahor as Abraham's *'ereš môledet*, i.e. (according to 27:43; 28:10; 29:4) Haran itself. As tenacious as the older narrators are in their association of not only Isaac (Gen. 24) but also Jacob (Gen. 29–33) with Haran as Abraham's *'ereš môledet*, Jacob's *'ereš môledet* is actually Canaan.⁶ When in Gen. 31:13 (E) the angel of Elohim instructs Jacob to return to the *'ereš* of his *môledet*, the reference is to Canaan. The "sons of Jacob" come from middle Palestine,⁷ and the Jacob traditions already enjoy a fixed focal point in the sanctuary at Bethel.⁸ This change in direction over against the Abraham cycle, however, also reveals the change that has taken place in the combinations and systematization of the patriarchal traditions from Abraham to

3. See II.1.a below.

4. R. de Vaux, "Les patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes," *RB*, 55 (1948), 322: "place where one's kindred dwells"; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 139: the land of his kith and kin, the land where his kinsmen lived.

5. Westermann, 135.

6. Cf. H. Seebass, *Der Erzvater Israel und die Einführung der Jahweverehrung in Kanaan*. BZAW, 98 (1966), 33.

7. Cf. A. Lemaire, "Les Benê Jacob," *RB*, 85 (1978), 321–337.

8. Cf. A. de Pury, *Promesse divine et légende cultuelle dans le cycle de Jacob*, II. *ÉtB* (1975), esp. 559–585; E. Otto, "Jakob in Bethel," *ZAW*, 88 (1976), 165–190.

Jacob by the Israelite narrators and theologians. Whereas Abraham's *'ereš môledet* is in Aram Naharaim, and Isaac similarly sojourns in Canaan as a foreigner (Gen. 26:3: *gûr*; cf. in P the *'ereš m'gurîm*: Gen. 17:8, etc.; Abraham is a *gêr* and *tôšāb* in the land: Gen. 23:4), Jacob's wives already feel like *nokriyyôṭ* in Aram Naharaim (Gen. 31:15); his *'ereš môledet* is Canaan: the promise is taking form.

Not only the stories surrounding the figure of Abraham, but also the Ruth narrative make it clear that the *'ereš môledet* is not the highest good, and that Yahweh may well demand of his elect that they give it up. By leaving father and mother Ruth is also leaving her *'ereš môledet* in order to join the people of Yahweh, whom she earlier did not know (although her husband was, after all, one of them!) and among whom she was considered a *nokriyyâ*, and to seek refuge under the wings of the God of Israel (Ruth 2:11f.). Despite the parallels to the Abraham tradition generally acknowledged by the commentaries, the theological shift cannot be overlooked. Yahweh is no longer the God who wanders with the fathers, as was the case with the older Pentateuch narrators (cf. esp. Gen. 28:20f.), but is rather bound to a specific land and to a specific people, and the foreigner who would enjoy Yahweh's protection must first leave his own *'ereš môledet*.

Jeremiah twice uses the expression *'ereš môledet* in the sense of country of birth, home. The successor to King Josiah, who fell in battle against Pharaoh Neco, was Jehoahaz, whom Neco took captive to Riblah and from there deported to Egypt, and to whom the prophet must then announce that he will never see his homeland again (Jer. 22:10); rather — so goes the explication — “in the place where they have carried him captive he shall die, and he shall never see this land again” (v. 12). Even if this statement was made in 622, the Deuteronomistic commentary reflects the homelessness of the exile, of the “foreign land” (*'admat nēkār*, Ps. 137:4).⁹ After the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, the foreign mercenaries in the Egyptian army (or the foreign merchants?¹⁰) flee the sinking ship by calling to one other: “Come, let us go back to our own people and to the land of our birth” (Jer. 46:16). For the first time here, (*'ereš*) *môledet* — as later in Esther¹¹ — is not a parallel to clan and patriarchal house, but rather to *'am*. The clans have been subsumed under peoples, and these peoples are now associated with their own homelands. The same set of circumstances is found in Ezekiel. He accuses Judah of allowing itself to be fooled by mere pictures of officers who looked like Babylonians and whose homeland was Chaldea (Ezk. 23:15). Here also nation and land are viewed as one.

In all these passages the LXX understands *'ereš môledet* as the land of one's birth or origin, or descent (not of kindred). It translates *en tē gē hē egennēthē* (Gen. 11:28, analogously 24:7), *tēn gēn (tēs) genéseōs sou* (Gen. 31:13; Ruth 2:11), *patrís* (Jer. 22:10; 46:16[LXX 26:16]; Ezk. 23:15).

9. Cf. H.-J. Hermisson, “Jeremias Wort über Jojachin,” *Werden und Wirken des ATs. Festschrift C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 267-270.

10. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT*, XII (1968), 272.

11. See below.

b. *môledet*. The word *môledet* by itself probably also has the meaning “place of birth, home” in the 5 passages (all J or J-source) in which it is construed with the preps. *min*, *’el*, and *l’*, particularly since in every case it stands in obvious proximity to *’ereš*. Even though the lexica,¹² translations, and commentaries largely advocate the rendering “kindred,” it is difficult to understand *’ereš* + *môledet* other than as *’ereš môledet*. The call with which Yahweh begins human history anew in Gen. 12:1 demands that Abraham leave his land (*’ereš*), his *môledet*, and his father’s house (*bêt ’āb*). This does not really constitute a heightening of elements, as various commentaries suggest, such that Abraham is to leave not only his land, but also his kindred, indeed, even his most intimate family circle (of which, by the way, he takes along a sizeable portion!). “Your country and your *môledet*” stands here for “your *’ereš môledet*,”¹³ and the *’ereš môledet* itself is for nomads automatically identical with the land of one’s *bêt ’āb* (cf. Gen. 24:7, where *bêt ’āb* and *’ereš môladtî* are synonymous). The pleonasm simply serves to emphasize the radical break with the past on the one hand, and the absolute new beginning on the other.

The same is true of Gen. 24:4 (J), where Abraham orders his servant: “Go to my country and to my *môledet*.” Here, too, “land” and *môledet*, as v. 7 shows, can mean nothing other than *’ereš môledet* (indeed, the entire section vv. 1-9 emphasizes only the “land”; only *after* the encounter with Laban’s family are the *bêt ’āb* and *mišpāḥâ* mentioned!). Similarly, a comparison with 31:13 (E)¹⁴ — despite the fact that the two passages draw from different sources — makes it clear that in Gen. 31:3 (J) “to the land of your ancestors and to your *môledet*” means the same as “to the land of your *môledet*.” To be sure, for Jacob the basis of confidence is less the privileges of one’s home which he enjoys in Canaan than Yahweh’s support: “I will be with you” — the Yahwist’s warning against false trust in the Davidic-Solomonic claims to power.¹⁵ In the prayer at Jabbok in Gen. 32:10(9) Jacob cites Yahweh’s own instructions *šûb l’arš’kâ ûl’ môladt’kâ*, which echoes both *lêk-l’kâ mē’arš’kâ ûmim-môladt’kâ* (Gen. 12:1) and *šûb ’el-’ereš môladt’kâ* (Gen. 31:13). The sense is the same as that in Gen. 12:1. Finally, to Moses’ request to guide his people through the wilderness, Hobab responds: “I will not go, but I will go back to my own land and to my *môledet*” (Nu. 10:30 [J]), in short: to the land of my origin, to my home.

The LXX is inconsistent in these passages. In the sense discussed above it translates Gen. 32:10(9) *eis tén gén tēs genéseōs sou*, while in Gen. 31:3; Nu. 10:30 it uses the ambiguous *geneá*; the use of *syngéneia* in Gen. 12:1 and *phylé* in 24:4 presupposes the meaning “kindred” for *môledet*.

2. a. *Birth*. The law concerning forbidden degrees of relations in Lev. 18:9(twice),¹¹ uses *môledet* first in the sense of “birth.” V. 9 prohibits relations with one’s half-sister on both the father’s and mother’s side, whether it concerns a “house birth” (*môledet bayit*)

12. *GesB*, *KBL*², *KBL*³, *HAL*.

13. Cf. *GesB* and *KBL*³ s.v. *w’* with the example from Gen. 3:16: “your pain and your childbearing” = “the pain of your childbearing.”

14. See a. above.

15. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, “Ein Theologe in salomonischer Zeit? Plädoyer für den Jahwisten,” *BZ*, N.S. 25 (1981), 101f.

or a “birth abroad” (*môledet hûš*), i.e., one born either at home or elsewhere, legitimate or illegitimate (LXX *endogenoús ē gegennēménēs éxō*). V. 11 extends the prohibition to include the daughter of a wife of the father from a different relationship. Of her, too, it is said: “(she is) the birth of (NRSV ‘begotten by’) your father (*môledet ’ābîkā*), . . . she is your sister [LXX *homopatría adelphē*],” i.e., she is “declared to be ‘a sister,’ in a peculiar phrase — perhaps a later addition — because ‘begotten by your father.’”¹⁶

The great discourse against Jerusalem in Ezk. 16 also speaks of birth, though now in a metaphorical sense: “Your origin and your birth (*m^ekōrōtayik ūmōl^edōtayik*; pl. employed in lawsuit¹⁷) are of the land of the Canaanites” (v. 3). The repetition in v. 4 of *ūmōl^edōtayik* (“and as for your birth”) should doubtlessly be considered a case of disruptive dittography.¹⁸ With the words “on the day you were born” v. 4 provides a meaningful and seamless transition from v. 3 and simultaneously specifies the sense of *môledet* as “birth” (LXX *génesis*). Against the background of its Amorite-Hittite “birth” and the — theologically — hopeless future of the city, Jerusalem’s election and disloyalty emerge in all their incomprehensibility. “For a pagan city and a state founded on such a city can make none of the claims that might accompany physical descent from Abraham. In and of themselves, Jerusalem and Judah are nothing special and can make no claims to privilege. What they were and are is based solely on Yahweh’s obliging love.”¹⁹

b. *Descent, Origin*. In Est. 2:10,20, *môledet* exhibits the extended sense of “descent, ethnic identity, race,” as shown by the parallelism with *’am*: Mordecai has charged Esther not to make known “her people or kindred.” This usage is an example of the transition from the abstract to the concrete.

3. a. *Race*. This transition is completed in Est. 8:6, where there is no discernible difference between *’am* and *môledet*. Esther laments: “For how can I bear to see the calamity that is coming on my people . . . the destruction of my race?”²⁰ The quantity that emerges from common descent is ultimately the people itself. This is a time in which national pride emerges victorious and in which the preservation and purity of the race is worthy of the believers’ best efforts.

The LXX renders *môledet* inappropriately in all 3 instances with *patrís*, “fatherland, home town.”

b. *Descendants*. In one passage, Gen. 48:5f. (P), *môledet* has the meaning of “descendants, posterity.” At Jacob’s deathbed, it emerges that Jacob’s adoption of the sons of Joseph will be limited to Ephraim and Manasseh, and will not extend to Joseph’s other sons: “Ephraim and Manasseh shall be mine, just as Reuben and Simeon are. As for the descendants (NRSV ‘offspring’; LXX *ékgona*) born to you after them, they shall be yours.” The adoption of both Ephraim and Manasseh, based on divine revela-

16. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 135.

17. E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910).

18. Thus G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT*, XIII (1955); W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970); *LexHebAram*; contra W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 322.

19. Fohrer, 86.

20. On the change in social structures reflected in the par. *’am/môledet*, see II.1.a above.

tion, as well as their inclusion in the promise, is thus emphasized more strongly than among older narrators against the claims made on behalf of natural descent.

c. *Relatives*. The meaning “kindred” = “one’s relatives,” which lexicographers and commentators also suggest for the passages mentioned under II.1.b, seems actually to apply only to Gen. 43:7 (J). Jacob’s sons assert before him that the Egyptian “questioned us carefully about ourselves and our *môledeṭ*.” The kindred (LXX *geneā*) about which Joseph inquires is, to be sure, limited to the immediate family: “Is your father still alive? Have you another brother?” Hence one might better translate *môledeṭ* here as “family” than as “kindred.”

We have found that the semantic spectrum of *môledeṭ* revolves around the fundamental notion of birth (root *yld*) and expresses several relationships created through birth: place of birth, home, fatherland — descent, origin — race, descendants, family.

H. Haag

מוֹעֵד *mô'ēd*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Semantic Intricacies. II. Human Interaction. III. *mô'ēd* in the Natural and Cultic Calendar. IV. Future (and) Eschatological Divine Action at the *mô'ēd* Time. V. *'ōhel mô'ēd*.

I. Occurrences and Semantic Intricacies.

1. Although *mô'ēd* is attested in various genres from the oldest historical texts (Gen. 18:14; 1 S. 9:24) to the most recent apocalyptic utterances (Dnl. 12:7), certain focal points do emerge regarding its use. Of the 223 occurrences in the OT, 149 are in the section from Ex. 25 to Nu. 31, i.e., in the Priestly writing, as well as Gen. 1:14; 17:21; 21:2 (cf. Josh. 18:1; 19:51). The expression also occurs frequently in Chronicles (12 times) and in Lamentations (6 times), and later particularly in the Qumran writings (in addition to the 61 occurrences according to Kuhn,¹ 57 others² are found in 4Q and 10

mô'ēd. J. Dus, “Zur bewegten Geschichte der israelitischen Lade,” *AION*, 41 (1981), 351-385; M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung*. *BBB*, 27 (1967), 168-170; J. Macdonald, “An Assembly at Ugarit?” *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer*. *UF*, 11 (1979), 515-526; E. T. Mullen, *The Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Hebrew Literature*. *HSM*, 24 (1980); L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT*. *BWANT*, 76[4/24] (1938; ²1967), 35-38, 129-152; G. Sauer, “יָעַד *j'd* bestimmen,” *THAT*, I, 742-46; J. A. Thompson, “Expansions of the יָעַד Root,” *JSS*, 10 (1965), 222-240; J. A. Wilson, “The Assembly of a Phoenician City,” *JNES*, 4 (1945), 245; N. Zelnik, “מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ,” *Shanah be-Shanah*, 1972, 266-272; for further bibliog. → אֹהֶל *'ōhel*, I, 118f.; יָעַד *yā'ad*, VI, 135; cf. “Festivals,” *EncJud*, VI, 1237-1246.

1. Kuhn.

2. Cf. J. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4*. *DJD*, V (1968); M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, III (4Q482-4Q520). *DJD*, VII (1982).

in the Temple scroll). The term *mô'ēd* occurs 146 times in a construct relationship with *'ōhel* in reference to the Israelite tent sanctuary during the wilderness period, the “tabernacle”; of these, 133 are found between Ex. 25 and Nu. 31, and this special usage requires a separate discussion.³

Several instances of linguistic overlapping and thus presumably of close semantic associations point to the notion of a fixed point in time. “Days” and “years” occur in parallel (e.g., Gen. 1:14; Lam. 2:22), as also “feasts” or “festivals” (Hos. 9:4f.; Ezk. 46:11), or “time” in general (Ps. 102:14[Eng. v. 13]). In cultic contexts the terms “Sabbath and new moon” are often used in connection with it.⁴ Usage involving the notion of “time” often employs construct combinations with *yôm* (Lam. 2:22; Hos. 9:5; 12:10), *hōdeš* (Ex. 23:15; 34:18), or *šānā* (Dt. 31:10). The term *qr'* (“solemnly convene/call together”) occurs most often as a verbal compliment; a *mô'ēd* is summoned against someone (Lam. 1:15), though much more frequently one’s cultic associates are summoned together for the *mô'ēd*, which is therefore called *miqrā' qōdeš* (e.g., Lev. 23:2ff.). Various divine designations used as *nomens regens* frequently refer to God as the determinative element (Lev. 23:2ff.; Ps. 74:8; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]), as do the corresponding suffixes (e.g., Lev. 23:2; Ps. 74:4; Lam. 2:6).

2. The noun is related to the verb → **יָדַע** *y'd*, with which it is also explicitly associated in Ex. 30:36; 2 S. 20:5. The term *y'd* refers either to the making of an appointment between two equal partners, or to such action taken by one person over against another of lower standing; as a rule, both cases refer to a meeting at a specified time, and occasionally also at a specified place.⁵

3. All the West Semitic languages attest a noun *m'd*. Arab. *maw'id* means “place/time of an appointment,”⁶ Aram. *mō'aḏā'* means “appointed time, festival.”⁷

II. Human Interaction. *HAL* lists “place for meeting, assembly point” as the first meaning of the basic word, and “meeting, assembly” as the second.⁸ The passages adduced for the first meaning (Josh. 8:14; Job 30:23; Lam. 2:6; Ps. 74:4), however, can also be interpreted differently,⁹ or at least can be taken to emphasize the connotation “appointed time, date,” which *KBL*³ does not list until third.

This can be demonstrated by the relatively rare instances where *mô'ēd* refers to nonreligious human interaction. In Josh. 8:14 the warriors of Ai presumably do not meet “at an appointed place” (Martin Luther) at the *'arābā*, but rather meet there at a time favorable for the united assault. The Israelite warriors do not just set an

3. See V below.

4. See III.2 below.

5. → **יָדַע** *yā'ad* (V, 393-426).

6. Wehr, 1081.

7. *DISO*, 145; Jastrow, II, 745. On Ugar. *m'd* see III.3 below.

8. *HAL*, II (1995), 557f.

9. See following discussion.

“appointment” (NJB “agreed”) with “those of the ambush” separated from them for strategic purposes, but rather determine the decisive point in time at which to undertake collective action (Jgs. 20:38). Jonathan goes out into the field “at the *mô'ēd* of David,” referring to the time of meeting specified by David (1 S. 20:35); although this includes the place necessary for the meeting, it by no means refers only to the place. David becomes restless when Amasa delays beyond the “set time of the meeting” (2 S. 20:5).

This virtually exhausts the instances which attest nonreligious use of the lexeme. It is thus limited to preexilic writings and refers here to a time set between two partners for a meeting for the purpose of undertaking collective action; under certain circumstances the appointed time can be augmented by a specification of the meeting place as well. As a rule, the *mô'ēd* is fixed and made binding by the first partner for the weaker one. This hierarchy in the relationship between the two partners emerges even more clearly in the religiously oriented contexts to be discussed later.

As the only later witness, Job 30:23 is generally understood “spatially”; the *bêt mô'ēd* to which the dead descend in the underworld is usually translated in the sense of “place of assembly.” If one does not point the text as *mû'ād* (“the house appointed [for all living]”),¹⁰ it seems more advisable to assume some influence from the Babylonian mythology of the underworld. There the underworld is frequently viewed as a “gloomy, dusty etc. house”¹¹ to which human beings sojourn in the days of their appointed fate (*ûmē šîmti*).¹²

III. *mô'ēd* in the Natural and Cultic Calendar.

1. What is perhaps the oldest witness (Gen. 18:14 [J]) already equates *mô'ēd* with the time at which the year comes full circle (*kā'ēt hazzeh*). The P parallel (17:21) expresses this even more clearly: “at this time (NRSV ‘season’; *lammô'ēd hazzeh*) in the next year” (similarly also in 2 K. 4:16f.). The return of certain animals in rhythm with the course of the year also occurs at the “set time” which, e.g., the stork knows instinctively (Jer. 8:7). Similarly, the ripening of the fruit of the field also follows with a corresponding, fixed regularity (Hos. 2:11,13[9,11]).

2. The term has also long been used to refer to the appointed time and place of the more important cultic celebrations, i.e., feasts of worship. This is probably the sense of the cook’s words to the astonished Saul at the cultic meal when he serves Saul a portion of the sacrifice (1 S. 9:24): “Eat, for it was kept for you until the feast”¹³ (so also 1 S. 13:8,11?). In the Pentateuch the Feast of Passover-Mazzoth clearly emerges as the decisive annual *mô'ēd*, celebrating the day of deliverance from Egypt, while the other festival times are occasionally mentioned alongside it and do

10. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*. KAT, XVI (1963), 414, n. 23, following J. Reider, “Contributions to the Scriptural Text,” *HUCA*, 24 (1952/53), 102f.

11. *BuA*, II (1925), 144f.

12. *AHw*, III (1981), 1239.

13. Görg, 169.

not receive such designation: Ex. 13:10; 23:15 (E); 34:18 (J); Nu. 9:2f., 7, 13; Dt. 16:6; cf. 2 Ch. 30:22; Hos. 12:10(9). Yet in the majority of OT passages (aside from the combination *'ōhel mô'ēd*) it refers to the time of the (three) great annual festivals (Lev. 23:2ff.; Nu. 10:10; 15:3; 28:2; 29:39; 2 Ch. 8:13; Ps. 75:3[2]; Isa. 1:14; Lam. 1:4; 2:7, 22; Ezk. 36:38; 44:24; 45:17; 46:9, 11; Hos. 9:5; Zeph. 3:18; Zech. 8:19; cf. Dt. 31:10). In this connection it can also refer to the festival locale, the holy place on Zion (2 Ch. 30:22; Ps. 74:4, 8; Isa. 33:20; Lam. 2:6), though it remains unclear whether the temporal or spatial reference is being emphasized. In its statements about the cultic festivals as *mô'āḏîm*, the lexeme occurs surprisingly often together with the terms "sabbath and new moon" (Lev. 23:2ff.; Nu. 10:10; 1 Ch. 23:31; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 31:3; Isa. 1:14; Lam. 2:6; Hos. 2:13[11]; cf. Ezk. 36:38; 46:9, 11; Hos. 9:5), so that the Sabbath and new moon, while apparently not referring to a *mô'ēd*, do designate a closely related quantity.

This last combination suggests that an inner relationship obtains between the usage of *mô'ēd* in reference to the recurring, more important temporal divisions within the natural year on the one hand and its usage in reference to the greater annual festivals on the other. This orientation in relationship to Sabbath and new moon demonstrates how even in the preexilic period the Hebrews were quite conscious that the Passover-Mazzoth (Weeks) and autumnal festivals were to take place at a time set by Yahweh through the course of the stars. The fixed seasons in the course of the year are at the same time the fixed times of festivals.

Though the moon plays an especially decisive role, the sun is also of consequence: "He made the moon for the *mô'āḏîm*; the sun knows its (time for) rising" (Ps. 104:19). A similar sense is expressed by the famous passage Gen. 1:14, according to which the celestial bodies were created to be "for signs and for (regular) times of festivals and for days and years" (cf. Sir. 43:7). 1QS 9:26–10:8 extensively discusses the relationship between the natural and cultic year from the perspective of *mô'ēd*.

Festival dates are thus inviolably fixed by the course of the stars as seasonally significant temporal divisions. Since in the earlier period this is emphasized especially regarding the Passover-Mazzoth festival, the festival itself must have been oriented since a very early period to the course of the celestial bodies, not only of the moon (full moon), but also of the sun according to the equinox. This probably refutes the thesis of a purely lunar calendar in ancient Israel, since at least the cult was given a lunar-solar orientation.

However, it is not only as regards the natural cycle that these *mô'ēd*-times are thrown into relief; at the same time, they represent those days when God approaches Israel as the Creator and meets with his cultic community. Such times are thus filled with holiness (*qdš*, Ps. 74:3f.; Lev. 23:2ff. and *passim*), and such occasions are marked by solemn convocations (*qr'*, Lev. 23:2ff.; Nu. 16:2; Lam. 1:4, 15; 2:22 and *passim*). The community is required to make offerings at such times, whereas on other days such offerings are voluntary and can take place as acts prompted by a special occasion (Nu. 10:10; 15:3; 28:2; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 8:13; 31:3; Ezk. 45:17 and *passim*). The 10 occurrences in the Temple scroll fall under this rubric; there *mô'ēd* always means

“festival date” and is explicitly distinguished from the “work day” as “day of weariness” (11QT 43:15).¹⁴

3. According to Isa. 14:13, the gods come together on a *har-mô'ēd*, where at one time the Babylonian king sojourned. This passage became the mythical prototype for the eschatological Har Magedon (Armageddon) of Rev. 16:16.¹⁵ Exegetes unanimously take the sense of this expression to be “mount of assembly (of the gods)” and adduce the Ugaritic parallels in the Ba'al-Yamm myth, according to which the sea-god once sent his messengers “to the *phr m'd* in the midst of the Mount of Lala,”¹⁶ where *phr* refers to the closed alliance of the gods and *m'd* here, too, is taken as “assembly.”¹⁷ However, both the Ugaritic and the OT contexts suggest rather a “fixed time for the assembly (of the gods)”; in neither instance is the reference to ad hoc meetings, but rather to regularly recurring occasions which presumably are to be celebrated concurrently as festivals on earth as well. This remains the case even if John Macdonald is correct in suggesting that one point as the passive participle “appointed.”¹⁸

The account of the journey of the Egyptian Wen-amon mentions an extraordinary, brief meeting among human beings; Wen-amon reports that one day a prince of Byblos convened his *mw'd(wt)* (a Syrian word foreign to Egyptian) in order to stand in their midst and make certain decisions¹⁹. Reference is apparently being made to a kind of ministerial council or circle of representatives of the people, whose suggestion, however, is then rejected by the ruler. Does this passage allow us to conclude the existence of a people's assembly as a regular institution under the name of *mô'ēd* in Syria-Phoenicia?²⁰

An element of ambiguity remains regarding the Aramaic inscription of Tell Deir 'Allā,²¹ where a seer by the name of Balaam seems to be reporting a vision and speaks of *šdyn*, Shaddai gods (or cult servants?): *wnšbw . . . mw'd*, “they take their places (*yšb* as in Ex. 33:8; Nu. 11:16; Dt. 31:14) at the appointed time of meeting.”²² This can refer both to a specially convened assembly of deities and to a regularly conducted assembly.²³

14. J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll*. JSOTSup, 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 113; also G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield, 1987), 142.

15. J. Jeremias, “Ἀρ Μαγεδών,” TDNT, I, 468; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, SVT, 5 (1965), 24, n.1.

16. KTU, 1.2 I, 14-18, 31; ANET, 130.

17. WUS, no. 1619; UT, no. 1512; CML², 151.

18. P. 524; similarly Mullen, 129.

19. ANET, 29a.

20. Wilson, Macdonald, contra Mullen, 282.

21. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Allā*. DMOA, 19 (1976).

22. *Ibid.*, I, 6.

23. This passage has been discussed most recently by H. and M. Weippert, “Die ‘Bileam’-Inschrift von Tell Dēr 'Allā,” ZDPV, 98 (1982), 88, 103; and H.-P. Müller, “Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir 'Allā und die älteren Bileamsprüche,” ZAW, 94 (1982), 217f., 224.

IV. Future (and) Eschatological Divine Action at the *mô'ēd* Time. It is not only through his creation of time itself that God established fixed *mô'āḏîm* which his people are to keep and which serve the purpose of an encounter with God. Rather, his efficacious word establishes ever anew a *mô'ēd* for good fortune or disaster for human beings in history. This includes the appointed end of the pestilence in Israel during the time of David (2 S. 24:15) as well as the commencement of the fifth Egyptian plague (Ex. 9:5). In particular, the small book of Lamentations understands Judah's fall in 587/586 as a *mô'ēd* called upon them by Yahweh, and equates the element of cultic holidays which terrifies the godless — holy days which according to the language of the psalms bring about ruin for the wicked just as they do blessing for the righteous — with the destruction of the people as an enemy of God; the development of eschatological notions from a cultic context can be discerned here in an exemplary fashion (Lam. 1:4,15; 2:6f.,22).

In contrast, Ps. 102:14(13) pleads for a *mô'ēd* as a time when Yahweh will again have pity on Zion. The transition to the use of *mô'ēd* as an eschatological term includes Hab. 2:3, where the order for the prophet to write down what he has seen is given the following justification: *kî 'ôḏ ḥāzôn lammô'ēd*, which probably means that the vision extends itself (delays) "to the appointed time"²⁴ set for the turn of fortune in Israel's history, i.e., it will not occur immediately.

Yahweh also appoints significant times in the history of other peoples. A time was allowed for the Egyptian pharaoh to rage, although he let it pass by unused (Jer. 46:17). The book of Daniel allots to each of the Hellenistic Diadochian kings a (divinely determined) *mô'ēd* for their military campaigns; after a certain time, the *mô'ēd* ends and the kings lose their power (Dnl. 11:27,29,35). In these passages *mô'ēd* is probably not intended to be understood in an eschatological sense.²⁵

This is the case, however, for Dnl. 8:19, where the angel says to Daniel: "I will tell you what will take place later in the period of wrath, *kî l'mô'ēd qēṣ*." Regardless of whether one takes the two final words as a construct combination, "at the time fixed for the end,"²⁶ or as a nominal clause, "(so that) there is an end to the appointed time,"²⁷ in any case the preceding parallel *'aḥ'arîṭ ḥazza'am* evokes an eschatological term. Dnl. 12:7 represents perhaps a middle position, where at the anxious question "how long" an angel swears by the life of the *'ôlām*: *l'mô'ēd mô'āḏîm wāḥēṣî*, which is usually translated "a time, (two) times, and half a time." This rendering does, however, remain questionable, since *mô'ēd* otherwise never refers to temporal duration, but rather to an emphasized phase within a temporal continuum.

The Qumran writings frequently refer to the mysterious eschatological concluding phase of history as the *mô'ēd* of affliction (1QS 1:18; 4:18) or of judgment (*mišpāṭ*,

24. W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT*, XIII/3 (1975), *in loc.*

25. On this discussion see B. Hasselberger, *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis. ATS*, 4 (1977), 259, 261, 272.

26. *HAL*, II, 558.

27. On this discussion, see Hasselberger, 61.

1QS 4:20), or simply as the *mô'ēd* of God (*'ēl*, 1QM 1:7), etc. Many of these passages reveal a similarly close relationship between cultic and eschatological motifs.²⁸

V. 'ōhel mô'ēd. The "tent of the *mô'ēd*" in the Pentateuch in (E?²⁹ and) P is discussed in I, 123-130, where mention is made of J. A. Wilson's suggestion to translate "tent of assembly for a festival" instead of the usual "tent of meeting (between God and human beings)," a rendering supported by modern personalistic theology. To be sure, this designation does include the notion that at the *mô'ādim* God is closer to his people than at the usual, "normal time," and only in this tent, nowhere else, is Moses able to "speak face to face" with his God (Ex. 33:11; cf. also the verb *y'd* used in Ex. 29:42-45 to refer to God's meeting with the people). In addition, Ex. 25ff. simultaneously refers to the tent as *miškān*, "dwelling place," namely, for God. From time to time his glory descends upon this sanctuary (Ex. 40:34f.; Nu. 14:10; 16:19; 17:7[16:42]; 20:6); indeed, to the extent that this glory appears on earth at all, according to P it always abides in a cloud above the *mô'ēd*-tent. Yet at least in the Priestly writing it is no doubt intentional that the establishment of the holy tent in Ex. 40 is followed by the extensive sacrificial regulations of Lev. 1-16, which refer in particular to the festival times.³⁰ Even if the Pentateuch narrators were understandably less interested in recurring festival times than in unique, significant historical points in time, this does not exclude the possibility that the term *mô'ēd* has the same sense in its combination with "tent" that it does elsewhere in P,³¹ i.e., a gathering or assembly for a festival.

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28. Cf. J. Carmignac, "Précisions apportées au vocabulaire de l'hébreu biblique par la Guerres des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres," VT, 5 (1955), 354; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texts*. BBB, 10 (1956), 167-69; on *mw'd ht'nyt* in 4QpPs^a, "time of affliction," cf. R. B. Coote, "'MW'D HT'NYT' in 4Q 171 (pesher Psalm 37), fragments 1-2, col. II, line 9," RevQ, 8 (1972), 81-85.

29. M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), ch. xiv: "The Non-Priestly Image of the Tent of *mô'ēd*."

30. In contradistinction from the literary-critical elimination of Lev. 1ff. from the basic P material (customary since Wellhausen), see K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16*. FRLANT, N.S. 53[71] (1959).

31. See discussion above.

מוֹפֵֿת *môpēt*

Contents: I. Derivation, Interpretation, Occurrences, and Usage. II. Theological Use in the OT: 1. The Exodus Traditions; 2. "Prophetic Literature"; 3. Variations in Context and Meaning. IV. Qumran.

I. Derivation, Interpretation, Occurrences, and Usage. The OT attests 36 occurrences of the word *môpēt*, which occurs only in its nominal form and whose etymological derivation is still completely uncertain. Neither does its use in Middle Hebrew, Samaritan, Jewish-Aramaic, or Phoenician offer any clue regarding its derivation and original meaning. The only Phoenician witness to date is uncertain,¹ since this passage also allows for a completely different interpretation of the letters *mpt*. Thus the witnesses in the OT constitute the earliest occurrences of this word at the present. The basic meaning is best rendered by the English equivalent "sign,"² while the individual context suggests the more precise rendering ("miracle," "sign of remembrance," "warning sign," "omen," "testing sign"). The term *môpēt* frequently parallels → אֹת *'ôṭ*, though also *massâ*,³ and occasionally *niplā'â*⁴ and *mišpāṭim*. The LXX translates the word in the majority of cases with *téras*, and in some instances with *sēmeíon*.

Among the few occurrences in the OT, the concentration in Deuteronomy (9 times), Exodus (5 times), Ezekiel (4 times), and the Psalms (5 times) is noteworthy. From the perspective of content and thematic material, the traditions surrounding the miraculous exodus from Egypt seem to have prompted the use of *môpēt*. The Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic view of these events employs *môpēt* along with other terms (e.g., the term *'ôṭ* mentioned above). Another sphere of usage is discernible in the prophetic literature, where *môpēt* can function as an affirming sign of the prophetic message or even, as its *verbum visibile*, constitute the content itself of that message. Most of the passages come from the later OT period (Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic-Chronistic), and the two witnesses in Proto-Isaiah may be the oldest of them all. No secular usage of *môpēt* is attested; the Hebrew term functions exclusively in theological contexts.

môpēt. B. S. Childs, "Deuteronomic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 30-39; J. Haspecker, "Wunder im AT," *Theologische Akademie*, 2 (1965), 29-56; C. A. Keller, *Das Wort OTH als "Offenbarungszeichen Gottes"* (Basel, 1946); S. V. McCasland, "Signs and Wonders," *JBL*, 76 (1957), 149-152; G. Quell, "Das Phänomen des Wunders im AT," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 253-300; K. H. Rengstorff, "σημεῖον," *TDNT*, VII, 200-269; *idem*, "τέρας," *TDNT*, VIII, 113-126; G. Rinaldi, "Môfet," *BeO*, 22 (1980), 159; L. Sabourin, "OT Miracles," *BTB*, 1 (1971), 227-261; F. Stolz, "אֹת 'ôṭ Zeichen," *THAT*, I, 91-95; → אֹת *'ôṭ* (*'ôth*) (I, 167-188).

1. Cf. *DISO*, 164; *KAI*, 30.

2. *KBL*³: Wahrzeichen.

3. → נִסָּה *nsh*.

4. → פֶּלֶא *pl'*.

II. Theological Use in the OT.

1. *The Exodus Traditions.* At least half of the OT passages which use *môpēt* (19 of 36) occur in an immediate or, in a few instances, indirect connection with the exodus event. The extraordinary signs that Moses and Aaron (or one of them) are to perform before Pharaoh in order to underscore effectively the plea for release of their people are called *môpēt* (along with other terms in the more immediate or extended context). The occurrences in Exodus are essentially a product of P (Ex. 7:3,9; 11:9,10); only the provenance of 4:21 remains uncertain (J or E,⁵ or additions by J⁶ or from an even later period). The problem with 4:21 is the context (vv. 21-23). From the perspective of content, it actually already oversees and encompasses the entire ensemble of plagues, and identifies the (theologically conceived) ultimate consequence of that ensemble (the slaying of the Egyptian first-born) as the result of Pharaoh's refusal to release Yahweh's first-born son, namely, Israel. This kind of theological interpretation of the events, namely, one that views the plague-complex together with the Passover tradition, could arise presumably only at a later stage of reflection, and not already at the time of J or E. Furthermore, the theological topoi have already been brought together which conceive of *môpēt* in the larger sense without any concrete manifestation as miraculous signs, and which employ the accompanying divine hardening of Pharaoh's heart to reveal and confirm Yahweh's ultimate goal beyond this series of plagues: the Israelites' miraculous departure and exodus from Egypt.

In the course of the call story of Moses as formulated by P, the purpose of Moses' going to Pharaoh is to demand the people's release (Ex. 6:11). In connection with the attendant difficulties, the text mentions the hardening of Pharaoh's heart (the acting subject is Yahweh, *'anî 'aqšeh*), such that Yahweh will multiply his signs and wonders (Ex. 7:3; *'et-ôṭōtay w^eet-môp^etay*). Neither do the following verses depart from such generalities by asserting that Yahweh will lay his hand upon Egypt (*nātan 'et-yād b^e . . . ; nāṭā 'et-yād 'al . . . ;* vv. 4f.). The leading out of the Israelites occurs *bišpāṭim g^edōlīm* ("by great acts of judgment"), which interpret *môpēt* and *'ōt* yet again (v. 4). All subjective activity is attributed to Yahweh, and aims at prompting the Egyptians to recognize that Yahweh himself is acting against the Egyptians on behalf of the Israelites (v. 5).

In the extensive account of the plagues (Ex. 7:8–10:29), an account with an extremely complex traditio-historical background, Moses and Aaron prove through a "miraculous sign" that they are the legitimate messengers of their God: A rod cast to the ground turns into a serpent (Ex. 7:9). Although *môpēt* is indeed a miracle, it actually functions as a kind of "attestation of credentials"; its failure to be accepted as such is already an expression of Pharaoh's self-hardening (v. 13, *ḥzq lēb*). The conclusion to the plague narrative again recalls the situation of the call and sending of Moses (and of Aaron, 7:1): Pharaoh will not listen to the two messengers of Yahweh, Yahweh's *môpēt* will (thereupon) be multiplied in the land of Egypt (*l^ema'an r^ebōt . . .*, Ex. 11:9), and Yahweh hardens the heart of Pharaoh (*ḥzq piel*) so that the Israelites will

5. G. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus*. BZAW, 91 (1964), 38-43.

6. M. Noth, *Exodus*. OTL (Eng. trans. 1962), 47.

not be released (11:10). The *l^ema'an* clause in v. 9 is noteworthy; one must almost understand this figure of speech such that Pharaoh's refusal, his "hardening," is brought about solely so that the *môp^eēt* may be multiplied! Ex. 11:10 recounts in retrospect how Moses and Aaron performed all the *môp^eēt* assigned them, whereby the position and sense of this statement can only be referring to the plagues. Everything presses forward to the final act, to the Passover, departure, and exodus (Ex. 12:1ff.).⁷

Various strata of Deuteronomy recall the events of the exodus from Egypt; this is the case in the creedlike summaries, e.g., in what is known as the little historical Credo in Dt. 26 (v. 8), which reduces the entire exodus event to a brief formula mentioning the *môp^eēt* together with the *'ôṭōṭ*, the mighty hand and outstretched arm of Yahweh, and Yahweh's terrible deeds. Yahweh is the only subject of the salvific deed between the harsh repression of Israel by the Egyptians and Yahweh's ultimate bestowal of the land upon Israel (vv. 6f., 9): *wayyôṣî'ēnû YHWH mimmiṣrayim* (v. 8).

The context of Dt. 29:2(Eng. v. 3) also seems to presuppose a worship situation, namely, that noteworthy covenant in the land of Moab (Dt. 28:69[29:1]) which justifies its admonitions to keep the covenant terms (29:8[9]) by recalling Yahweh's mighty deeds in Egypt (29:1[2]). Here Egypt, the pharaoh, his servants, and his entire land are mentioned explicitly. Those entering into the covenant are reminded of their role as eyewitnesses of those mighty signs and miracles (Dt. 29:2[3]; *'ôṭōṭ* and *môp^eēt*). It is worth noting that these signs are also called *hammassôṭ hagg^edōlōṭ*, although the remark does not make it quite clear whether these powerful events represented trials and temptations for the Israelites or whether the designation refers to the Egyptians. V. 2(3) suggests the latter, v. 3(4) the former, i.e., trials and temptations for the Israelites inasmuch as they now (at the occasion of the present covenant) acquire what they did not know during the events themselves, namely, the ultimate understanding of Yahweh's mighty deeds.

Such recollection of the events in Egypt also plays a role in underscoring exhortation and admonishment in sermons and instruction (Dt. 6:22; 7:19). The listener is encouraged not to fear, but rather to recall Yahweh's mighty demonstrations of power (7:18f., *zkr*; the wording of vv. 18, 19a strongly evokes 29:1,2[2,3]; even the *massôṭ* resurface). The anticipated question of the son (6:20) regarding Yahweh's statutes and ordinances prompts a (catechetical) response that is a kind of paraphrase of the Credo (6:22 describes the *môp^eēt* not only as mighty, but also as grievous, *rā'īm*). Both types — sermon and catechism — also exhibit ideas strongly influenced by Deuteronomistic thinking, so that their origin or at least their final literary shape must be dated fairly late. Dt. 4 includes such Deuteronomistic sermonizing in its subjection of the facts of salvation history to homiletic interpretation, including the events in Egypt (v. 34, with *môp^eēt* and all the familiar parallel terms). They are said to have been performed expressly for (*l^e*, "for the benefit of") Israel. One notices that fixed formulas are employed (e.g., *l^eēneykā*, although the change from the 2nd to the 1st person still

7. These passages in Exodus are discussed in Noth; Fohrer; F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT*. BZAW, 74 (1955).

cannot quite be explained). The goal of Yahweh's actions — we now read — was that Israel might finally understand that he, Yahweh, alone and exclusively was God (Dt. 4:35: "You, yes you have been made to see [*r'h hophal*] so that you might know . . . [*lāda'at kî . . .*]"). This passage strongly evokes Deutero-Isaiah in its solicitation of trust in God, whose salvific acts in history speak for him even though he has struck in judgment. This passage in Deuteronomy, however, does not stop at Deutero-Isaiah's unqualified assurance of salvation, but issues the challenge to keep Yahweh's commandments precisely so that things may go well for Israel (vv. 39f.).

The conclusion of Deuteronomy (ch. 34) has undergone similar Deuteronomistic redaction. Moses is characterized as a unique prophet, attested not least by all the miraculous deeds and demonstrations of power in Egypt before Israel's eyes, deeds for which Yahweh empowered Moses alone (34:11; the usual terms recur, cf. v. 12).⁸

The Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic view of the miraculous signs in Egypt has also been incorporated into Jer. 32:20f., Jeremiah's prayer after the purchase of the field at Anathoth (vv. 17-25). The formulations here clearly recall the little historical Credo (Dt. 26:8f.).⁹ A similar situation obtains in the historical summaries found in the psalms, e.g., Ps. 78:43, which also mentions individual plagues from the Exodus traditions under the rubric of the *môp'ētīm* and *'ôtôt* (vv. 44ff.), including the slaying of the first-born of the Egyptians and the miraculous deliverance of the Israelites at the Red Sea (vv. 51-53).¹⁰ This passage can be compared directly with Ps. 105:27 (vv. 26-36); Neh. 9:10, where fixed formulas are used (particularly noticeable in Nehemiah). Neh. 9:10 speaks with clarity unequalled in such contexts of how Yahweh made a name for himself through these miraculous deeds, a name such as that still venerated at the time when this passage was composed. The motif of obduracy is explicated: Pharaoh is hardened (or hardens himself) so that Yahweh's name might be glorified. Historical summaries apparently play a role in worship or in (wisdom discussion and) instruction (Ps. 78:4),¹¹ and in praise of Yahweh (Ps. 135:9), where the fundamental call is made for the assembled congregation to be mindful of God's signs, wonders, and mighty deeds (Ps. 105:5: *zīkrū nipl'ôtāw 'āšer-āsā mōp'ētāw ūmišp'ētē-pîhū*, par. 1 Ch. 16:12).¹² The formative power of the Deuteronomistic theology is also unmistakably present in these latter passages. Such cultic procedures and wisdom reflections probably represent the self-expression of the postexilic community. All praise, confession, and trust are to be directed to this God, and manifest themselves in performing his will. This is the sense of the appended parenthesis.

8. Concerning the various passages from Deuteronomy, see the pertinent works by G. von Rad, including *Studies in Deuteronomy*. SBT, 9 (Eng. trans. 1953); *Deuteronomy*. OTL (Eng. trans. 1966). Concerning the little historical Credo see also L. Rost, "Das kleine geschichtliche Credo," *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (Heidelberg, 1965), 11-25; G. Wallis, "Die geschichtliche Erfahrung und das Bekenntnis zu Jahwe im AT," *ThLZ*, 101 (1976), 801-816; G. Braulik, *Sage, was du glaubst: Das älteste Credo der Bibel* (Stuttgart, 1979).

9. Cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26-45*. WMANT, 52 (1981), 29ff.

10. Cf. J. Kühlewein, *Geschichte in den Psalmen*. CThM, A/2 (1973), 146-151.

11. Cf. *ibid.*, 85-92.

12. Cf. W. Schottroff, "Gedenken" im alten Orient und im AT. WMANT, 15 (1964), 127ff.

2. "Prophetic Literature." The oldest occurrences of *môpēt* are found in Proto-Isaiah (Isa. 8:18; 20:3). Isa. 8:18 is generally considered to be authentic and to be a product of a period of withdrawal the prophet entered after his message during the Syro-Ephraimite War was not officially accepted in Jerusalem and Judah. This message is now passed on and entrusted to his circle of disciples (8:16). For now, attention is directed to the signs and portents which Yahweh established in "Israel" and which are still visible, namely, the children (presumably the physical ones) as an "element of proclamation" whose symbolic names (*š'ār yāšûb*, 7:3; *mahēr šālāl hāš baz*, 8:1-3; and perhaps *'immānû 'ēl* [if the *'almā* can be identified as the prophet's wife, 7:14], who is explicitly designated as *'ôṭ*) represent the substance of the proclamation. The notion that the prophet himself is also a *môpēt* or *'ôṭ* is not so easy to comprehend; this can only refer to the very fact of his existence, albeit his existence as a prophet (8:18).

The extraneous account in Isa. 20:3 attests that symbolic prophetic acts can be called *'ôṭ* and *môpēt*; the prophet allegedly walked "naked" and barefoot for three years as a sign of the impending disaster posed by the Assyrian deportation of entire peoples. Here the term *môpēt* acquires the meaning of "omen" or "warning sign." The symbolic act itself becomes the nonverbal *verbum visibile*; worse yet: it anticipates the disaster.¹³ This passage is doubtlessly non-Isaianic.¹⁴

Ezekiel, too, is commanded to symbolize by appropriate actions Jerusalem's deportation by the Babylonians (Ezk. 12:6,11). Here the situation is prefigured with exaggerated clarity even as far as the details are concerned, i.e., precisely the way it will occur on the day of judgment: baggage upon the exiles' shoulders, nocturnal departure, the covering of their faces, etc. (12:1-6). The symbolic action itself is carried out publicly and in all openness, though initially without words. Yahweh offers up Ezekiel in his entire being and actions as a *môpēt* for the house of Israel (v. 6). The background is presumably the deceptive faith of the exiles of 597 B.C. in the continued existence of Jerusalem prior to 587 (for them, too, a favorable set of circumstances). In Yahweh's eyes, however, the first exiles are also a disobedient and recalcitrant generation, and not only the portion of the population dwelling in Palestine. When the people question him, Ezekiel is then to tell them verbally that he is a *môpēt* for them, and that *gôlā* and *š'ebî* are unavoidable (v. 11; v. 10 mentions specifically that this also applies to Jerusalem and its inhabitants, although it must also apply to those before whom it is acted out and uttered¹⁵). The symbolic quality of prophetic life (cf. Isa. 8:18) in its service to God extends even into the private sphere. The death of Ezekiel's wife and the subsequent behavior commanded by Yahweh, namely, not to follow the usual custom of mourning, both prefigure Jerusalem's destruction. It is Ezekiel's fate to become a *môpēt* himself (*lākem*, "to you," Ezk. 24:24,27). The reality of Yahweh's

13. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Die symbolischen Handlungen der Propheten*. *AThANT*, 25 (1953); 54 (1968).

14. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13-27*. *BK*, X/2 (1978) *in loc.*

15. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*. *Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979) *in loc.*

existence discloses itself in prediction and fulfillment; here, too, *môpēt* is (also) an "omen," "warning sign," "portent," or even more: a proleptic realization of portended events that then do indeed subsequently come to pass.¹⁶

In the prophetic legends of the OT prophets do perform miraculous signs commissioned by Yahweh, as portrayed, e.g., in 1 Kgs. 13 (a chapter with a complicated transmission history). In the first of the two prophetic legends, an unknown prophet from Judah comes to Bethel and originally probably threatens the king (who was just then engaged in cultic activity) with a message of disaster. In the present, later version of the story the disaster is directed against the altar, which — we now read — the later Davidic king Josiah would defile and thus destroy (cf. 2 K. 23:16f.). As corroboration, a *môpēt* is given (*nātan*), a sign consisting in a special divine oracle (*zeh hammôpēt 'ašer dibber YHWH*). This oracle predicts that the altar will be torn down and the (fat-) ashes¹⁷ poured out (1 K. 13:3). When the king attempts to defend himself against the prophet and reaches for him, his outstretched hand becomes lame (v. 4; the previously unnamed king is now Jeroboam, doubtlessly a secondary insertion¹⁸), while the altar itself bursts and the ashes really are poured out. It is now remarked *expressis verbis* that all this took place according to the sign (*môpēt*) given by the man of God *bidbar YHWH* ("in the word of Yahweh, by/through the word of Yahweh"; v. 5). In a short space here *môpēt* acquires two identities: first, as the divine oracle accompanying the threat it symbolically foretells the destruction of the altar differently than the announced action of Josiah conceives it; and second, as the actual fulfillment of that accompanying oracle, it constitutes the event itself of the *môpēt* according to the substance of its content. Here *môpēt* legitimizes, corroborates, and executes the divine oracle already given. The passages using *môpēt* belong to a later Deuteronomistic redaction of the material.¹⁹

Dt. 13:1-6(12:32-13:5) considers the possibility that a prophet or dreamer might employ his ability to perform signs and wonders to lend striking support and credibility to his own demand that Israel serve other gods (v. 2[1]: *w^enātan 'ēleykā 'ôt 'ô môpēt*; cf. 11QT 54:9). According to the Deuteronomist, it can even happen that these signs and wonders actually come to pass (v. 3[2]: *ûbā' hā'ôt w^ehammôpēt*). This leads to the grievous situation in which even a prophet or dreamer not sent by Yahweh is able to augment his own message with such displays of power. The strict interdiction directs Israel not only not to listen to such a "man of God" (v. 4[3]), but to put him to death and thus purge the evil from its midst (v. 6[5]). The occurrence of such a distressful situation is addressed by v. 4(3) with the surprising explanation that such a "false prophet" is testing Israel for God (*nsh piel*) to determine whether it loves Yahweh with an undivided heart. The meaning of even these *môp^eēt* and *'ôtôt* is set by God ultimately for the benefit of his own people, and they are by no means autonomous or effectively inimical to God.

16. Cf. also Zimmerli, 156f.; 502ff.

17. E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige. ATD, XI/1* (1977), *in loc.*

18. See BHS.

19. Cf. Würthwein, *in loc.*; A. Jepsen, "Gottesmann und Prophet: Anmerkungen zum Kapitel 1. Könige 13," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 171-182.

In its final section, Deuteronomy contains aphorisms both of blessing and of curse,²⁰ the latter addressing a person who does not keep Yahweh's commandments and statutes and does not obey Yahweh's voice (Dt. 28:45ff.). These curses become actualized in a terrible historical catastrophe (vv. 47-57), becoming thereby *môpēt* and 'ôṭ both for the person cursed and for his descendants (*zera'*) forever, i.e., signs for remembrance and warning, a visible reminder of the curse (v. 46).

3. *Variations in Context and Meaning.* In a postexilic individual lament the petitioner describes his own lamentable situation as a "dreadful sign" to many (Ps. 71:7),²¹ a sign which his enemies have understood as a signal of abandonment by God and thus as justification for persecuting the petitioner (vv. 10f.). The petitioner, however, turns to God full of trust and confidence (v. 12 and *passim*). In this instance, *môpēt* is taken as a symbol of distress which can indicate to outsiders that even God has abandoned the person.

The versions of the story of Hezekiah both by the Chronicler and by the Deuteronomist mention the king's prayer that his serious illness be healed. Although the response itself has not been preserved, Yahweh does grant him a miraculous sign (*nāṭan môpēt*, 2 Ch. 32:24). Unfortunately, this *môpēt* is not specified more closely, though one can doubtlessly assume that this "sign" is referring to Hezekiah's miraculous recovery. The parallel account in 2 K. 20:1-10; Isa. 38:1-8, 21-22, however, does actually mention a sign of confirmation for the healing predicted by Isaiah, a sign which Hezekiah himself seeks and which is granted by Yahweh. To be sure, the term 'ôṭ is used in this passage, and the parallel accounts are unfortunately not quite consistent. The story of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem converges with the story of the illness such that the sign could also refer to the impending deliverance of Jerusalem. Be that as it may, the 'ôṭ itself refers to an extraordinary sign that controverts natural laws (the shadow that goes backward instead of forward) and confirms impending deliverance.

The sense of *môpēt* in the Chronicler's conclusion to the story of Hezekiah is not quite clear (2 Ch. 32:31); mention is made again of a (or the?) Babylonian envoy to Jerusalem who had been sent to inquire about the "miraculous sign" that had been done in the land (*lidrōš hammôpēt*; the Deuteronomistic conclusion says nothing of this, 2 K. 20:20f.). Here *môpēt* can refer back both to the miraculous recovery of Hezekiah and to the surprising deliverance of Jerusalem from Assyrian encirclement. The comms. give the passage differing interpretations.²²

According to Joel 3:3(2:30) the general outpouring of God's spirit will be accompanied by special signs in the heavens and on earth: blood and fire and smoke, apocalyptic signs. However, this use of *môpēt* is quite singular, not in the apocalyptic

20. Cf. von Rad, *Deuteronomy*.

21. Thus the translation of *môpēt* by H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 72.

22. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*. HAT, XXI (1955), *in loc.*; K. Gallig, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia*. ATD, XII (1954), *in loc.*; NJB suggests that 2 Ch. 32:31 represents a "new interpretation" of 2 K. 20:12-19.

מור *mwr*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. OT Usage. IV. *t'mûrâ*. V. LXX. VI. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *mwr* I is found in Jewish-Aram. *'aph* with the meaning "to exchange," perhaps borrowed from the Hebrew; in contrast, Sam. *mwr* means "to shatter," and Syr. *mwr* "to import grain." Akk. (Neo-Bab.) *māru*, "to purchase," probably belongs together with "(an) exchange" and might represent a West Semitic loanword;¹ Arab. *māra(i)*, "to supply with provisions, provide for," is probably also related. Ugar. *mr* means "to retire, give way," and belongs better with Arab. *marra*, "depart."² Alfred Guillaume refers to Arab. *ma'ara*, "raged, was in commotion."³

II. Occurrences. The OT attests the niphal once, "be changed"; the hiphil, "to exchange, change" (12 times); and the noun *t'mûrâ*, "exchange."

III. OT Usage. The only occurrence of the niphal is Jer. 48:11, which asserts that Moab has long enjoyed an undisturbed peace and has thus remain unchanged. Employing imagery from wine cultivation, the prophet notes that it has kept its taste (*'āmaḏ ta'mô bô*), and its fragrance has not changed (*rêhō lō' nāmār*). Moab resembles "a well-aged wine that has not lost its taste and bouquet through agitation."⁴ Now, however, that time has come to an end: Yahweh will pour out the fine wine and shatter the jars; Moab will be completely destroyed.

The hiphil form, "to exchange," occurs first in Lev. 27:10,33. The first passage issues a prohibition against exchanging an animal vowed as a sacrifice for another, since the vowed animal has become holy; if a person nonetheless does exchange it, the substitute animal also becomes holy and belongs to the sanctuary. It is difficult to determine whether any distinction obtains between the two verbs used here (hiphil: *hlp*, *mwr*). "Perhaps חלף refers to an exchange of equals, מור to an exchange of unequals";⁵ the passages discussed below might support this conclusion. Lev. 27:33 prescribes something similar concerning tithes, and additionally prohibits any redemption (*g'l*). A similar notion can be found in Ezk. 48:14. The land of the *t'rûmâ* apportioned to the priests and Levites is holy to Yahweh and may not be sold (*mkr*) or exchanged; it is not to pass into other hands.

Three other passages address exchanging God for useless idols. Hos. 4:7 reproves the priests for having sinned by "exchanging their glory (*kābôḏ*) for shame" (MT "I will exchange" is a *tiqqun sopherim*). Their glory is either Yahweh himself (cf. Ps.

1. *AHW*, II (1972), 616.

2. According to J. Aistleitner, *WUS*, no. 1658.

3. Guillaume, 21; → מוהר *mōhar* (VIII, 142-49).

4. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT*, XII (³1968), 258.

5. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, IV (1966), 387.

3:4[Eng. v. 3]), whom they have exchanged for Ba'al and other idols, or cultivation of the *da'at 'ēlōhîm*, in which they should have lived;⁶ instead, they live "on the sin of my people" (Hos. 4:8) and engage in fornication (with Ba'al, v. 10). The first interpretation is supported by Ps. 106:20, which alleges that in the wilderness Israel "exchanged their glory (*kābôd*) for the image of an ox." Here, as v. 19 shows, the reference is to the golden calf. The image of an ox "that eats grass" is a useless idol. It is thus possible that Hosea is thinking of the images of oxen in Bethel and Dan. The same notion is expressed most emphatically in Jer. 2:11: no pagan people has exchanged its gods even though these are no gods at all (*lō' 'ēlōhîm*⁷) — yet Israel has exchanged its glory (*kābôd*) for something that is good for nothing (*lō' yô'îl*). Jer. 2:13 makes it quite clear what is being addressed: Israel has exchanged its God Yahweh for useless idols, which is as foolish as depending on broken cisterns instead of fountains with "living" waters. Israel has committed the ultimate folly.

Ps. 15:4 is textually problematical. It is clear, however, that the reference is to a "change" from what a person has guaranteed with an oath (see the comms.). The text of Mic. 2:4 is in obvious disarray. A lament characterized as a *māšāl* speaks of enemies "exchanging" the land portions and dividing (*hlq*) the fields. The LXX apparently reads *yimmaḏ*, "is measured," instead of *yāmîr*, which fits better as a parallel to "divide." The rampaging enemies offer no recompense.

The occurrence in Prov. 3:35 (where one should perhaps read the hiphil ptcp. *m'ēmîrîm* instead of *mērîm*) is textually uncertain.⁸

IV. t'ēmûrâ. Among the passages already discussed, the noun *t'ēmûrâ* occurs first in Lev. 27:10,33. In Job 15:31 it refers to what a person receives if he trusts in emptiness (*šāw'*), and in Job 20:18 to the deceptive benefit of wealth. Job 28:17 asserts that wisdom cannot be acquired in exchange for gold. Finally, Ruth 4:7 recalls the old custom of removing one's shoe to attest a transaction involving redeeming (*g'ē'ûllâ*) or exchanging (*t'ēmûrâ*).

V. LXX. The LXX usually renders the verb with *allássein*, although alternate translations include *atheteín*, *katametreín*, *tarássein*, and *tithénai*. The noun *t'ēmûrâ* is rendered 3 times with *állagma* and once with *antállagma* (Ruth 4:7). Job 15:31 uses a form of *apobaínein*; Job 20:18 has *amásētos*, "unchewed"(?).

VI. Qumran. The 4 occurrences from Qumran, all of which are found in the Hodayoth, seem to be more or less dependent on Jer. 2:11. The adversaries of the Teacher of Righteousness have exchanged his teaching for uncircumcised lips and a foreign tongue (1QH 2:18); in contrast, he has not let himself be deceived into exchanging steadfastness (*yēšer sāmûk*) for folly (2:36). The false interpreters have

6. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 81.

7. → אלהים *'ēlōhîm* (I, 267-284).

8. Cf. V. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," VT, 2 (1952), 123f.

exchanged God's law for flattery (4:10). Finally, in 14:20 the poet asserts that he would not exchange God's truth for riches (*hôn*) nor his precepts for bribes.

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מִשׁ/מוֹשׁ *mûš/mîš*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Obedience to the Law, New Covenant. III. Transitive and Hiphil. IV. LXX. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. There are two different roots *mwš*. One is a secondary form of *mšš*, “to touch, feel”; the other, which attests the secondary form *myš*, means “to move or depart from a given position.” The only related words are in Middle Hebrew (*pilpel*) and Jewish Aramaic (*palpel*) with the same meaning. The latter root is attested in the MT 18 times in the *qal* and twice in the *hiphil*.

II. Obedience to the Law, New Covenant. Most of the occurrences refer to purely objective circumstances and exhibit no particular theological significance. Joshua does not “depart” (from) the tent of meeting (Ex. 33:11). Neither the ark nor Moses “depart[s]” (out of) the camp (Nu. 14:44). The pillar of cloud and pillar of fire did not “depart” from their place before the people (Ex. 13:22). Gideon says to the angel of Yahweh: “Do not depart from here” (Jgs. 6:18). The tent peg “gives way” and falls down (Isa. 22:25, oracle against Shebna). The idol “does not move” from its place, but remains where it has been placed (Isa. 46:7, as proof of the powerlessness of the images). The plunder of the enemy “does not end” (Nah. 3:1). The Mount of Olives will be split in two, and the two halves will “withdraw” northward and southward (Zec. 14:4). The tree planted by water “does not cease” to bear fruit (Jer. 17:8). Evil “does not depart” from the house of the person who returns evil for good (Prov. 17:13). Oppression (*tōk*) and fraud (*mirmâ*) “do not depart” from the wicked city (Ps. 55:12[Eng. v. 11]).

In the introductory parenthesis to Joshua, Joshua is admonished never to let the book of the law “depart” out of his mouth, but rather to meditate on it (*hāgâ*) day and night (Josh. 1:8). The concern here is thus obedience to the law in the sense of Ps. 1. In the same sense Job avers that he has never “departed” from God’s commandments, but has rather treasured (*šāpan*) these words in his own bosom (read: *hēq*; Job 23:12). If obedience is the question, then God has no occasion to punish him.

Isa. 59:21 is a promise: God makes an eternal covenant with his people; the spirit and the words of Yahweh will never “depart” from him and his descendants. This possession of the spirit recalls Isa. 42:1; the people itself will thus be the servant of Yahweh. The “words” are perhaps the words of the law, and this thus reflects the obligation to keep the law as already attested in the passages just discussed. This may also be an allusion to Isa. 54:10, which also speaks of an eternal covenant: even if

mountains may “depart” from their places, Yahweh’s *hesed* will not “depart” from his people, nor will his covenant of peace waver. Jer. 31:36 makes a similar reference in connection with the new covenant: only when the laws (*ḥuqqîm*) of nature “depart,” i.e., are suspended, will Israel cease (*šābat*) being a people (i.e., a people of God).

III. Transitive and Hiphil. In Zec. 3:9 *mûš* is used transitively in reference to the removal of the land’s guilt. This meaning is otherwise rendered by the hiphil: this family cannot “remove” their necks from the disaster (Mic. 2:3); it cannot be avoided. Mic. 2:4 is problematical; one might translate *’êk yāmîš lî* “O how he takes from me (the land).”¹

IV. LXX. The LXX does not offer a consistent translation. For the qal it uses *aphistánai*, *ekleípein* (twice), *kineín* (5 times), *klínein*, *methistánai*, *paúein*, *chōrízein*; and for the hiphil *kōlýein* (?) and *poieín*.

V. Qumran. Of the Qumran occurrences, 3 refer to the absence or delay of a person. A priest may not be absent from the meals (1QS 6:3), and wherever ten members are together, a proclaimer of the law may not be absent (1QS 6:6; cf. CD 13:2, which asserts that he must be instructed in the book *hgw*). 1QH 8:17 says that the teaching is like water which does not recede or cease, but rather becomes a rushing stream. The small fragment 1Q55 seems to contain a quote from Nah. 3:1.

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1. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 68.

מוֹת *mût*; מוֹת *māwet*; תְּמוּתָה *tēmûtâ*; מְמוּתִים *mēmôṭîm*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. West Semites. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. III. The Experience of Death: 1. General Notion; 2. Before Death; 3. Death Wish; 4. After Death. IV. Death and Burial: 1. The Death-Burial Schema; 2. Lament for the Dead; 3. Special Places of Death. V. Death as a Temporal Designation: 1. Before, at, and after Death; 2. Succession; 3. Genealogy and Age. VI. Reasons for Death: 1. Why Death? 2. Sin; 3. Manner of Death. VII. Death as Consequence: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil; 3. Hophal; 4. Other Expressions. VIII. 1. The Dead; 2. The Netherworld. IX. Death and Life. X. Qumran.

mût. B. Alfrink, “L’expression אֲבוּתִי שֶׁכָּב עִם,” *OTS*, 2 (1943), 106-118; *idem*, “L’expression נֶאֱסַף אֶל-עַמּוּי,” *OTS*, 5 (1948), 118-131; F. A. Ali, “Death and Underworld in Cuneiform and the OT,” *Bayn al-Nahrayn*, 7/27 (1979), 231-245; P. W. Armes, *The Concept of Dying in the OT* (diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981); L. R. Bailey, *Biblical Perspectives on Death*. *OBT* (1979); C. F. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zollikon, 1947); A. Bertholet, *Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom*

Zustand nach dem Tode (Tübingen, ²1914); L. Bronner, "From Death to Life in the Bible in the Light of the Ugaritic Texts," *BethM*, 25 (1980), 202-12 [Heb.]; J. B. Burns, "The Mythology of Death in the OT," *SJT*, 26 (1973), 327-340; H. Christ, *Blutvergiessen im AT. Theologische Dissertationen*, 12 (Basel, 1977); G. R. Driver, "Plurima Mortis Imago," *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman* (Philadelphia, 1962), 128-143; *idem*, "The Resurrection of Marine and Terrestrial Creatures," *JSS*, 7 (1962), 12-22; G. Fohrer, "Das Geschick des Menschen nach dem Tode im AT," *KuD*, 14 (1968), 249-262 = *Studien zu alttestamentlichen Texten und Themen* (1966-1972). *BZAW*, 155 (1981), 188-202; G. Gerleman, "מות *mût* sterben," *THAT*, I, 893-97; G. F. Hasel, "Resurrection in the Theology of OT Apocalyptic," *ZAW*, 92 (1980), 267-284; K.-J. Illman, *OT Formulas About Death* (Åbo, 1979); K. Jaroš, "Die Vorstellung Altisraels über Tod und Fortleben nach dem Tod," *BiLi*, 51 (1978), 219-231; O. Kaiser and E. Lohse, *Death and Life* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1981); U. Kellermann, *Auferstanden in den Himmel. SBS*, 95 (1979); *idem*, "Überwindung des Todesgeschicks in der alttestamentlichen Frömmigkeit vor und neben dem Auferstehungsglauben," *ZThK*, 73 (1976), 259-282; A. F. Key, "The Concept of Death in Early Israelite Religion," *JBR*, 32 (1964), 239-247; R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (Gütersloh, 1965); B. Lorenz, "Bemerkungen zum Totenkult im AT," *VT*, 32 (1982), 229-234; O. Loretz, "Vom kanaanäischen Totenkult zur jüdischen Patriarchen- und Elternverehrung," *JARG*, 3 (1978), 149-204; *idem*, "Tod und Leben nach altorientalischer und kanaanäisch-biblischer Anschauung in Hos 6,1-3," *BN*, 17 (1982), 37-42; V. Maag, "Tod und Jenseits nach dem AT," *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* (Göttingen, 1980), 181-202; R. Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life* (Eng. trans., Edinburgh, 1960); *idem*, "Trois remarques sur la résurrection des morts dans l'AT," *De la Tôrah au Messie. Festschrift H. Cazelles* (1981), 301-317; E. M. Meyers, "Secondary Burials in Palestine," *BA*, 33 (1970), 2-29; L. M. Muntingh, "Life, Death and Resurrection in the Book of Job," *OuTWP*, 17f. (1974f., ed. 1977), 32-44; G. E. W. Nickelsburg, Jr., *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism. HThS*, 26 (1972); O. Plöger, "Tod und Jenseits im AT," in H.-J. Klimkeit, ed., *Tod und Jenseits im Glauben der Völker* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 77-85; H. D. Preuss, "Psalm 88 als Beispiel alttestamentlichen Redens vom Tod," in A. Strobel, ed., *Der Tod — ungelöstes Rätsel oder überwundener Feind?* (Stuttgart, 1974), 63-79; G. Quell, *Die Auffassung des Todes in Israel* (1925, repr. Darmstadt, 1967); J. W. Ribar, *Death Cult Practices in Ancient Palestine* (diss., Michigan, 1973); J. F. A. Sawyer, "Hebrew Words for the Resurrection of the Dead," *VT*, 23 (1973), 218-234; H. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im AT. BZAW*, 114 (1969); H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Tod und Leben in der Gesetzesliteratur des Pentateuch, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Terminologie von "töten"* (diss., Bonn, 1969); J. A. Soggin, "Tod und Auferstehung des leidenden Gottesknechtes Jesaja 53₈₋₁₀," *ZAW*, 87 (1975), 346-355; G. Steiner, "Das Bedeutungsfeld 'TOD' in den Sprachen des Alten Orients," *Or*, 51 (1982), 239-248; G. Stemberger, "Auferstehung der Toten II: Judentum," *TRE*, IV (1979), 443-450; *idem*, *Der Leib der Auferstehung. AnBibl*, 56 (1972); R. Stola, "Zu den Jenseitsvorstellungen im alten Mesopotamien," *Kairos*, 14 (1972), 258-272; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr*, 21 (1969); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. ArbT*, 2/8 (1967); H. Wahle, "Die Lehren des rabbinischen Judentums über das Leben nach dem Tod," *Kairos*, 14 (1972), 291-309; P. L. Watson, "The Death of 'Death' in the Ugaritic Texts," *JAOS*, 92 (1972), 60-64; P. Welten, "Die Vernichtung des Todes und die Königsherrschaft Gottes," *ThZ*, 38 (1982), 129-146; J. V. M. Wijngaards, "Death and Resurrection in Covenantal Context (Hos. VI 2)," *VT*, 17 (1967), 226-239; J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions. SNumen*, 5 (1960); W. Zimmerli, "'Leben' und 'Tod' im Buche des Propheten Ezechiel," *ThB*, 13 (1957), 494-508 = *Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, I. *ThZ*, 19 (²1969), 178-191; for further bibliog. see *TWNT*, X/2 (1979), 1100-1103; *EDNT*, II (1991), 129.

I. B. Alster, ed., *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Copenhagen, 1980); H. Bonnet, "Jenseitsgericht," *RÄR*, 333-341; *idem*, "Jenseitsglaube," *RÄR*, 341-355; E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, I: *Texte* (Berlin, 1931); A. Gardiner, *The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead*

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt*. The root *mt* (*mwt*) manifests itself in three different forms in Egyptian: the verb *mt*, "be dead, die," the adj. *mt*, "dead," and the subst. *mt*, "death." The semantic field emerges quite naturally from circumstances. The antithesis to "to live" (*nh*) occurs frequently, and combinations such as "as a dead person or as a living person" ("dead or alive"), "not to die, but rather to live," "to love life and to hate death" are all frequently attested.¹ The term can refer both to human beings and to animals, to a sinking ship,² a sick bodily part,³ or to poison that has lost its efficacy;⁴ a child wounded by a poisonous animal is told, "Live, child! Die, poison!"⁵ Metaphorical statements include "the earth lies in darkness, as if it were dead,"⁶ "they lie down after the manner of those who die."⁷ Frequently the speaker avoids mentioning death: Osiris is "tired" (in the sense of dead), the dead themselves are "the weary ones," and are also called "those who sleep."⁸ The realm of the dead is called the "land of life." The expression "he went to his peace" means "he died."⁹ Another noteworthy expression is *mt m whm*, "to die a second time," i.e., to die yet again in the beyond.

Death is visualized as "part of [the] cosmic order,"¹⁰ and is considered inescapable: "When death comes, he steals away . . . the infant which is on its mother's lap like him who has reached old age."¹¹ "There is no messenger of god [i.e., of death] who receives gifts in order to neglect [the cause why] he was dispatched."¹² The deity determines the time of death of the individual: "Amon makes a lifetime long or shortens it."¹³

The attitude toward death vacillates between pessimism and optimism. "Generations pass away. . . . They that build buildings, their places are no more. . . . No one returns

(Cambridge, 1935); H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (Berlin, 1926, ²1956); C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Der Begriff des Todes bei den Ägyptern* (Copenhagen, 1942); J. Spiegel, *Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion*. *LÄS*, 2 (1935); J. A. Wilson, "Egypt," in H. Frankfort, et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago, 1946), 31-121.

1. *WbÄS*, II, 165ff., with citations.

2. *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, 171 = A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 31.

3. G. Ebers, *Papyros Ebers* (Leipzig, 1875), 103.18.

4. W. Golénischeff, *Die Metternichstele in der Originalgrösse* (Leipzig, 1877), 69.

5. H. Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen*. *AO*, 21/1f. (1920, repr. 1983), 138.

6. Hymn to the Sun 15; cf. Erman, 289.

7. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, IV (London, 1906), 28; Grapow, 138.

8. Grapow, 139.

9. *Ibid.*, 19, 138.

10. S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 186.

11. Instruction of Ani, v.2-4, cited by Morenz, 192 = *ANET*, 420.

12. G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris* (Cairo, 1923-24), II, 90 (no. 127), cited by Morenz, 192.

13. A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Papyrus in Leiden* (*Pap. Leiden*, 344, recto) (Leipzig, 1909), I, 350, III, 17, cited by Morenz, 71, 185 = *ANET*, 369.

from (over) there.”¹⁴ “Lowly . . . for us is death; life we hold in high esteem.”¹⁵ One formula, in common use since the Middle Kingdom, was used as an appeal to the living; it begins: “O ye who love to live and hate to die, speak [the prayer for the dead].”¹⁶ Death seems to be the only escape for the person who is weary of life. It is a condition in which one does without everything: water, food, consciousness, human company.¹⁷ “The West [i.e., the realm of the dead], that is the land of slumber, a heavy darkness, the dwelling-place of those who are there [euphemism for ‘the dead’]. Sleeping is their occupation. They do not awaken to see their brothers. . . .”¹⁸

On the other hand, Egyptian belief is continually concerned with the hope of life in the beyond. The *ba* (“soul”), which departs the body at the moment of death, tarries in the vicinity of the dead person in the grave and maintains contact with the living, mediates funerary sacrifices, etc. The *ka* (second self, *Doppelgänger*, vital force) lives on, is depicted in the tomb, and secures the continuance of life in the beyond. Through burial rites the deceased becomes an *akh* (“transfigured one”) and lives on with the gods. Here notions of differing provenance overlap. In the Old Kingdom one thought that the king was united with his father Re and participated in his eternal cycle in heaven. Another early notion is that the deceased becomes an Osiris and, like him, lives forever. This might be the background to the idea of the continual renewal of nature (of grain, etc.).

The Egyptians also entertained the notion of judgment in the beyond: The deceased was to plead his innocence before the court of Osiris and be pronounced just. “Thus justice was given to him who does what is liked and injustice to him who does what is disliked. Thus life was given to him who has peace and death was given to him who has sin.”¹⁹ However, attempts were made to circumvent this idea of compensation through magic: if one only knew the correct formula, he might be pronounced innocent and escape the dangers of the netherworld.

2. *Mesopotamia*. The Akkadian verb *mātu* can refer both to human beings and to animals and plants,²⁰ though also to tablets whose contents have become invalid. The adj. *mîtu*,²¹ “dead,” which often appears as the antithesis together with *balû*, “living,” is also used both of animals and plants; in addition, it can designate the spirit of the dead, approximately = *eṭemmu*.²² The subst. *mîtu*, “death,”²³ is often contrasted with *napištu* or *balātu*, “life,” and can even be personified: “Death, the ruler of men, has taken his son.”²⁴

The divine epithet *muballiṭ mîṭē*, “he who makes the dead live,” is also of signifi-

14. Papyrus Harris 500 (British Museum Papyrus No. 10060), VI, 2-9, cited by Wilson, 104.

15. Instruction of Hor-dedef, cited by Morenz, 187 = *ANET*, 419.

16. Morenz, 187.

17. *Ibid.*, 188.

18. Stele BM 157, cited in Morenz, 188.

19. Shabaka inscription 57, cited by Morenz, 116.

20. *AHW*, II (1972), 634f.; citations in *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 421ff.

21. *AHW*, II, 663.

22. See discussion below.

23. *AHW*, II, 691.

24. *CAD*, X/2 (1977), 317; cf. Steiner, 247.

cance; it appears in contexts apparently dealing with the healing of (mortally) ill persons.

The gods have imposed death upon human beings: "When the gods created mankind, death for mankind they set aside, life in their own hands retaining" (*Gilg. X, III, 3-5*).²⁵ Cf. also: "No one can see death. No one can see the face of death. No one can hear the voice of death. But savage death snaps off mankind" (*Gilg. X, VI, 13-16*).²⁶ The Atrahasis epic suggests that the reason for the establishment of death was the gods' wish to limit the increase in human beings, since the Flood had not been effective.²⁷

The hour of a person's death depends on fate (*šîmtu*); a premature death occurs on a day that is not this day of fate.²⁸

Death can be described by verbs such as "fall asleep" (*šalālu*) and "rest" (*nālu, pašāḥu*).²⁹ The body (*zumru, pagru*) becomes a cadaver (*šalamtu*), and one's flesh disappears.³⁰ What remains is a breath or spirit (*zaqīqu, šāru*), a shadow (*šillu*), or, the usual designation, an *eṭemmu*, which as an evil spirit can harm the living who are left behind.³¹

The dead exist in the realm of the dead, often called *eršetu*, "earth," *KI.GAL*, "the great netherworld," or by the personal name Arallu. It is *KUR.NU.GI.A* = *eršet lā târi*, "the land without return."³²

The gods of the netherworld are sometimes called "judges" (*dayyānu*), but in this case "to judge" effectively means "to decide": they determine that the deceased is to remain in the netherworld and be subject to its laws. Thus this does not really represent the notion of any ethically focused judgment.³³

The dying gods present a special problem. On the one hand, a god is killed in order to secure the life of human beings, who are created from loam; on the other hand, old gods are killed so as to be replaced by younger successors.³⁴ Finally, *DUMU.ZI/Tammuz*, as the god of nascent life and of vegetation, is a dying god.³⁵

3. *West Semites*. The Ugaritic texts contain a few references to human death in a general sense. One text states that "Aqhat the Youth is dead (*mt*),"³⁶ another relates that the children of Keret die.³⁷ The general attitude toward death emerges from several lines in the Aqhat epic. Although 'Anat has offered Aqhat eternal life in exchange for

25. *ANET*, 90.

26. Cited by W. G. Lambert in Alster, 54f.

27. *Ibid.*, 57f.

28. Steiner, 243.

29. Cited by Bottéro in Alster, 28; Steiner, 242, lists additional synonyms and euphemisms.

30. Cited by Bottéro in Alster, 27.

31. *Ibid.*, 28f.; Steiner, 245.

32. Bottéro in Alster, 29f.; cf. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das Land ohne Heimkehr* (Stuttgart, 1911).

33. Bottéro in Alster, 34.

34. *Ibid.*, 45, n. 17.

35. H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1973), 65f.

36. *KTU*, 1.19 II, 42; *ANET*, 154.

37. *KTU*, 1.14 I, 16; *ANET*, 143.

his bow, he refuses with the rejoinder: "Further life — how can the mortal attain it? How can the mortal attain life enduring? . . . And I'll die as everyone dies, I too shall assuredly die."³⁸ Death is the inescapable lot of human beings; only the gods enjoy immortality. This generates the problem in the epic of King Keret. Keret falls ill, and those around him believe him to be close to death; since as king he is of divine origin, the question arises: "Wilt thou die, then, father, like the (other) mortals?"³⁹ and "Shall, then, a god die, an offspring of the Kindly One not live?"⁴⁰ As is well known, Ugaritic mythology attests a dying (and revived) god, namely, Aliyan Ba'al, whose death at the hands of the god Mot (whose name itself probably means "death" and who represents the dying off of vegetation during the dry season) is proclaimed as follows: "For dead is Aliyan Ba'al, perished (*hlq*) the Prince, Lord of Earth."⁴¹ The contrasting pronouncement at his revivification reads as follows: "Behold, alive is Aliyan Ba'al! And behold, existent (again) the Prince, Lord of Earth!"⁴²

After Ba'al's victory, the death of Yam is proclaimed: "Yam is dead; Ba'al will reign."⁴³

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II. 1. Etymology. The root *mwt* is common to the Semitic languages and also occurs in Egyptian: Ugar. *mt*;⁴⁴ Can.,⁴⁵ Pun., Old Aram., Ya'udic, Egyptian Aram., Nab., Palmyr.,⁴⁶ Biblical Aram., Jewish Aram., Sam.,⁴⁷ Syr., Mand.,⁴⁸ OSA,⁴⁹ Arab. *mwt*; Ethiop., Tigriña, Akk. *mē/īt*;⁵⁰ Egyp. *mt*.⁵¹

2. Occurrences. In Hebrew the verb is attested in the *qal* (630 times⁵²) with the meaning "die," additionally also in the *polel* (9 times), "kill off, give the death-blow, slay," as the *polal* *ptcp.* *m^emôtātîm*, "those who should be killed,"⁵³ in the *hiphil* (138 times), "kill, have (someone) executed," in the *hophal* (68 times), "be killed, suffer death." The subst. *māwet* (150 occurrences⁵⁴) means "death, dying," although it might

38. *KTU*, 1.17 VI, 34-37; *ANET*, 151.

39. *KTU*, 1.16 I, 3f., 18; *ANET*, 147.

40. *KTU*, 1.16 I, 22; *ANET*, 147f.

41. *KTU*, 1.5 VI, 9; *ANET*, 140; cf. also 139.

42. *KTU*, 1.6 III, 2f.; *ANET*, 140.

43. *KTU*, 1.2 IV, 31-34; cf. also *ANET*, 131.

44. *UT*, no. 1443; *WUS*, no. 1703.

45. *EA*, 1468.

46. *DISO*, 145.

47. Z. Ben Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, II (Jerusalem, 1957), 503b [Heb.].

48. *MdD*, 263b.

49. *ContiRossini*, 176a.

50. *AHw*, II, 634b.

51. *WbÄS*, II, 165ff.

52. According to *THAT*.

53. *HAL*, II (1995), 563.

54. According to *THAT*.

be translated as the personification “god of death, Death (?)” (Jer. 9:20[Eng. v. 21], Hos. 13:14; Hab. 2:5; Ps. 18:5[4]; 49:15[14]; 116:3; Prov. 13:14)⁵⁵ or “realm of the dead” as a parallel to → שְׂאוֹל *š’ôl* (Cant. 8:6; Isa. 28:15) and → שְׁחַת *šahat* (e.g., Isa. 38:17f.; cf. Job 38:17). Other derivatives from *mwt* include *tēmûtâ*, “dying, death” (Ps. 79:11; 102:21[20]) and *mēmôṭîm*, “death, type of death” (Jer. 16:4; Ezk. 28:8). Altogether we would have 1,000 occurrences of this root.⁵⁶

The overwhelming majority of occurrences refer to human beings, although animals (Gen. 33:13; Ex. 7:18,21; 8:9[13]; 9:6f.; Lev. 11:31f.,39; Isa. 66:24) and plants (Job 14:8) also appear as subjects.

The distribution of these occurrences is interesting. The overwhelming majority are found in the narrative writings and refer to the simple fact of dying or death. Only 4 occurrences of the verb are found in the Psalms (compared to 18 occurrences of *māwet*), a situation probably resulting from the circumscription of death by typified imagery. Job attests 13 occurrences of the verb in the qal, Isaiah 12 occurrences, Jeremiah 27, Ezekiel 37, the Minor Prophets 9, Proverbs 6, Ecclesiastes 7.

Synonyms include → גָּוַע *gāwa’*, → הָלַךְ *hālak*, “go forth,” *yš’* with *nepeš*, *ne’ēsap* *’el ’ammāw* or *’abōtāw*,⁵⁷ → שָׁכַב *šākab*; antonyms include → חָיָה *ḥāyâ*, “live.” The hiphil is also rendered by → הָרַג *hārag* and → רָצַח *rāṣaḥ*. In isolated instances death is described as sleep (Job 3:13; 14:12; Ps. 13:4[3]; Jer. 51:39,57; cf. Isa. 26:19; Dnl. 12:2).⁵⁸

III. The Experience of Death.

1. *General Notion.* The synonyms just enumerated characterize death as the “departure of the *nepeš*, i.e., of life”; a person lies down (to sleep, *šākab*) or departs (*hlk*). Some passages indirectly suggest a definition, e.g., Job 14:10: “But man (*geber*) dies, and is laid low (*hlš*), man breathes his last (*gāwa’*), and where is he?” Ps. 39:14(13) is even more unequivocal: “I depart and am no more (*’ēnennî*)”; cf. Ps. 103:16: “they are no more, and their place knows them no more.” Another passage emphasizes the fact that the deceased will not return to life: “before I go (*’ēlēk*) whence I shall not return (*w’lō’ ’āšûb*)” (Job 10:21); cf. Akk. *eršet lā tārī*, “the land without return”⁵⁹).

2. *Before Death.* Actual impending death can be expressed by various formulas: *w’šākabtî ’im-’abōtay*, “when I lie down with my fathers,” or *’anî ne’ēsap ’el-’ammî*, “when I am gathered to my people” (Gen. 47:30; 49:29).⁶⁰ These statements occur in connection with the patriarchs’ preparation for death, especially in the context of testamentary provisions. In this connection, however, the root *mwt* is also directly employed, e.g., the qal participle: *hinnēh ’ānōkî mēt*, “behold, I am about to die” (Gen.

55. Cf. HAL, II.

56. THAT.

57. → אָב *’āb* (*’ābh*), I, 10.

58. → יָשָׁן *yāšēn* (VI, 438-441).

59. See I.2 above.

60. See IV.1 below.

48:21; 50:5), *kî 'ānōkî mēt*, “for I am to die” (Dt. 4:22), with qal imperfect: *b^eterem 'āmût*, “before I die” (Gen. 27:4; 45:28; Prov. 30:7), with the subst. *māwet*: *lipnê môtô/môî*, “before his/my death” (Gen. 27:7,10; 50:16; Dt. 33:1; 1 Ch. 22:5). Besides the testamentary provisions, the dying person’s last wish or the final measures before death are also mentioned here.

This context includes several expressions focusing on the inf. *lāmût*. These include *wayyiqr^ebû y^emê-yiśrā'ēl lāmût*, “and when the days drew near that Israel must die” (Gen. 47:29; cf. 1 K. 2:1 concerning David and Dt. 31:14 as an address to Moses), and *'ānōkî hōlēk lāmût*, “I am about to die” (Gen. 25:32). Mention should also be made here of the blessing⁶¹ characteristic of the patriarchal narratives.

2 K. 20:1 (par. Isa. 38:1); 2 Ch. 32:24 mention a sickness unto death (although the sick king, Hezekiah, does recover), as does 2 K. 13:14, where King Joash visits the deathbed of the prophet Elisha. Here the verb *hālâ* is used with *mût*.

3. *Death Wish*. The death wish is relatively rare in the OT. Twice the expression *wayyiš'al 'et-napšô lāmût* occurs, “he wanted to die (RSV ‘he asked that he might die’” (1 K. 19:4 referring to Elijah; Jon. 4:8 regarding Jonah). The second passage is clearly dependent on the first, although the situations are quite dissimilar. Twice the wish is expressed by the irreal idiom *mî yittēn* with the suffixed inf. *mûtēnû* (Ex. 16:3) or *mûtî* (2 S. 19:1[18:33]). In the first instance Israel laments, “would that we had died by the hand of Yahweh in the land of Egypt,” and in the second David, “would I had died instead of you [i.e., Absalom].” A third expression, *tāmōt napšî*, “let me die,” does not refer to a death wish as such, but rather to the wish for the proper kind of death: Balaam concludes his first oracle concerning Israel with the words, “let me die the death of the upright” (Nu. 23:10), and Samson hopes to take the Philistines with him to death (Jgs. 16:30).

4. *After Death*. Recognition that death has occurred is usually expressed by the perf. *mēt* or the ptcp. *mēt* in various phrases, the shortest of which is *w^ehinnēh mēt*, “and (behold), he is dead” (e.g., 2 S. 4:10; 1 K. 3:21; 2 K. 4:32), whereby the name of the dead person is mentioned or presumed already familiar. When a slain person is discovered, the expression is *w^ehinnēh nōpēl mēt*, “and (behold) he lies dead” (Jgs. 3:25 referring to Ehud; 4:22 regarding Sisera). In place of the perfect, two participles express a narrative element of surprise here. Much more frequently, however, a cognitive verb is combined with *mût*, both often in the perfect. Examples include especially *šāma' . . . kî mēt*, “he heard . . . that (he) had died” (1 S. 25:39; 2 S. 4:1; 11:26; 1 K. 11:21; 21:16), and *rā'â . . . kî mēt*, “he saw . . . that (he) had died” (e.g., Gen. 50:15; Jgs. 9:55; 1 S. 17:51; 31:5; 2 K. 11:1). The verbs *ngd* (hiphil), *bîn*, and *yāda'* are used only once each with *mût* (2 S. 12:18,19; 1:5). These are idioms which speak in a simple, natural way of the experience of death. Such expressions often provide the direct transition to additional actions which then constitute the real focus of the narrative. In

61. → בֵּרַךְ *brk* (II, 279-308).

direct discourse, such information concerning the death of a person only serves to emphasize something else; e.g., Joseph's death provides the motif for safeguarding Benjamin's life (Gen. 42:38; 44:20).

IV. Death and Burial.

1. *The Death-Burial Schema.* Death and burial are often encompassed within a schema whose primary elements are the consecutive forms *wayyāmot* . . . *wayyiqqābēr*, "he died . . . and was buried." Besides these elements, the schema usually includes the subject and information concerning the hometown or place of burial. Additional information is frequently given as well, especially if the deceased was a significant person. The most basic form of this death-burial schema is found in the lists of what are known as the minor judges (Jgs. 10:1-5; 12:7-15). Further occurrences include 2 S. 17:23 (Ahithophel); Jgs. 8:32 (Gideon); and, with a feminine subject, Gen. 35:8 (Deborah), 19 (Rachel); Nu. 20:1 (Miriam). The schema incorporates small variations involving the second element in Josh. 24:29f. (Joshua); 1 S. 25:1 (Samuel); 2 K. 13:20 (Elisha); and 2 Ch. 24:15f. (Jehoiada). Dt. 34:5f., where Yahweh buries his servant Moses, is unique. Finally, two more extensive expositions concerning Abraham (Gen. 25:8f.) and Isaac (35:28f.) as well as Eleazar (Josh. 24:33) and Samuel (1 Sam. 28:3) belong under the rubric of this schema, although here the perf. *mēt* is used instead of the consecutive form. A further variation of the schema occurs in Gen. 48:7, where Jacob makes reference to Rachel's death.⁶²

Within this schema itself, or in isolated instances, yet other formulaic elements are used. In Gen. 25:8; 35:29, the expression *wayyāmot* is preceded by *wayyigwa'*, "he passed away, breathed his last." This is also the case in Gen. 25:17, although there the burial motif is missing. The formula *wayyē'āsep 'el-'ammāw*, "and (he) was gathered to his people" (Gen. 25:8,17; 35:29), is unique to the P stratum and can even replace the phrase *wayyāmot* (as in Gen. 49:33; Nu. 20:24; Dt. 32:50) and appear with varying subjects (Gen. 49:29; Nu. 27:13; 31:2). Similar to → *גו' gw', ne'esap* . . . can mean simply "to die" (Ps. 26:9; Isa. 57:1). Scholars have suggested that the original meaning of the formula refers to a uniting of the deceased with his forefathers in Sheol,⁶³ although it is to be differentiated from another formula, namely, *šākab 'im-'ābôtāw*, "sleep with his fathers," which is used almost exclusively to refer to kings who die a normal death (e.g., 1 K. 1:21; 2:10; 11:21 [David]; 2 K. 8:24 [Joram]). Both formulas, however, are used in reference to Jacob's death (cf. Gen. 47:30; 49:29,33), which shows that both have the same meaning or have already become fixed idioms in the Pentateuch. Thus they can occasionally be mixed, *'ammāw* being replaced by *'ābôtāw* (Jgs. 2:10; 2 K. 22:20). One widely held view suggests that the second formula means "to be interred in the family grave," and Ludwig Wächter⁶⁴ believes this was also the original

62. Cf. → *קבר qeber*.

63. This is the view of Alfrink, Driver, and Tromp; → *שאו' š'e'ol*.

64. P. 71, following Quell and L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des Lebens im AT und im antiken Orient* (Münster, 1926).

meaning of *wayyē'āsep 'el-'ammāw*. Carol L. Meyers, however, suggests combining the two meanings: archaeological excavations attest the practice of multiple (secondary) burials, whereby remains were interred in a common ossuary.⁶⁵ The formulas might then mean "die and descend into Sheol, where all Israel is gathered," thereby expressing literally this practice of multiple burials. Claus Westermann holds a differing opinion: "There is no thought of a state in which the dead find themselves such as could be imagined or represented; the idea is rather what they now mean for the living: they belong to the ancestors who have gone before and whose memory is preserved."⁶⁶

Two additional formulas involving *mûṭ* should also be mentioned: *zāqēn ûš'ba' yāmîm*, "an old man and full of years," occurs in Gen. 25:8 (Abraham); 35:29 (Isaac); 1 Ch. 23:1 (David; cf. 29:28; 2 Ch. 24:15); Job 42:17 (Job). Parallels can be found in both Akkadian and Egyptian texts.⁶⁷ According to Wächter,⁶⁸ the reference is not merely to "advanced age"; rather, the formula also served as a demonstration of virtue emphasized by the reference to numerous descendants and interment in the family grave. The formula *b'sēbâ tôbâ*, "in a good old age," is used to refer to Abraham (Gen. 15:15; 25:8), Gideon (Jgs. 8:32), and David (1 Ch. 29:28). It, too, expresses advanced age and a condition of fulfillment.

Gerhard von Rad is probably correct in asserting that especially the first formula "shows that in ancient Israel one accepted life not with a defiant claim to endlessness but from the start in resignation, as something limited, something assigned to man, in which then the state of satiation was to be reached. . . ."⁶⁹ This does not, however, allow far-reaching conclusions concerning the estimation of life and attitude toward death in the larger sense. It is noteworthy that no statements occur concerning God's intervention or participation in these deaths. This should come as no surprise in the case of such formulaic expressions, however, for only in exceptional instances does the narrator depart significantly from the schema. This happens only if the manner of death or burial itself was unusual, as was the case with Moses and Aaron, or if the person was a significant figure, such as Abraham, Jacob, or David. In the first case Yahweh himself brings about both the death and burial, and in the second the death-burial schema is amplified, expanded, or replaced by the formulas mentioned.

2. *Lament for the Dead*. Statements about the rite of lament for the dead are found both in connection with the death-burial schema and independent of it. 1 S. 25:1 recounts that "all Israel assembled and mourned for him [i.e., Samuel]"; cf. the somewhat shorter version in 28:3. It is also asserted that "all Israel" mourned Jeroboam's son Abijah (1 K. 14:13,18). In both instances this remark is incorporated into the framework of the schema. The lament for the dead is also mentioned in

65. Cf. A. Kuschke, "Grab," *BRL*², 122-29; M. Weippert, "Sarkophag, Urne, Ossuar," *ibid.*, 269-276.

66. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 397.

67. Dürr, 13.

68. Pp. 65f.

69. *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 262.

connection with *mût* in Gen. 23:2 (Abraham-Sarah); 2 S. 11:26 (Bathsheba-Uriah). The ritual of lament also includes the element of consolation, which is mentioned in the immediate context of the report of death in Gen. 38:12; 2 S. 13:39. The perfect of *nhm* designates the conclusion of the period of mourning.⁷⁰

An indirect indication of the significance of the rites of mourning can be derived from passages which proscribe them or foretell their absence. Dt. 14:1 commands: "You shall not cut yourselves or make any baldness on your foreheads for the dead," a practice apparently viewed as pagan. In Jer. 22:10, the prophet admonishes the people not to mourn the dead King Josiah, but rather his successor Jehoahaz, who was to go into exile. Jer. 16:4-7 gives an extensive description of the awful death that will befall the inhabitants of Jerusalem, punctuated especially by the absence of any burial or mourning. The prophet forbids the survivors from entering the houses of mourning, since Yahweh has withdrawn his peace from his people. Similarly, Ezekiel is instructed to underscore the enormity of the impending catastrophe by omitting the mourning ritual for his own wife (Ezk. 24:16).⁷¹

3. *Special Places of Death.* Within the death-burial schema, the place of death is as a rule one's home; exceptions include those instances when death occurs during a journey (Gen. 35:8,19; Nu. 20:1), or when the place of death is unusual for some other reason. In that case, an emphatic *šām*, "there," can refer to the previously mentioned locale: Kadesh (Nu. 20:1); Mt. Hor (Nu. 20:26,28; 33:38); Moserah (Dt. 10:6); Mt. Nebo (Dt. 34:5). The threat of death in exile can also be expressed with *šām* (Isa. 22:18; Jer. 20:6; 22:12; 42:16; Ezk. 12:13). This underscores that exile by no means offers protection; on the contrary, precisely "there" will the people encounter death.

In some passages death in the wilderness is mentioned as something that has already occurred (Nu. 3:4; 27:3; Josh. 5:4), though only in the latter instance does the antithesis wilderness-promised land play a role. Only in connection with the motif of "murmuring in the wilderness"⁷² is "death in the wilderness" emphasized as a specific motif of lament. In Nu. 14:2, to be sure, death either in Egypt or in the wilderness is considered preferable to an encounter with the alleged giants in the promised land. The Israelites also accuse Moses and Aaron of having led them out of Egypt merely to let them die in the wilderness (Ex. 14:11,12; Nu. 16:13; 21:5; Dt. 9:28).

These findings prompt the conclusion that the ideal was a death at an advanced age, sated and fulfilled by progeny, with burial in the family grave in one's home. The antithesis was a death in exile, in the wilderness, or in war,⁷³ since in these cases the appropriate interment and mourning would not take place.

70. → בכה *bākā* (*bākhāh*) (II, 116-120); → ספד *sāpad*; → נחם *nhm*; cf. also P. Heinisch, *Die Totenklage im AT. BZfr.* 13/9f. (1931).

71. On the rituals of mourning, cf. E. Kutsch, "Trauerbräuche" und "Selbstminderungsriten" im AT. *ThSt.* 78 (1965), 25-42; P. Welten, "Bestattung II: AT," *TRE*, V (1980), 734-38.

72. → לוין *lûn* (VII, 509-12).

73. Cf. VI.3 below.

V. Death as a Temporal Designation. Mention of the death of a person can also function as a temporal designation. The context can be that of the succession of various events, though also of changes in the age, epochs, connected chronologies, etc.

1. *Before, at, and after Death.* The expression *'ad-môṭ hakkōhēn haggādōl*, "until the death of the high priest," specifies the duration of exile imposed for unintentional manslaughter (Nu. 35:25,28[cf. v. 32]; Josh. 20:6). A different sort of asylum situation is involved when Jeroboam flees to Egypt "until the death of Solomon" (1 K. 11:40). The formula *'ad-yôm môṭô*, "to the day of his death," refers to the time remaining in a person's life (Jgs. 13:7; 1 S. 15:35; 2 S. 6:23; 2 K. 15:5 par. 2 Ch. 26:21; Jer. 52:11,34). The expression *yôm hammāwet* (Eccl. 7:1; 8:8) refers to the end of life in general and has no chronological function.

The expression *b^emôṭ . . .*, "at the death (of) . . .," expresses either simultaneity (Gen. 21:16; Nu. 26:10; Prov. 11:7) or immediate succession (Jgs. 2:19; Est. 2:7). The expression *b^emôṭô*, "at his death," is as a rule amplified by specific indications of the age of the deceased in the death-burial schema: Nu. 33:39 (Aaron); Dt. 34:7 (Moses); 2 Ch. 24:15 (Jehoiada). The same expression is used to recount that "all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem honored [King Hezekiah] at his death" (2 Ch. 32:33), and that Samson slew more men "at his death" than during his life (Jgs. 16:30). The expression *b^emôṭô* is also used in a general fashion in wisdom assertions: a person will take along nothing of his wealth "at his death" (Ps. 49:18[17]).

A point in time "after the death . . ." is indicated either by *'ah^arê môṭ . . .* or *ka'^ašer mēṭ*. The first expression is used in schemata marking the transition from one epoch to another: Abraham-Isaac (Gen. 25:11), Moses-Joshua (Josh. 1:1), Joshua-Judges (Jgs. 1:1), and Saul-David (2 S. 1:1). Chronological information is also being given in Nu. 35:28; 1 Ch. 2:24; 2 Ch. 24:17, etc. In addition to its temporal valence (Jgs. 8:33; 2 S. 12:21), the expression *ka'^ašer mēṭ* can also express a comparison (e.g., Dt. 32:50: "as Aaron your brother died").

2. *Succession.* Monarchical succession is indicated by two different schemata, one for peaceful and one for violent succession to the throne:

(1) *wayyāmoṭ . . . wayyimlōk taḥtāw*, "when he died, . . . became king in his stead" (Gen. 36:33-39 par. 1 Ch. 1:44-50; 2 K. 1:17; 8:15; 13:24; 2 S. 10:1 par. 1 Ch. 19:1; 1 Ch. 29:28).

(2) *way^emîṭēhû . . . wayyimlōk taḥtāw*, "he killed him . . . and became king in his stead." The conspiracy schema contains a series of fixed elements that lead up to the murder and usurpation of the throne (1 K. 15:27f.; 16:10; 2 K. 15:10,14, 25,30).

These two schemata apparently have a chronological function. The first is used in the case of Israelite and Judaic as well as foreign kings. A middle group is represented by cases in which the consecutive *wayyāmoṭ* is preceded by expressions for killing (2 K. 12:21f.[20f.] par. 2 Ch. 24:25,27; cf. also 1 K. 15:27). The second schema is used only in the Deuteronomistic history, where it occurs in connection with six northern Israelite conspiracies.

3. *Genealogy and Age*. The expression *wayyāmōt* is also a fixed component in genealogical schemata, which themselves are part of the chronological framework of P.⁷⁴ This schema occurs 7 times in Gen. 5: "When A had lived x years, he became the father of B. A lived after the birth of B y years, and became the father of other sons and daughters. Thus A lived z years, and then he died." The striking element here is the interest in tracing the genealogy back as far as possible.⁷⁵ The sometimes extremely high indications of age (in number of years) can amplify this information.⁷⁶ Yet another schema is generated when the previously discussed death-burial schema is augmented by information concerning a person's age: "This is the length of Abraham's life, a hundred and seventy-five years. Abraham breathed his last and died . . ." (Gen. 25:7f.). Further examples are Gen. 11:32 (Terah); 23:1f. (Sarah); 25:17 (Ishmael); 35:28f. (Isaac); 47:28f. (Jacob/Israel); 50:22,26 (Joseph); Job 42:16f. (Job).

It is also worth noting that in some cases *wayyāmōt* is amplified by the remark that the deceased passed away "without a son/sons" (2 K. 1:17; 1 Ch. 2:30,32,34; 23:22). When 1 Ch. 2:34; 23:22 remarks that a certain person "had no sons, only daughters," it is clear that the reference is to a genealogical break that can be remedied through daughters only as a last resort. The even greater misfortune was childlessness; it is explicitly stated that Michal "had no child to the day of her death" (2 S. 6:23); the narrator interprets this as her punishment for having criticized her spouse King David.

VI. Reasons for Death.

1. *Why Death?* The frequent question why a person must die is in most cases a rhetorical one. When Qoheleth inquires, "Why should you die before your time?" (Eccl. 7:17), he presupposes that wickedness and folly can cut life short, and that a specific time is set for each life (cf. Job 22:16). That a person is not permitted to kill without reason emerges from 1 S. 20:32, where Jonathan objects to Saul's intention to kill David: "Why should he be put to death? What has he done?"

The rhetorical nature of such questions emerges clearly from several passages. The Egyptians ask Joseph why they should die before his eyes, since he very well could provide them with bread (Gen. 47:15,19). The Israelites entreat Moses to intervene as a mediator for them at Horeb so they will not be consumed by the fire (Dt. 5:25). The prophet asks why the king and his people should die instead of giving up their resistance to the Babylonians (Jer. 27:12f.). Ezk. 18:31; 33:11 are concerned with either individual or — more likely — collective guilt that will result in death if not atoned. In all these instances, the question functions to emphasize the danger of impending death, prompting the correct conclusions to be drawn.

74. Cf. S. Tengström, *Die Toledotformel und die literarische Struktur der priesterlichen Erweiterungsschicht im Pentateuch*. CB, 17 (1982).

75. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*. AB, I (1964), 41.

76. On the function of these high indications of age as a representation of temporal extension in the early period, cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 353f.

2. *Sin*. Sin and the resulting guilt are sometimes given as the reason for death. Especially in the book of Ezekiel this is expressed in formulaic expressions which according to Rolf Knierim⁷⁷ reflect declaratory formulas from legal language (e.g., Dt. 24:16), although they have been reformulated by the prophet himself. Examples include *hû' rāšā' ba'awōnô yāmût*, "that wicked man shall die because of his iniquity" (Ezk. 3:18; 33:8), and *w'āsā' āwel ūmēt 'alêhem b'awlô 'āšer-āsā' yāmût*, "and commits iniquity and dies, then he dies for the iniquity which he has committed" (Ezk. 18:26; 33:18; cf. further Ezk. 3:19; 7:16; 18:17,18; 33:9,13; Jer. 31:30). Although the actual presence of guilt can be questioned, the fatal consequences cannot once such qualified guilt has been established (so, e.g., 1 S. 20:8; 2 S. 14:32).

While *awōn* and especially *āwel* are used specifically by Ezekiel, *hēt'* and *ḥaṭṭā't* seem to be more commonly cited as reasons for death: Nu. 27:3; Dt. 24:16; 2 K. 14:6 par. 2 Ch. 25:4; Ezk. 3:20; 18:4,20; Am. 9:10. The principle that each person dies for his own sins is brought into focus in various ways. In the case of Ezekiel it should be noted that life and death are extremely vague concepts. "Life" shifts between "stay alive, survive," on the one hand, and "enjoy the fullness of life with God in a functioning covenantal relationship" on the other. The antithesis is "die" or "death," expressed by the formulas of the death sentence.⁷⁸

Other causes of death include touching sacred objects (Ex. 19:12; Nu. 4:15,20; 2 S. 6:7; cf. 1 S. 6:19 *nkh* hiphil). Actually seeing God is considered even more life threatening. "No one can see God and live" (Ex. 33:20). Thus after Yahweh's angel has revealed itself, Manoah says: "We shall surely die, for we have seen God" (Jgs. 13:22).

Termini technici for capital guilt are *mišpaṭ-māwet* (Dt. 19:6; Jer. 26:11,16), *hēt' māwet* (Dt. 22:26), and *hēt' mišpaṭ-māwet* (Dt. 21:22). The corresponding transgressions are murder (Dt. 19), sexual trespass (Dt. 22), and false prophecy (Jer. 26); in all cases guilt is debated or even negated. Sacral transgressions "bring down capital guilt" upon the perpetrator (e.g., Ex. 28:43; Nu. 18:22). According to Knierim,⁷⁹ the original life setting (*Sitz im Leben*) of these expressions is to be found in the community legal assembly as such, something still discernible in Dt. 21:22; 24:16. In Nu. 18:22; 27:3, however, one can discern a transition to the sacral-legal sphere. Although some passages do indeed attest legal formulations, they "no longer belong to the sphere of actual execution of justice, but rather of proclamation" (Am. 9:10; Dt. 24:16, and passages dependent on them: 2 K. 14:6; 2 Ch. 25:4; cf. Ezk. 18:4,20; 3:20).⁸⁰

3. *Manner of Death*. Death also comes upon a person in war, by the sword, through pestilence, and through hunger. Because a warrior is especially exposed to the threat of death, he can under certain circumstances be relieved of military obligation "lest he die in battle" (Dt. 20:5-7). In poetry such death in battle is described by several parallel expressions: *ḥālāl* par. *mēt*, *ḥereḇ* par. *miḥāmā* (Isa. 22:2), *rā'āḇ* par. *miḥāmā*,

77. P. 217.

78. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 383f.; → *חַיָּה* *ḥāyā* (*chāyāh*), IV, 336f.

79. P. 49.

80. This is the view represented by Knierim.

māwet par. *hereb* (Job 5:20), etc. The “dead” has been “pierced,” the “sword” is the instrument of war, and pestilence and famine follow as consequences of war.⁸¹

Amos threatens both Jeroboam and “all the sinners of my people” with death by the sword (Am. 7:11; 9:10); in contrast, Jeremiah foretells not death by the sword for Zedekiah, but rather death “in peace” (Jer. 34:4f.), assuming, of course, that he hears Yahweh’s words. Like the *qal* forms, the *hiphil* and *hophal* forms of *mût* also enter into fixed combinations with *hereb*. To slay by the sword means essentially “to execute” (2 K. 11:15,20 par. 2 Ch. 23:14,21; cf. 1 K. 1:51; 2:8). The sword is considered the instrument of killing (e.g., Jgs. 9:54; Jer. 41:2); in contrast, when David kills Goliath it is emphasized that he was not holding the sword in his hand (1 S. 17:50), but rather only drew it afterward (v. 51). 1 K. 19:17 emphasizes the inescapability of judgment; escaping “from the sword” of one enemy only leads to death at the hands of another.

Hunger, thirst, and pestilence can be listed either individually or together as the means of death. Moses allegedly planned to kill the people through hunger (Ex. 16:3); the Philistines are threatened with such death (Isa. 14:30), and it is a threat to Jeremiah as a result of his own imprisonment (Jer. 38:9). According to the people’s own lament, they will be killed by thirst as a result of having been led into the wilderness (Ex. 17:3). Samson also fears death by thirst (Jgs. 15:18). Sennacherib wants to let the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem die from both hunger *and* thirst (2 Ch. 32:11). Jeremiah threatens the inhabitants of Jerusalem with pestilence (Jer. 21:6), while Ps. 78:50 uses “death” and “pestilence” in parallel in its description of the Egyptian plagues.

Sequential enumeration of several different kinds of death is a favorite device in Jeremiah’s and — less frequently — Ezekiel’s threats. “Sword” and “pestilence” are syntactically combined with *mût* in Jer. 11:22; 44:12; without *mût* in Jer. 14:15,16,18; 16:4; 42:16; 44:27; Lam. 4:9. Although Ezk. 33:27 mentions “sword” and “pestilence,” these terms are separated by the expression “food for the wild beasts,” which could be viewed as an adaptation of the triple schema, with “hunger” as the middle member.⁸² Cf. also 1 K. 14:11 (repeated in 16:4; 21:24), where the dead within the city walls are described as food for the dogs, those in the open country as food for the birds. Here, too, we have a kind of double schema for the kinds of death that accompany war.

The triple schema *baḥereb* — *bārā’āb* — *baddeber*, “by sword — famine — pestilence,” occurs no fewer than 15 times in Jeremiah, 5 of those together with *mût* (Jer. 21:9; 27:13; 38:2; 42:17,22). This sequence usually remains constant, although Ezekiel varies and augments the schema more extensively. In Ezk. 5:12; 6:12; 7:15, we encounter the combination with *mût*, to which 2 additional passages without the verb can be adduced. Perhaps Ezekiel acquired the schema from Jeremiah and modified it in the process.⁸³ In any case, it probably functions as an expression of complete annihilation: “sword” is emblematic of war itself; “famine” and “pestilence” then come in its wake to complete the harvest of death.

81. → דָּבַר *deber* (*debher*) (III, 125-27).

82. See discussion below.

83. So Wächter, 138f.

VII. Death as Consequence.

1. *Qal*. The *qal* perfect consecutive serves to designate death as a consequence. The form *wāmēṭ* can indicate the consequence of the establishment of guilt (Gen. 44:9), of a wicked disposition (1 K. 1:52), or of murder (often in combination with *nkh* hiphil) (Ex. 21:12,20,28,35; 22:1[2]; Dt. 19:11f.; 2 S. 11:15). A conceivable but avoidable consequence can also be expressed by *wāmēṭ* (Gen. 19:19; 33:13; 44:22,31). In some cases the peril results from touching sacred objects (Nu. 4:15,20),⁸⁴ or through inappropriate clothing (Ex. 28:43). Finally, *wāmēṭ* refers to the consequence of the death penalty itself, either specified as stoning (Dt. 13:11[10]; 17:5; 21:21; 22:21,24) or left unspecified (Dt. 17:12; 18:20; 22:25; 24:7). The difference is that in the first case *wāmēṭ* concludes the judgment formula, whereas in the second the formula is introduced by *ûmēṭ*.

Qal imperfect forms can also refer to the consequences of capital crimes. In two cases the guilty party is "brought out" to die (*w^eyāmōṭ*, Jgs. 6:30; 1 K. 21:10). The paronomastic expression *mōṭ tāmûṭ* can be used to refer both to threats and to proclamations of a death sentence. If we view the giving of reasons as the criterion for judgments, then, e.g., 1 S. 14:44; 22:16; 2 K. 1:4,6,16; Jer. 26:8; Ezk. 3:18; 33:8,14 represent such judgments formulated in legal language; in contrast, e.g., Gen. 2:17;⁸⁵ 20:7; 1 K. 2:37,42 should be viewed as threats. The corresponding formulations in the 3rd person, *mōṭ yāmûṭ(û)*, usually occur outside the actual corpus of laws (Nu. 26:65; 1 S. 14:39; 2 S. 12:14; 2 K. 8:10) and, like *mōṭ tāmûṭ*, can be understood as judgments or as threats. In a completely different fashion, *mōṭ nāmûṭ* refers to the inescapability of death. In Jgs. 13:22, Manoah speaks to his wife about the deadly consequences of having seen God,⁸⁶ and in 2 S. 14:14 the common lot of all human beings is expressed this way.

Negated *qal* imperfect forms frequently refer to the avoidance of death. In this case, the negation *lō'* is used when death is indeed prevented (Jgs. 6:23; 1 S. 20:2; 2 S. 12:13; 19:24[23]), whereas *w^elō'* is usually used in statements in which such avoidance is dependent on certain conditions (e.g., Ex. 9:4; 21:18; 28:35; Lev. 16:2,13; Jer. 11:21; 38:24). The negation *pen* also follows conditions (Gen. 3:3; Lev. 10:6), while *w^eal* occurs once with conditions (1 S. 12:19) and once without (Dt. 33:6). These rules do show exceptions: Ex. 9:4; 21:18; Isa. 51:14, and in the synthetic expressions used as pendent to *hyh*.⁸⁷

2. *Hiphil*. Hiphil perfect consecutive forms occur partly in direct threats (Isa. 14:30; 65:15; Hos. 2:5[3]; 9:16), partly in conditional commands (Ex. 1:16; 2 S. 13:28), or in other consecutive clauses (Ex. 21:29; Nu. 14:15; 2 S. 14:32). The same is true of the hiphil imperfect forms: direct threats issued by prophets (1 K. 19:17; Isa. 11:4), death sentences stipulated in casuistic laws (Nu. 35:19,21), self-imposed threats (Gen. 42:37),

84. See VI.2 above.

85. See VI.2 above.

86. See VI.2 above.

87. See IX below.

extradition commands (Jgs. 20:13; 1 S. 11:12), etc. The guarantees of life (i.e., of safety) attested by oaths constitute an interesting group⁸⁸: the oath partner is assured that he will not (*'im*) be killed (e.g., 1 S. 30:15; 1 K. 1:51; 2:8; Jer. 38:16). Apart from the oath formula as such, pledges of safety also occur both with attendant conditions (1 S. 5:11; Jer. 38:25) and without (Jgs. 15:13; 1 K. 2:26).

3. *Hophal*. The hophal imperfect forms occur much more frequently both in threats and in legal stipulations concerning the death penalty (in contrast, the hophal perfect occurs only twice: Dt. 21:22; 2 S. 21:9). The imperfect forms appear in apodictic (?) and in casuistic laws as act-consequence prescriptions at the end of clauses (Ex. 21:29; 35:2; Lev. 24:16,21; Nu. 1:51; 3:10,38; 18:7). In Deuteronomy and narrative texts, on the other hand, the syntactical position of the act-consequence prescription *yûmât* varies (Dt. 13:6[5]; 17:6; 24:16; Jgs. 6:31; 1 S. 20:32; 2 S. 19:23[22]; 1 K. 2:24; 2 Ch. 23:14; Jer. 38:4). Only 3 passages use the negated hophal imperfect (Lev. 19:20; Dt. 24:16; 2 K. 14:6).

The paronomastic act-consequence prescription *môt yûmât/yûm^etû* occurs primarily in three different contexts:

(1) In the participial laws in the Book of the Covenant, e.g., *makkēh 'iš wāmēt môt yûmāt*, "whoever strikes a man so that he dies shall be put to death unconditionally" (Ex. 21:12; cf. 21:15,16,17; 22:18[19]). Such legal statements have been described as apodictic;⁸⁹ although Ex. 22:18[19] is similarly constructed, it stands in a context with casuistic laws, and it may be that this law, too, originally stood in the other series and was later separated.⁹⁰

Illman

Hans Jochen Boecker has brought to an appropriate end the discussion concerning the designation of the *môt yûmāt* legal statements as casuistic or apodictic. Their repeated assignment to casuistry,⁹¹ which follows the lead of Albrecht Alt,⁹² is controverted by the fact that here the complicated conditional formulation is replaced by a concentrated participial construction. Stereotypical formulations and series construction militate further against casuistic qualification. "All these points taken together can lead to only one conclusion: the understanding of law here is quite different from that expressed in casuistic principles. Whereas the latter originally referred to an actual legal case, classified it, and made a judgement on it, the principles of the series under

88. Cf. G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel שבע* "schwören." *BBB*, 56 (1981), 90-105.

89. H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient East* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1980), 191-207.

90. *Ibid.*, 196.

91. H. Gese, "Beobachtungen zum Stil alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze," *ThLZ*, 85 (1960), 147-150; R. Kilian, "Apodiktisches und kasuistisches Recht im Licht ägyptischer Analogien," *BZ*, N.S. 7 (1963), 185-202; E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts."* *WMANT*, 20 (1965).

92. "The Origins of Israelite Law," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966), 79-132.

discussion are independent of any actual event. The case is described in quite general and abstract terms. . . . These principles mark out a frontier which none may overstep."⁹³

Fabry

(2) Lev. 20 with a series of similarly formulated laws, e.g., *šš šš 'ašer y^eqallēl 'et-'ābîw w^e'et-'immô môt yûmāt*, "every one who curses his father or his mother shall be put to death unconditionally" (Lev. 20:9; cf. vv. 2,10,11,12,13,15,16,27). As a rule, this schema concludes with the bloodguilt formula *dāmāw bô*, "his blood is upon him," or *d^emêhem bām*, "their blood is upon them." While Lev. 20:9, like Ex. 21:17, prohibits cursing one's parents, Lev. 20:2,27 directs itself against foreign cultic practices and vv. 10-16 against sexual trespasses of various sorts. These laws probably reflect a later stage of development than does Ex. 21.

(3) Nu. 35:16,17,18,21,31 contain a further series of similarly formulated laws, although without the tight structure of the previously mentioned formulations. They have been "casuistically relaxed," and the act-consequence prescription *môt yûmāt* no longer has the legal community itself as subject, but rather the blood avenger (cf. vv. 19,21). With the exception of v. 31, the crime is intentional murder. The variations concern weapons used in the murder.

The *môt yûmāt* formula is also found in a series of other laws (Ex. 31:14,15; Lev. 24:16,17; 27:29; Nu. 15:35) and threats (Gen. 26:11; Jgs. 21:5; Ezk. 18:13). One striking observation is the presence of the participial form at the beginning and the act-consequence prescription at the end even in a narrative text such as Gen. 26:11, which shows that legal formulations exerted an influence far beyond legal contexts in the narrower sense. Ex. 19:12 occupies a middle position: whoever touches the holy mountain shall be put to death.⁹⁴

Illman

The question of the origin of these *môt yûmāt* series of legal principles has drawn the attention of various scholars;⁹⁵ the results clearly reveal the nomadic origin of this type of law.⁹⁶ Whether the *môt yûmāt* formula is by origin a formulation of the death penalty⁹⁷ or whether because of a lack of concrete indicators concerning this punishment it more likely served as a declaration that a person was worthy of death⁹⁸ will probably be decided in the latter sense. This would mean, however, that in Israel the

93. Boecker, 196.

94. Cf. VI.2 above.

95. V. Wagner, *Rechtssätze in gebundener Sprache und Rechtssatzreihen im israelitischen Recht*. BZAW, 127 (1972); G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze*. WMANT, 39 (1971); Schulz; W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch*. WMANT, 30 (1969).

96. Wagner, 29.

97. Boecker, 197.

98. So H. U. Cazelles, *Études sur le code de l'alliance* (Paris, 1946); Schulz; H. Graf Reventlow, "Kultisches Recht im AT," ZThK, 60 (1963), 267-304.

death penalty originally ended without *mûṭ*, something not without consequences for semantic considerations concerning this root.

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4. *Other Expressions.* The subst. *māweṭ* is used in two combinations as an expression of a threat. One oath formula, beginning with *ḥay-YHWH*, “as Yahweh lives,” and the threat formula *ben/b^enê-māweṭ*, “doomed to death (RSV ‘deserves to die’),” with a subject occurs in 1 S. 26:16; 2 S. 12:5 (cf. also 1 S. 20:31). Yet another threat formula is *ʾišʾanšê-māweṭ* with the same meaning (2 S. 19:29[28]; 1 K. 2:26).

Combinations of various sorts frequently occur with *mûṭ* and other verbs. The observation *w^ehinnēh nōpēl mēṭ* has already been mentioned.⁹⁹ The terms *mûṭ* and *npl* are used as a parallel and semantically equivalent pair in Jer. 44:12; Ezk. 5:12; 6:12; 33:27 within the framework of the triplet schema about death in war. In the synthetic parallelism *nāpal/wayyippōl . . . wayyāmoṭ*, “he fell . . . and died” (2 S. 1:4; 2:23), the two verbs refer to the same event. In 1 S. 31:5, *npl* apparently refers to a preceding act: Saul plunges into his own sword, after which he dies.

The situation of “seeking to kill” someone is expressed by variations of *biqqēš l^ehāmûṭ* (Ex. 4:24; 1 S. 19:2; 2 Sam. 20:19; 1 K. 11:40; Ps. 37:32; Jer. 26:21). This is an idiom (cf. also Gen. 37:18 with a different verb for the attempt, *nkl* hithpael, “behave cunningly, deceitfully”) expressing wickedness. Another idiom consists of combinations of *ḥāpēš*, “wish, delight in, be inclined toward,” and *mûṭ*: *ḥāpēš l^ehāmûṭ* (Jgs. 13:23; 1 S. 2:25) and *ḥāpēš b^emôṭ* (Ezk. 18:23,32; 33:11), both with Yahweh as subject. But while the first passage still countenances the fact that Yahweh means to kill someone, Ezekiel completely excludes this possibility: God does not want the death of the sinner, but rather for the sinner to repent and stay alive.

Although the combination of *nkh* in the hiphil and *mûṭ* in the hiphil or qal does occur in legal texts, the overwhelming majority of occurrences are in narrative texts. In the first case we have expressions for striking someone so that he dies, and the consequences of the act: *wāmēṭ(û)* (Ex. 21:12,20; 22:1[2]; Dt. 19:11) and the sequence *hikkāhû wayyāmoṭ*, “. . . he struck him down so that he died” (Nu. 35:16,17,18,21) with the casuistic indication of the instrument used in striking. In the second case we have on the one hand the qal form *wayyāmoṭ* as consequence or complement to *hikkâ* (2 S. 1:15; 10:18; 11:21; 20:10; 2 K. 12:21f.[20f.]; 25:25), and on the other hand the combination of two synonyms: *wayyak . . . wayyāmeṭ* (Josh. 10:26; 11:17; 1 S. 17:35,50; 2 S. 4:7; 14:6; 18:15; 21:17; 1 K. 16:10; 2 K. 15:25; Jer. 41:2; 52:27). To these we can add the previously mentioned conspiracy schemata.¹⁰⁰ In contrast with those schemata, the combinations with *hikkâ* and *mûṭ/hēmûṭ* are not formulaic in and of themselves, but sooner constitute synthetic parallels for death by striking, an observation also supported by a consideration of their extremely varied use.¹⁰¹

99. See III.4 above.

100. V.2.

101. → נִכָּה *nkh*.

Yet another combination of two synonyms is that with → *הָרַג* *hārag* and *mûṭ*. In 2 Ch. 24:25, *hrg* takes the place of *hikkâ* in the conspiracy schema. In Jer. 18:21, we have two parallel constructions: *h^arugê māwet*, “slaughtered to death,” and *mukkê-herēb*, “slain by the sword.” In Prov. 24:11, *māwet* and *herēg* stand parallel. In Lev. 20:16, *w^ehāragtā*, “you shall kill,” anticipates proleptically the act-consequence prescription *mûṭ yûmātû*, and in Dt. 13:10 the expression *hārōg tahargennû*, “you shall kill him,” precedes the inf. *lah^amûṭô*, “to put him to death.” This does show at least that *hrg*, like *hikkâ* albeit less frequently, is used either in synthetic or synonymous parallelism with *mûṭ/hēmûṭ* or parallel and synonymously with it.

The legal prescriptions concerning stoning as a death penalty¹⁰² have apparently also influenced several narratives about the actual carrying out of this penalty. 1 K. 21 (the stoning of Naboth) restates several times the combination *sql bā^abānîm*, “to stone,” and *mûṭ* (vv. 10,13,14,15); and 1 K. 12:18 (par. 2 Ch. 10:18) uses *rgm ^eeben* and *mûṭ*. It is quite clear here that the carrying out of the death penalty was described without *mûṭ* hiphil. Here the presence of *mûṭ* merely ascertains the actual event of death itself as a result of stoning. Helen Schüngel-Straumann¹⁰³ points out that stoning occurs in those cases in which blood revenge is excluded. In neither case does the act of killing cause bloodguilt, which is also why stoning was preferred to killing with a sword.

The law does not sanction the trodding (*rms*) of the royal official (*šālîš*) in the gate at Samaria, although the prophet Elisha did foretell his death (2 K. 7:17-20). Benaiah’s attack on Solomon’s enemies (1 K. 2:25,34,46) is expressed by *pg^e-b^e* plus *wayyāmoṭ*, whereby the first verb should apparently be translated “strike down” (cf. v. 29). In contrast, in Nu. 35:19, where the right of the blood avenger is established, the expression *b^epig^eô-bô* sooner means “where he meets him,” “when he meets him.”

In summary we can say that despite clear distinctions between the legal prescriptions on the one hand and actual threats on the other, one can indeed discern the influence of legal formulations on narrative texts. The pronouncement of punishment in the latter texts is primarily *môṭ tāmûṭ* or *môṭ yāmûṭ(û)*, whereas the laws themselves usually have *môṭ yûmāt(û)* in that position. The simple expression *yûmat/yum^etû* is used in both types of texts, which could attest just this sort of influence, especially when the pronouncement of punishment or the act-consequence prescription stands at the end of the judgment.

VIII. 1. The Dead. When the dead person (*mēṭ* ptcp.) refers to someone slain in battle (Nu. 19:16,18; Isa. 22:2; Ezk. 28:8; Ps. 88:6[5]), the parallel expression *hālāl*, “pierced (RSV ‘slain’),” or something similar occasionally also occurs. In the realm of the dead the *mēṭîm* are also called *r^epā^{im}*, “spirits of the dead, shadows” (e.g., Isa. 26:14,19; Ps. 88:11[10]).¹⁰⁴ The expression *k^emēṭê ôlām*, “like those long dead” (Ps.

102. Cf. VII.1 above.

103. P. 140.

104. On the discussion of this term, cf. W. J. Horwitz, “The Significance of the Rephaim,” *JNSL*, 7 (1979), 37-43; J. F. Healy, “*MLKM/RP^{UM}* and the *KISPUM*,” *UF*, 10 (1979), 89-91; C. E. L’Heureux, *Rank Among the Canaanite Gods: El, Ba’al, and the Repha’im*. *HSM*, 21 (1979).

143:3; Lam. 3:6), similarly refers to the shadowy existence characterizing the realm of the dead.

Contact with a dead body causes uncleanness, against which certain legal prescriptions were formulated. Again, two schemata recur: *ng'*, "to touch" — *mēṭ* — *ṭm'*, "be unclean" (e.g., Lev. 11:31; Nu. 19:11,13,16), and *lō' yābô'* ("not visit, go in") — *mēṭ* — *ṭm'* (e.g., Lev. 21:11; Nu. 6:6f.; Ezk. 44:25). Whereas the first schema establishes uncleanness as the result of touching, the second is directed to the high priest (Lev. 21:11), "the levitical priests" (Ezk. 44:25), and the Nazirites (Nu. 6:6ff.) as groups especially obligated to exercise caution in such matters.

The expression *keleb mēṭ*, "a dead dog" (1 S. 24:15[14]; 2 S. 9:8; 16:9), is used in a comparison between the king and his (supposed) enemy, and serves as an extremely pejorative expression for a person.¹⁰⁵

2. *The Netherworld.* Death (*māwet*) is also used as a designation for the realm of the dead or the "sphere of death," functioning as an equivalent to *š'ôl*. In this sense references are made to *ša'arê māwet*, "gates of death" (Ps. 9:14[13]; 107:18; Job 38:17; cf. *ša'arê š'ôl*, Isa. 38:10), *mišb'êrê-māwet*, "waves of death," *heblê-māwet*, "cords of death," *môq'sê-māwet*, "snares of death" (2 S. 22:5f. par. Ps. 18:5f. [4f.]; Ps. 116:3; Prov. 13:14; 14:27). Variations include *naḥ'alê b'liyya'al*, "torrents of Belial," and *heblê š'ôl*, "cords of Sheol" (2 S. 22:5f.). Additional metaphors for the netherworld are *k'elê-māwet*, "weapons of death" (Ps. 7:14[13]), *ḥadrê-māwet*, "halls, chambers of death" (Prov. 7:27), etc. These show that the realm of the dead was conceived on the one hand spatially ("gates," "halls"), and on the other as a chaotic, terrifying condition ("waves," "torrents," "cords," "snares," "weapons"). This was probably part of the common mythology of the Mediterranean world.

The parallel nature of *māwet* and *š'ôl* emerges from several other passages as well. Isa. 28:15,18 speaks of a "covenant with death" (*b'rit 'et-māwet*) and, parallel with that, of a "pact with Sheol" (*ḥāzūt 'et-š'ôl*). Rather than thinking here, e.g., of the god of death Osiris, we should probably assume with Hans Wildberger¹⁰⁶ that Isaiah was able to use these expressions metaphorically "because people in Jerusalem at that time were familiar with rituals through which they believed they could protect themselves against the powers of death." Further combinations of *māwet* and *š'ôl* illustrate "the descent into the netherworld" (Ps. 55:16[15]; Prov. 5:5; 7:27), "the fate of the rich" (Ps. 49:15[14]), "the transitoriness of life" (Ps. 89:49[48]), "that no one praises God in Sheol" (Isa. 38:18), and "the strength of love" (Cant. 8:6).

Other parallels with *māwet* occur less frequently: *qeber*, "the grave" (Isa. 53:9), *'abaddôn*, "the (place of) destruction" (Job 28:22; cf. 26:6). These, too, are expressions referring to the sphere of death.

The transitoriness of life comes to expression in Ps. 89:48f.(47f.): "Remember, O Lord, what the measure of life is, for what vanity thou hast created all the sons of men!

105. → כֶּלֶב *keleb* (VII, 146-157).

106. *Jesaja* (28-39). BK, X/3 (1982), 1073.

What man can live and never see death (*māwet*)? Who can deliver his soul from the power of Sheol (*miyyad-š'ôl*)?" The word *mût* itself is often absent from such pessimistic observations. According to Ps. 90:3ff., the transitoriness of human beings is God's work: "Thou turnest man back to the dust, and sayest, 'Turn back, O children of men'" (v. 3). "Thou sowest them . . . they are like grass; in the morning it flourishes and is renewed; in the evening it fades and withers" (vv. 5f.). God's own wrath is given as the reason (vv. 7,11). "Man cannot abide in his pomp, he is like the beasts that perish" (Ps. 49:13[12]; cf. v. 21[20]).

In this context, Eccl. 12:7 follows Gen. 3:19: "You are dust (*'āpār*), and to dust you shall return [i.e., you shall become dust again]." This statement was apparently taken as a general decree concerning mortality, since Gen. 3:22 refuses humans access to the tree of life, which could bestow "eternal" life. Thus the formula *môt tāmût*¹⁰⁷ could also become a general statement concerning human mortality, human disobedience being given as the reason for this mortality.

A person should be mindful of the transitoriness of life: "So teach us to count our days that we may get a wise heart" (Ps. 90:12). The statement cited by Isaiah, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die" (Isa. 22:13), is condemned as frivolous thinking. On the other hand, Deutero-Isaiah admonishes his listeners not to fear "men who die [i.e., who are mortal]" (Isa. 51:12); only Yahweh, the creator, is to be feared.

Occasionally the general mortality of all human beings is juxtaposed with the unusual death of certain persons. Thus Moses says of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram: "If these men die the common death of all men, or if they are visited by the fate of all men, then Yahweh has not sent me" (Nu. 16:29). Yahweh's response follows in v. 33: "So they with all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol." This apparently refers to a sudden death. The petitioner in Ps. 55:16(15) wishes the same upon his enemies, i.e., divine judgment attesting their injustice. Although it is the common lot of human beings that a person's name perishes with him in death (Ps. 41:6[5]), Prov. 11:7f. seems to presuppose a distinction between the righteous and the wicked regarding their hope beyond death (?). Just what this implies, however, remains unclear. In contrast, Eccl. 3:19 even asserts that there is no difference between human beings and beasts: "as one dies, so dies the other" (*kēmôt zeh kēmôt zeh*).

IX. Death and Life. Besides a series of various combinations of *mût/māwet* and its opposite *hyh/hayyîm*,¹⁰⁸ combinations juxtaposing "death" and "birth" occur only rarely. The examples "a time to be born, and a time to die" (*'ēt lāledet w'ēt lāmût*, Eccl. 3:2), and "a good name is better than precious ointment, and the day of death, than the day of birth" (Eccl. 7:1), are well known. Mention should also be made of Hos. 9:16, where the prophet punctuates his threat of childlessness in the prediction that even if children were to be born, Yahweh would slay them.

107. See VII.3 above.

108. → הָיָא *hāyā* (*chāyāh*) (IV, 324-344).

The terms *hyh* and *mût* are combined in the inclusive phrases “live and not die.” Such clauses serve to underscore what has been said, either as an assurance of life or as the desire to preserve it (e.g., Gen. 42:2; 43:8; 47:19; Nu. 4:19; Dt. 33:6; 2 K. 18:32; Ps. 118:17 [concerning this psalm cf. also the content of Ps. 116:8f.]; Ezk. 18:21,28; 33:15). The reverse combination “die and not live” occurs less frequently (2 K. 20:1 par. Isa. 38:1; Job 14:14; Ps. 89:49[48]).

Other combinations present death and life as alternatives resulting from correct decisions (e.g., Gen. 19:19f.; 20:7; 42:18,20; Dt. 5:24-26; Jer. 27:12f.; Ezk. 18:23,32; 33:11). According to Deuteronomistic theology, the God of the covenant has given human beings the choice between life and death (*ntn lipnê . . . hayyîm/māwet*), good and evil, blessing and curse (Dt. 30:15,19), in the hope that a person will choose life. This can also be expressed by saying that the concern is with the correct choice of paths in a concrete situation (Jer. 21:8) or in the reflections of wisdom (Prov. 5:5; 8:35f.; 11:19; 12:28; 13:14; 14:27; 16:14f.; 18:21). The difference is that Deuteronomistic theology is addressing the people or cultic community as a whole, while the two-path teaching from the wisdom tradition is addressing the individual.

One frequent juxtaposition is that of the “living” and the “dead,” expressed by the ptcps. *hay* and *mēt*. The reference is usually to a concrete situation without abstract significance (e.g., Ex. 21:35; Nu. 17:13[16:48]; 2 S. 12:18,21; 19:7[6]; 1 K. 3:22,23). Isa. 8:19, however, refers to the interrogation of the dead (i.e., of the spirits of the dead — *’ôbôt* or *yidd’ônîm*) by the living, a practice punishable by death (Lev. 19:31; 20:6,27; Dt. 18:10f.) but nonetheless employed in critical situations (e.g., 1 S. 28).

A contradiction arises between Eccl. 4:2 and 9:5. In the first instance Qoheleth pronounces the dead more fortunate than the living, and in the second he says that the living are more fortunate because they at least know they are to die, whereas the dead know nothing at all. This leads to the proverb “a living dog is better than a dead lion” (9:4), which, intended ironically, seeks to disclose the questionable character of life.¹⁰⁹

Job 14:14 poses the rhetorical question: “If a man die, shall he live again?” The obviously negative answer is given, e.g., in Isa. 26:14. The universal law that the dead do not live again is, however, limited here to enemies, so that an option emerges for Israel. Thus in Isa. 26:19 God’s pledge is given that Israel’s dead (cf. vv. 7,19,20) will nonetheless live again (*yihyû mēteykā*).¹¹⁰ As an oracle of salvation responding to the preceding lament of the people (vv. 7-18), this statement is referring not to the resurrection of individuals, but rather metaphorically to the reestablishment of Israel itself.¹¹¹ The assertion in Ezk. 37 concerning the dead skeletons that are to live again can be understood similarly, although here the term *yābēš*, “dry,” is used instead of *mēt*.¹¹² Cf. also Hos. 6:2; Am. 5:2.¹¹³

109. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK*, XIX (1978), *in loc.*

110. Cf. F. J. Helfmeyer, “‘Deine Toten — meine Leichen’: Heilszusage und Annahme in Jes 26,19,” *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB*, 50 (1977), 245-258.

111. So Wildberger, *in loc.*

112. Cf. E. Haag, “Ez 37 und der Glaube an die Aufweckung der Toten,” *TrThZ*, 82 (1973), 78-92.

113. → *חַיָּא* *hāyâ* (*chāyāh*) (IV, 324-344).

Yahweh is a God who "kills and makes alive" (Dt. 32:39; 1 S. 2:6; cf. 2 K. 5:7). It is difficult to determine whether this is to be understood as a sign of a certain duplicity in Yahweh's being, or rather as a bipolar expression of the fact that Yahweh is the ultimate cause of everything (cf. Isa. 45:6f.). Like earthly kings as well (Ex. 1:16; 2 S. 8:2; Est. 4:11), he is certainly lord of life and death. This also manifests itself in the fact that he can deliver (*hiššil*) a person from death (Ps. 33:19; 56:14[13]; 86:13; 116:8,9). This is not a reference to the resurrection of the dead, but rather more likely to the healing of certain illnesses which in and of themselves are already viewed as belonging to the sphere of death (cf. Akk. *muballit mîtē*).¹¹⁴ However, he can also plunge a person into Sheol (Job 30:23). One petition motif, namely, that God might deliver a person from Sheol, is generated by the fact that no praise of God is possible in Sheol, i.e., that the relationship with God is broken off (cf. Isa. 38:18,19). Just what is meant here concretely by the assertion that God will not give his faithful over to death in any final sense (e.g., Ps. 49:16[15]; 73:23-26) is still somewhat puzzling. Although it is clear *that* he will deliver a person, we are not told *how* this will happen.

Only apocalyptic texts assert that God will destroy death once and for all (*bl' piel*, Isa. 25:8; considering the context, this might perhaps refer rather to the elimination of weeping and all mourning) and will awaken individuals for judgment and eternal life (Dnl. 12:2). The notion of the immortality of the soul then establishes its presence in the Wisdom Literature outside the protocanonical writings.¹¹⁵

Illman

X. Qumran. The root *mwt* is attested with extraordinary frequency in the writings of Qumran, and a particular concentration can be discerned in the Temple scroll. The verb occurs 56 times (34 in 11QT), the noun 14 times (twice in 11QT). What is surprising is that except for 1QH (anthropological contexts) and CD the fundamental texts of the Qumran community do not use this root.

Although belief in a beyond was self-evident in Qumran,¹¹⁶ and although the resurrection hope which grew rampantly especially during the intertestamental period had also been taken up,¹¹⁷ the total absence of any mention of death or of dying in the community's significant texts is striking.¹¹⁸ The Essene petitioner describes himself as a "worm of the dead" (1QH 6:34; 11:12), oppressed by the "waves of death" (1QH 3:8,9; 9:4), and

114. See I.2 above.

115. Cf. the extensive literature on the problem of resurrection, and Kellermann, *ZThK*, 73 (1976), 259ff.

116. Cf. R. B. Laurin, "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran 'Hodayot,'" *JSS*, 3 (1958), 344-355; J. van der Ploeg, "The Belief in Immortality in the Writings of Qumrân," *BiOr*, 18 (1961), 118-124.

117. Cf. K. Schubert, "Das Problem der Auferstehungshoffnung in den Qumrantexten und in der früh-rabbinischen Literatur," *WZKM*, 56 (1960), 154-167.

118. Cf. H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde*. *StUNT*, 15 (1980), 219ff.

surrounded by Belial and his “cords of death” (3:28),¹¹⁹ standing before the “gates of death” (6:24). CD and the Temple scroll use *mwt* almost exclusively in legal contexts, where the following focal points emerge: the death penalty is imposed in the case of crimes worthy of death (*d^ebar māwet*, CD 9:6,17), a penalty which peculiarly is to be carried out by pagans (CD 9:1), or in the case of capital crimes (*h^tl’[’]] mšpt mwt*, 11QT 64:9) by stoning (11QT 64:6; 66:2,5) or by “hanging on a tree” (*tlh l’s*, 11QT 64:8,9,11; it is doubtful that this refers to punishment by crucifixion¹²⁰); prescriptions against defilement resulting from contact with the dead occupy a great deal of space (CD 12:18; 11QT 49; 50). Qumran had a special law governing the establishment of cemeteries (11QT 48).

The root *mwt* also appears in the context of the voluntary oath obligating a person to community membership. The sodalist is not to break this oath even at the “price of death” (*‘ad m^ehⁱr māwet*, CD 16:8).

1QSb 5:25 applies the notion of the power of the word, a concept also familiar to the OT itself (cf. Jer. 23:29; 51:20), to the teacher (*maškil*): he will smite the peoples with the power of his mouth and bring death to the ungodly with the breath of his lips (cf. Isa. 11:4).

Fabry

119. → חבל *hbl* (IV, 172-79).

120. This is the conclusion of J. M. Baumgarten, “Does TLH in the Temple Scroll Refer to Crucifixion?” *JBL*, 91 (1972), 472-481; *idem*, *Studies in Qumran Law. StJLA*, 24 (1977), 172-182; cf. also J. M. Ford, “‘Crucify him, crucify him’ and the Temple Scroll,” *ExpT*, 87 (1976), 275-78; L. D. Merino, *Estudios Eclesiasticos*, 51 (1976), 5-27; *idem*, “El Suplico de la cruz en la literatura judia intertestamental,” *SBFLA*, 26 (1976), 48-69; J. Finegan, “Crosses in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *BAR*, 5/6 (1979), 41-49.

מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbēah*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Distribution; 3. LXX; 4. Hypostatization. II. 1. Religio-historical Considerations; 2. Ancient Near East; a. Egypt; b. Mesopotamia; c. Asia Minor; d. Syria; e. Arabia. III. OT: 1. General Considerations; 2. The Altar; a. The Patriarchal Period; b. The Mosaic Period; c. Prior to Construction of the Temple; d. Solomon’s Temple; e. Prior to the Exile; f. Ezekiel’s Draft Constitution; 3.a. Blood Rite; b. Altar Horns; c. Asylum; d. Altar Service; e. Idol Worship. IV. Qumran.

mizbēah. Y. Aharoni, “The Horned Altar of Beer-sheba,” *BA*, 37 (1974), 2-6; W. F. Albright, “The Babylonian Temple-Tower and the Altar of Burnt-offering,” *JBL*, 39 (1920), 137-142; A. Biran, “An Israelite Horned Altar at Dan,” *BA*, 37 (1974), 106f.; *idem*, ed., *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem, 1981); J. P. Brown, “The Sacrificial Cult and its Critique in Greek and Hebrew. II. The Altar and ‘High Place,’ ” *JSS*, 25 (1980), 1-21; T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem. StFS*, 3, I (1970); II (1980); M. Cogan, “The Ahaz Altar: On the Problem

I. 1. Etymology. The substantive form *mizbēah* (*māzbēh* with Babylonian pointing¹) derives from the common Semitic root *zbh*;² consistent with the distribution of this root,³ equivalents of *mizbēah* are also attested throughout the Semitic linguistic sphere.⁴ Following the semantic scope of Heb. *zābah*, “slaughter, perform a *zebah* ritual, sacrifice,”⁵ *mizbēah* can refer to the slaughter site, to the place of *zebah*, and to the sacrificial site in the general sense. No original meaning emerges from this usage; rather, the element common to all these meanings stands in the foreground, and the

of Assyrian Cults in Judah,” *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I (Jerusalem, 1977), 119-124 [Heb.]; D. Conrad, *Studien zum Altargesetz: Ex 20:24-26* (diss., Marburg, 1968); *idem*, “Einige (archäologische) Miszellen zur Kultgeschichte Judas in der Königszeit,” *Textgemäss. Festschrift E. Würthwein* (Göttingen, 1979), 28-32; *idem*, “Der neugefundene Altar von Beerscheba,” *ZDMGSup*, 4 (1980), 116; L. F. De Vries, *Incense Altars from the Period of the Judges and Their Significance* (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975); B. Diebner and H. Schult, “Die Stellung der Jerusalemer Orthodoxie zu den Yhwh-Altären der Diaspora,” *Diehlheimer Blätter*, 7 (1974), 33-37; M. Forte, “Sull’ origine di alcuni tipi di altarini sud-arabici,” *AION*, n.s. 17 (1967), 97-120; V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT*, 47 (1977); N. H. Gadegaard, “On the So-called Burnt Offering Altar in the OT,” *PEQ*, 110 (1978), 35-45; K. Gallie, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des Alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925); N. Glueck, “Incense Altars,” *Erlsr*, 10 (1971), 120-25 [Heb.], XII [Eng. summary]; M. Görg, “Der Altar — Theologische Dimensionen im AT,” *Freude am Gottesdienst. Festschrift J. G. Plöger* (Stuttgart, 1983), 291-306; J. de Groot, *Die Altäre des salomonischen Tempelhofes. BWAT*, n.s. 6 (1924); M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978); J. Henninger, *Das Opfer bei den Arabern* (diss., Fribourg, 1944), abr. *Arabica Sacra = Contributions à l’histoire religieuse de l’Arabie et de ses régions limitrophes. OBO*, 40 (1981), 189-203; H. W. Hertzberg, “Der heilige Fels und das AT,” *Beiträge zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des AT* (Göttingen, 1962), 45-53; P. Kübel, “Epiphanie und Altarbau,” *ZAW*, 83 (1971), 225-231; E. Kutsch, “Gideons Berufung und Altarbau Jdc 6,11-24,” *ThLZ*, 81 (1956), 75-84; R. de Langhe, “L’autel d’or du temple de Jérusalem,” *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 476-494; J. Morgenstern, *The Fire upon the Altar* (Leiden, 1963); E. W. Nicholson, “Blood-spattered Altars?” *VT*, 27 (1977), 113-17; H. T. Obbink, “The Horns of the Altar in the Semitic World, Especially in Jahwism,” *JBL*, 56 (1937), 43-49; A. Parrot, “Autels de terre à Mari,” *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Gallie* (Tübingen, 1970), 219-224; M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der Hethitischen Religion nach Keilschriftlichen Quellen* (Warsaw, 1978); G. Rinaldi, “Mizbah ’ādāmā,” *BeO*, 16 (1974), 192; E. Robertson, “The Altar of Earth (Exodus XX, 24-26),” *JJS*, 1 (1948), 12-21; G. Ryckmans, “Sud-arabe mḡbhṯ = hébreu mzbh et termes apparentés,” *Festschrift W. Caskel* (Leiden, 1968), 253-260; N. H. Snaith, “The Altar at Gilgal: Joshua XXII 23-29,” *VT*, 28 (1978), 330-35; J. J. Stamm, “Zum Altargesetz im Bundesbuch,” *ThZ*, 1 (1945), 304-6; F. J. Stendebach, “Altarformen im kanaanäisch-israelitischen Raum,” *BZ*, n.s. 20 (1976), 180-196; E. Stern, “Note on a Decorated Limestone Altar from Lachish,” *Atiqot* 11 (1976), 107-9; E. D. Van Buren, “Akkadian Stepped Altars,” *Numen*, 1 (1954), 228-234; *idem*, “Places of Sacrifice (‘Opferstätten’),” *Iraq*, 14 (1952), 76-92; P. H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of bāmā in the OT. SOTS Mon*, 3 (1974); L. H. Vincent, “L’autel des holocaustes et le caractère du temple d’Ezéchiël,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67 (1949), 7-20; H. W. Wiener, “The Altars of the OT,” *BOLZ*, 1927; → זֶבַח *zābah* (*zābhach*) (IV, 8-29); → בָּמָה *bāmā* (*bāmāh*) (II, 139-145).

1. Thus P. Kahle.

2. *BLe*, §61rζ.

3. → זֶבַח *zābah* (*zābhach*), IV, 8-11.

4. *HAL*, II (1995), 564.

5. → זֶבַח *zābah* (*zābhach*), IV, 11.

general translation "altar" is thus justified, especially since as a result of semantic transformation the term *mizbēah* can in Hebrew also refer to the incense altar and similar structures.

2. *Occurrences and Distribution.* The noun *mizbēah* occurs 401 times in the OT;⁶ in Gen. 33:20 one should read *maṣṣēbā* with BHS instead of *mizbēah*,⁷ and in 2 Ch. 28:2 *mizbēah* instead of → מַסְכָּה *massēkâ* (III.1); to these can be added 4 occurrences in Sirach (Sir. 47:9; 50:11,14,19) and the Aramaic form *madbah* in Ezr. 7:17. The majority of occurrences are in the Priestly writings (59 in Exodus; 87 in Leviticus; 29 in Numbers) and in the historical writings (35 in 1 Kings; 28 in 2 Kings; 10 in 1 Chronicles; 39 in 2 Chronicles); other books attesting high frequency are Genesis (13 times), Deuteronomy (10), Joshua (15), Judges (12), and Ezekiel (18).

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders *mizbēah* primarily with *thysiastērion*; 23 times it uses *bōmós*, though only in reference to illegitimate pagan altars.⁸

4. *Hypostatization.* Among the cultic hypostases attested especially in the first millennium in the pantheon of ancient Syria⁹ one also finds a deity called *mdbh*. J. T. Milik¹⁰ views the personal name *'šm-mdbh* as evidence for the cult of this deity "altar." Veneration of an altar as *Zeús Mádbachos* (*mdbh*) is attested in proximity of Aleppo. "This god is not some *Zeús Bōmios* or Be'el Madbachâ, i.e., a numen dwelling within the stone; rather, the altar stone itself is for this community the tangible manifestation of the highest god."¹¹ Similar interpretations are found in the case of Baitylos/Baitýlion within the Phoenician-Punic sphere.¹²

II. 1. *Religio-historical Considerations.* Historically, altars came about when a specific place was set apart for the bringing of offerings; this already encompasses the two features characteristic of altars, namely, the special place on the one hand and the offering on the other.¹³ The altar is thus to be distinguished on the one hand from the marker stone which designates a significant locale and on the other from the cultic pedestal which supported the symbols of deities and similar objects, even if both occasionally could function cultically when sacrifices or offerings were placed either in front of or upon them. The

6. A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible* (Jerusalem, 1983), lists 400 occurrences, though this includes several incorrect listings.

7. On the restructuring of an old itinerary notice concerning the setting up of a marker stone, cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 529.

8. Cf. S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la 'Septante'* (Paris, 1966), 15–53.

9. H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 169f.

10. "Les papyrus araméens d'Hermoupolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens en Égypte perse," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 577f.

11. E. Meyer, "Untersuchungen zur phönikischen Religion," *ZAW*, 49 (1931), 13.

12. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Der Gott Bethel," *KISchr*, I (Tübingen, 1962), 206–233.

13. Cf. C. H. Ratschow, "Altar," *RGG*³, I, 251ff.

altar functions as a place for sacrifices or offerings. The significant character of the locale in and of itself (e.g., sacred boulder, tomb, locus of theophany, temple) suggests that ultimately this does not completely exhaust the function of altars.¹⁴ The determination of the specific nature and significance of any given altar requires careful consideration of the notion and practice of sacrifice and offering associated with it.

2. *Ancient Near East.* a. *Egypt.* Since sacrifice in Egypt exhibited primarily the character of a meal for the gods,¹⁵ the altar itself can also be understood as having been modeled on secular eating utensils such as the dining mat, table, bowl, etc. The original form of the altar in Egypt is that of the food plate placed at the cultic location. An offering mat *htp*¹⁶ portrayed with a loaf of bread also serves as a hieroglyph for offering as such.¹⁷ Further structural developments of altars¹⁸ are prompted by the various kinds of offerings involved.

This is confirmed as well by the various designations for altars (*3w.t*; **b3*; *r3-ntrw*; *h3y.t*; *h3(w).t*; *sm3*; *śm*; *ḳdf*). Since in Egypt altars served exclusively as a prop supporting offerings,¹⁹ the Egyptian temples also retained a number of transportable altars which could be set up at the place of sacrifice according to the size of the sacrifice to be made.

Consistent with the lesser significance of burnt offerings,²⁰ only rarely do we encounter fixed altars; in contrast, censuring in the cult by means of the most varied incense vessels is of great significance in Egypt.²¹

b. *Mesopotamia.* Although a number of different kinds of sacrifice and cultic appurtenances are known from Mesopotamia, we still possess no information concerning the performance and understanding of specific sacrifices.²² As in Egypt, the primary notion is that of provision of food for the gods; thus altars also were incorporated into the furniture of the divine dwelling with this function in mind, and to a large extent correspond to the secular eating table both in terminology (semantic development from vessel to table) and form (cf. Akk. *paššūru*, Sum. *banšur*²³). Besides the offering table designation *paššūru*, other terms associated with altars include the Sumerian loanword *guduttû*,²⁴ *garakku*,²⁵ *guḥšû*,²⁶ *kapru* II,²⁷ and numerous cultic vessels which served

14. Cf. also the "four basic relational forms": table, hearth, grave, and throne (*ibid.*, 252f.).

15. Cf. *RÄR*, 547-550; → זָבַח *zābah* (*zābhach*), IV, 13-16.

16. *WbÄS*, III, 183.

17. *RÄR*, 557ff.

18. Cf. Gallie, 1-16.

19. Cf. R. Stadelmann, "Altar," *LexÄg*, I (1975), 145-49.

20. Cf. A. Eggebrecht, "Brandopfer," *LexÄg*, I, 848-850.

21. Cf. O. Keel, "Kanaanäische Sühneriten auf ägyptischen Tempelreliefs," *VT*, 25 (1975), 424-436.

22. → זָבַח *zābah* (*zābhach*), IV, 16f.

23. *AHw*, I (1965), 845f.; A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des Alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen*. *AnAcScFen*, B, 127 (1963), 174-203.

24. *CAD*, V (1956), 120.

25. *AHw*, I, 281f.

26. *Ibid.*, I, 296.

27. *CAD*, VIII (1971), 190f.

the presentation of various sacrifices as well as censuring: *nignakk/qqu*,²⁸ *maqtārum*,²⁹ *kinūnu*,³⁰ libations: *adagur(r)u*,³¹ *maqqītu*,³² and other functions. It is questionable whether the various cultic pedestals *kigallu*, *manzāza*, or *nēmedu* are to be identified as altars.³³ In addition to these numerous temple altars,³⁴ we also find so-called "places of sacrifice" outside the temple; Van Buren postulates that here the remains of sacrificial offerings were regularly burned in the same place.³⁵ There is as yet no direct evidence from Mesopotamia concerning the significance of burnt offerings.

c. *Asia Minor*. As in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Hittite temple represents a divine dwelling equipped with an inventory consistent with that of the palace itself consisting of throne, hearth, table, etc. Within the cult, the hearth area *ḥašša*-³⁶ occupies a special position; this is shown not only by the offerings brought to it, but especially by its orthography with a divine determinative. The term *ištanana*-³⁷ probably refers to a cultic pedestal (not to be associated with Heb. *ʾāšērâ*³⁸) for the representation of the god³⁹ rather than to an altar, even if offerings were occasionally laid down beside, in front of, or even on it.⁴⁰ In front of this *ištanana*- usually stood the real, wooden (always with the determinative *GIŠ*) offering table *papu*- upon which the sacrificial meal was placed; it is often called the "table of the deity" (*GIŠBANŠUR DINGIR^{LM}*).⁴¹ In a manner comparable to that of the Egyptian offering table, it could also be set up at other cultic places for certain types of offerings.⁴² The offering itself was primarily food for the gods, and the occasionally mentioned sacrificial blood had no real significance in the cult.⁴³

d. *Syria*. Although the cultures of ancient Syria exhibit considerable agreement with the OT concerning sacrifice,⁴⁴ such widespread terminological agreement should not be permitted to obscure manifest differences.⁴⁵ While the cult in ancient Syria includes provision of food for the gods, sacral meals, as well as the use of incense

28. *AHw*, II (1972), 787.

29. *Ibid.*, II, 608.

30. *Ibid.*, I, 481f.

31. *Ibid.*, I, 9.

32. *Ibid.*, II, 607.

33. Cf. D. Opitz, "Ein Altar des Königs Tukulti-Ninurta I. von Assyrien," *AfO*, 7 (1931), 83-90. See II.1 above.

34. On the various types and forms, cf. esp. P. Lohmann in Gallinger, 17-53; E. Unger, "Altar," *RLA*, I (1932), 73-75; E. D. Van Buren, *Numen*, 1 (1954), 228-234.

35. *Iraq*, 14 (1952), 76-92.

36. Cf. Popko, 48-59.

37. *Ibid.*, 66-71.

38. Cf. O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford, 1977), 37.

39. *KUB*, XXV, 22, II, 9.

40. *KUB*, XX, III, 2ff.

41. Popko, 78.

42. Concerning the archaeological evidence and types of Hittite altars, cf. Gallinger, 90-101.

43. Cf. Gurney, 28f.

44. → מִזְבֵּחַ *zābah* (*zābhach*), IV, 17f.; Gese, 173-181.

45. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 176f.

and libation, blood does not play any discernible role in the sacrificial cult;⁴⁶ furthermore, the sacrificial animals themselves were either completely or partially burned. However, the origin and extent of these types of sacrifice are uncertain;⁴⁷ next to terms for the more familiar types of sacrifice⁴⁸ in the texts from Ebla, possible parallels to Heb. *ʾōlā* might be attested in the sacrificial designations *é-lum*⁴⁹ and *sà-ra-pa-tum*.⁵⁰

The relationships obtaining between these various sacrificial types and the ancient Syrian sacrificial sites,⁵¹ altars,⁵² and cultic equipment⁵³ remain uncertain.

e. Arabia. Next to the enormous differences between the sacrificial customs of the northern and southern Arabs in antiquity,⁵⁴ there is a certain continuity extending even into the present regarding sacrifice among the Arabian semi- and full Bedouins.

Compared to the full Bedouins, whose sanctuaries are necessarily movable, the semi-Bedouins do have preferred places of sacrifice⁵⁵ such as ancestral graves, sacred stones and trees, etc.

Since the essential part of their sacrifice is the pouring of blood, the slaughtering must also take place at the sacrificial site itself. A pit for the spilled sacrificial blood was located at the foot of the stone (*nuṣub*, *nuṣb*) before which the slaughter was performed, and votive gifts were occasionally also placed into it.⁵⁶ The blood was applied to the stone (*anṣāb*, “blood-smeared stones”) and also sprinkled in the direction of the recipients and bringers of the sacrifice.⁵⁷ As far as the meaning of the sacrifice is concerned, the concluding meal was less significant than this blood ritual. Thus genuine altars are not found; in place of the stone blocks customary elsewhere, the Bedouins of the Sinai peninsula used rock heaps.⁵⁸

The same sacrificial customs familiar from the OT are also found in the ancient Arabic cultures: animal sacrifice, sacrificial meal, libation, incense, and perhaps also burnt offering.⁵⁹ According to Gonzague Ryckmans,⁶⁰ altar terms such as *mḏbh(t)*, *mqr*, *mṣrb*, and *mslm* are not limited to the type of sacrifice evoked by the various root

46. → דָּם *dām*, III, 238f.

47. → זָבַח *zāḇaḥ* (*zābhach*), IV, 17-19.

48. Cf. the sacrificial terminology in G. Pettinato, “Culto ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-Sipiš,” *OrAnt*, 18 (1979), 120-27.

49. *Ibid.*, 125.

50. *Ibid.*, 126.

51. → בָּמָה *bāmā* (*bāmāh*), II, 139-145.

52. Cf. Gallinger, 54-79; Stendebach.

53. Cf. H. G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult. OIP*, 26 (1935), 12-26.

54. Cf. J. Henninger, “Das Opfer in den altsüdarabischen Hochkulturen,” *Anthropos*, 37-40 (1942-45), 805-810 = *Arabica Sacra* = *Contributions à l'histoire religieuse de l'Arabie et de ses régions limitrophes. OBO*, 40 (1981), 204-253.

55. Cf. S. J. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today* (Chicago, 1902), 133-143, 229-237.

56. Cf. Henninger, *Das Opfer bei den Arabern*, 66.

57. *Ibid.*, 177-184.

58. *Ibid.*, 66.

59. Cf. Henninger, *OBO*, 40 (1981), 204-253.

60. P. 259.

meanings, but rather vary both according to the context of the inscriptions in which they appear and according to the characteristics of the monuments designated by these names. However, the stela *qyf*, which is also of cultic significance, should be distinguished from these altars.⁶¹

III. OT. 1. General Considerations. Since the enormous semantic scope of Heb. *mizbēah* (place of slaughter, sacrificial site, altar of burnt offering, incense altar, temple table, etc.) is paralleled by the multiplicity of archaeologically attested types and forms of altars in Palestine,⁶² any association of archaeological evidence with textual situations must be undertaken with caution. One thing becomes clear: there was no definitive altar type in ancient Israel; on the other hand, as the most salient point of connection with sacrifice itself, and thus with the cultic center, the altar can also refer to the cultic locale in general, especially since altars are indeed possible apart from temples, while temples without altars are not. The notions associated with altars should be viewed in connection with the Israelite sacrificial cult, which itself underwent continual development as a result of admixture and delimitation.

2. The Altar.

a. *The Patriarchal Period.* The nomadic religion of the patriarchs⁶³ exhibits numerous parallels to the cult of pre-Islamic Arabs,⁶⁴ the focus of which was sacred stones and trees instead of specially constructed sanctuaries. Nonetheless, Genesis contains numerous accounts of altar construction by the patriarchs, usually expressed by the stereotypical formula *wayyiḇen šām [PN] mizbēah (l^e-YHWH)*, "and [PN] built there an altar to Yahweh."⁶⁵ Since besides this formula further details are never mentioned, such as the fact that sacrifices were offered there, it is clear that these are not descriptions of cultic acts; rather, this information has meaning only for the later time in which it was composed. As far as content is concerned, two groups emerge. One represents altar etiologies; the other seeks to trace what were originally Canaanite sanctuaries back to one of the patriarchs by means of the formula just cited. The formula usually stands in itineraries or independent units (Gen. 12:7,8; 13:4,18) and is followed by *wayyiqrā' b^ešēm YHWH*, "and he called on the name of Yahweh," as a sign of worship and of the inauguration of the cult at that place. Both groups can additionally contain elements of theophany and promise.⁶⁶ Hence all these accounts originated during the time of sedenterization and of appropriation of the sanctuaries already extant in the land; this is also consistent with the partially

61. Cf. M. Höfner, "Kultobjekte und Kulthandlungen," *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 328ff.; Ryckmans, 259.

62. Cf. A. Reichert, "Altar," *BRL*², 5-10; Stendebach.

63. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12-50. EdF*, 48 (31992), esp. 111-14.

64. See II.2.e above.

65. → בָּנָה *bānā* (*bānāh*), II, 175-78.

66. W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB*, 18 (21966), 134-37.

reworked altar etiologies in Jgs. 6:11-24; 13;⁶⁷ 1 S. 7:17; 14:35; 2 S. 24:18-25; 1 Ch. 21:18-28.⁶⁸

b. *The Mosaic Period.* The larger discussion concerning the interdependence of the traditions of the tent sanctuary and the temple⁶⁹ in P includes the accounts of the altar of burnt offering in Ex. 27:1-8, the table for the bread of the Presence in Ex. 25:23-30, and the incense altar in Ex. 30:1-10. Because the altar of burnt offering had to be transportable, it is described as a wooden horned altar with a metal firepan, carrying poles, and an obscure *nikbār*.⁷⁰ Its measurements of 5 by 5 by 3 cubits recur in 2 Ch. 6:13 in reference to the *kiyyôr*.⁷¹ The description of the incense altar in the addendum Ex. 30:1-10 follows that of the altar of burnt offering, although the table mentioned in Ex. 25:23-30⁷² might already imply the setting up of incense vessels.⁷³ Apart from the accounts surrounding the holy tent, twice mention is made of altars erected by Moses himself (Ex. 17:15; 24:4).

The name of the altar Moses erected in Rephidim after the victory over the Amalekites has occasioned numerous textual emendations,⁷⁴ since the name Yahweh *nissî* (Ex. 17:15) does not seem to fit the explanation in v. 16, *kî-yād 'al-kēs yāh* (MT).⁷⁵ The reference here is probably not to a throne for the warlord Yahweh⁷⁶ (the notion of throne altars is attested nowhere in the OT). Rather, this altar probably represents for Israel the cultically venerated battle standards common to the entire ancient Near East since the second millennium, having originated in Egypt.⁷⁷ One would then have to consider whether in the addendum explaining the name (v. 16) *yād* is used absolutely to refer to Yahweh's might,⁷⁸ whose dominion over Israel is expressed in the phrase *'al kissē* (with Sam., Syr.); this accords with v. 16b, since the war against the Amalekites is always a war for (*l'*) Yahweh. B. Couroyer⁷⁹ attempts to fuse the two statements by deriving *nissî*⁸⁰ from Egyp. *nś.t*, "throne," and understanding this as a gesture associated with a vow.

The altar Moses erects in Ex. 24:4 together with twelve marker stones as a response to the theophany⁸¹ does not merely represent the divine covenantal partner;⁸² rather, it

67. Cf. Kübel.

68. Cf. Fritz, esp. 15-20.

69. → לִיָּהּ *'ōhel* (I, 118-130); Fritz, 112-166.

70. Cf. Fritz, 147.

71. *Ibid.*, 146.

72. *Ibid.*, 139-143.

73. See III.2.d below.

74. Cf. B. Couroyer, "Un Egyptianisme en Exode, XVII,15-16: *YHWH-nissi*," *RB*, 88 (1981), 333-39; A. R. Müller, "Ex 17,15f in der Septuaginta," *BN*, 12 (1980), 20-23.

75. Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 143.

76. → כִּסֵּי *kissē*, IV.1 (VII, 253-55).

77. Cf. H. Schaefer, *Klio* (1906), 393ff.

78. → יָד *yād* (V, 393-426).

79. Pp. 333-39.

80. → נִסִּי *nēs*.

81. Cf. E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai* (Altenberge, 1982), 161.

82. Noth, 198f.

serves the sacrificial acts mentioned in v. 5 so that the blood rite⁸³ performed at the altar in v. 6 does not represent anything out of the ordinary. The actual covenant itself, however, is not fully concluded until the blood of the covenant is sprinkled on the people (v. 8).⁸⁴

c. *Prior to Construction of the Temple.* The transition from seminomadic to settled life (conquest) was accompanied by progressive acquaintance with new cultic institutions and practices. In this early period of the people Israel numerous cultic sites belonging to the land's inhabitants are used concurrently or even appropriated from them. This period of religious syncretism involving the numerous legitimate sanctuaries (Bethel, Mamre, Shechem, etc.) includes the accounts of altar construction and sacrificial rites performed by prominent personalities.⁸⁵ Since some of these narratives still preserve remnants of earlier cultic rites without altars, rites unique to the nomadic lifestyle, we can conclude that the process of religious integration proceeded only slowly. This is reflected in the account of the sacrifice offered by the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh at the arrival of the ark (1 S. 6:13-15); no altar is mentioned, but rather only a great stone (*'ēben gēdōlâ*) upon which the ark is placed and the blood probably applied. It is similarly recounted that Saul, after hearing of the people's ritual transgression, has a great stone (*'ēben gēdōlâ*) brought for the rite of slaughtering (1 S. 14:33-35); the focus here is not the sacrifice itself, but rather the blood rite performed on the stone. 1 S. 14:35 comes from a later hand and refers to the stone, which could still be seen long afterward (cf. 6:18), as Saul's altar. In neither report does the great stone function as an altar, but rather resembles more the *massebah*. In contrast, Jgs. 6:11-24 mentions a rock functioning as an altar; Gideon places his sacrifice — understood as divine food — on the rock (cf. 13:19f.), and this rock later seems to have been the basis for a constructed altar (6:24).⁸⁶ Such rock altars,⁸⁷ next to altars made of earth, represent the simplest kind of altar in the OT. The close relationship between rock and altar characterizes many altars even up to the period of the Jerusalem temple itself.⁸⁸

The → **בַּמָּה** *bāmâ* (*bāmāh*) can be understood as one of the cultic institutions appropriated from the settled peoples. J. M. Grintz⁸⁹ has demonstrated the probability of its Moabite provenience;⁹⁰ more recent studies⁹¹ have disclosed the close relationship and even frequent identity between *bāmâ* and altar. Leonhard Rost has shown that neither Moabite nor Babylonian sacrificial rites provide the background of the Balaam

83. See III.3.a below.

84. → **דָּם** *dām*, IV.4 (III, 248f.); cf. E. W. Nicholson, "The Covenant Ritual in Exodus xxiv 3-8," *VT*, 32 (1982), 74-86.

85. See III.2.a above; cf. G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 62-65.

86. Cf. Kutsch, Kübel.

87. On the archaeological evidence, cf. Reichert, 6ff.; Stendebach; Gallig, esp. 59-64.

88. Cf. Hertzberg; also G. Bruns, "Umbaute Götterfelsen als kultische Zentren in Kulträumen und Altären," *JDAI*, 75 (1960), 100-111.

89. "Some Observations on the 'High-Place' in the History of Israel," *VT*, 27 (1977), 111-13.

90. Cf. also Vaughan, 36.

91. Vaughan, Haran.

narrative (Nu. 23).⁹² It is certain that Israel used *bāmôt* both in the sense of sanctuaries and as places of sacrifice (altar) (cf. 1 K. 3:2,4). It remains unclear, however, whether the origin of burnt offering (*'ōlâ*) should be associated with the *bāmâ*, and just what cultic use was made of the threshing floor (*gōren*) in the Canaanite area as suggested by the *hierós logos* ("holy oracle") regarding the location of the Jerusalem temple (2 S. 24).⁹³

The coincidence of cultic forms of nomads and settled peoples emerges most clearly in the altar legislation of Ex. 20:24-26 (Dt. 27:4-7).⁹⁴ Diethelm Conrad⁹⁵ has examined and precisely determined the sense of the notions and cultic practices against which this altar legislation directs itself. However, his findings regarding the *mizbah* *'ādamâ* seem questionable, since the comparative archaeological evidence he adduces is associated with brick or tile altars of a different kind (temple, house, and street altars) and with correspondingly different notions of sacrifice than are the OT examples. Since the significance of the sacrificial blood remained central to the Israelite cult, a significance deriving from nomadic sacrifice, the temporal context of the Book of the Covenant here suggests that *mizbah* *'ādamâ* more likely refers to a simple earthen place of sacrifice (slaughter) capable of guaranteeing the cultically fulcral destruction of the sacrificial blood, removing it thus from possible false manipulation; it seems unlikely that such altar legislation would have left this completely unaddressed, especially considering the extreme importance attributed to the sacrificial blood within the cult and in that context particularly in connection with the altar (Lev. 17:11). Thus the first commandment contains an element constitutive for every Israelite cultic act over against the two following commandments, which seek to differentiate.

d. *Solomon's Temple*. Despite the central position of altars in any temple, the account of the temple construction in 1 K. 6⁹⁶ mentions only the incense altar (vv. 20f.) before (?) the *d'êbîr*, but not the altar of burnt offering in the outer court. This does not allow the conclusion, however, that the overall layout of the Jerusalem temple was conceived more as Yahweh's dwelling place than as a place of sacrifice,⁹⁷ since the temple design exhibits too few parallels with the genuine dwelling temples of the ancient Near East. The possibility does exist, however, that an altar or place of sacrifice was already located at this place before the temple structure itself, so that the construction account itself justifiably says nothing about it. Numerous questions have been raised concerning

92. "Fragen um Bileam," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 377-387.

93. → גֹרֵן *gōren*, III, 64f.

94. Cf. E. König, "Stimmen Ex 20,24 und Dtn 12,13 zusammen?" *ZAW*, 42 (1924), 337-346; K.-H. Walkenhorst, *Der Sinai im liturgischen Verständnis der deuteronomistischen und priest-erlichen Tradition*. *BBB*, 33 (1969), 147-160.

95. *Studien zum Altargesetz, Ex 20:24-26*.

96. Cf. K. Rupprecht, "Nachrichten von Erweiterung und Renovierung des Tempels in 1 Könige 6," *ZDPV*, 88 (1972), 38-52.

97. Fritz, 23.

both the form and the location⁹⁸ of the altar of burnt offering.⁹⁹ Niels H. Gadegaard's investigation shows the improbability of burnt offerings on the altars described in the OT and on some of those discovered in Palestine. Furthermore, the scope and succession of sacrifices described in the sacrificial laws bear no relationship to the altar described, a difficulty not eliminated by Johannes de Groot's incorrect assumption of a second altar. Since *bāmā* was partially synonymous with *mizbēah*,¹⁰⁰ the reference to the *bāmā* as an altar form¹⁰¹ does not offer merely a philological solution to the question of the actual place where the offering was burned. A substantive solution is also opened up by what Patrick H. Vaughan has designated as the second type of *bāmā*.¹⁰² This type of *bāmā* is always associated with a temple and serves both as an altar itself and as the base for a regular altar.

Perhaps there was a type I *bāmā*¹⁰³ in Jerusalem prior to the construction of the temple, one which was expanded in the course of the temple construction and then equipped with a *mizbēah nēhōšet*. It seems certain that no burnt offerings were possible on this *mizbēah nēhōšet*,¹⁰⁴ so that this altar functioned cultically either in connection with the blood rite,¹⁰⁵ which accords well with the eminent significance of blood within the Israelite cult, or should be associated with cult objects of the sort found in Phoenician/Punic inscriptions using the same designation.¹⁰⁶ We can no longer determine whether these two, the *bāmā* and the altar standing upon it, are referred without distinction in the OT as *mizbēah*, something which is certainly linguistically possible; or whether the two taken together are so designated, something probably intended in the expression occurring only in late texts, *mizbah hā'ōlā* (Ex. 30:28; 31:9; 35:16; 38:1; 40:6,10,29; Lev. 4:10; 1 Ch. 6:34[Eng. v. 49]; 16:40; 21:26; 2 Ch. 29:18).¹⁰⁷

It is striking, however, that a great many of the acts associated with the altar use the prep. *'al* (next to *'el* and *lipnē* in reference to approaching and bringing forth)¹⁰⁸ without it becoming clear whether this is a spatial reference in the sense of "upon, over," or whether in all these cases *'al* merely indicates the relationship to the altar.¹⁰⁹ To this we can add the references to burning the offering in the construction *qtr*

98. Not least the history of development of the altar itself militates for a location above the holy rock (see III.2.c above); cf. also Hertzberg; H. Schmid, "Der Tempelbau Salomos in religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht," *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 241-250.

99. Cf. Busink, I, 321-26.

100. Cf. Vaughan, 33.

101. Cf. Haran, 23ff.

102. Vaughan, 46-51.

103. *Ibid.*, 40-45.

104. Cf. Gadegaard, 36ff.

105. See III.3.a below.

106. Cf. *mzbh nḥšt* in *KAI*, 10, 4; 66, 1; → *nḥōšet*.

107. See III.2.f below.

108. Cf. the ascent to the altar in 1 S. 2:28; 1 K. 12:32,33 (cf. also H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* [Eng. trans. 1977], 339); concerning the sprinkling of blood, see III.3.a below.

109. Cf. C. Dohmen, "על- (ה)מזבח — Zur Bedeutung und Verwendung von hebräisch על," *BN*, 16 (1981), 7-10.

hammizbēḥâ, from which only 2 Ch. 29:22(3 times),¹¹⁰ deviate, where *hammizbēḥâ* is associated with the blood rite. Consistent with the original sense of the accusative ending *-â*¹¹¹ indicating direction toward,¹¹¹ this linguistic construction might be based on a substantive distinction between *mizbēaḥ* (*bāmâ*) for burning and *mizbēaḥ* for the blood rite, whereby the altar itself was always the focal point.

Although the obscure *kiyyôr* in 2 Ch. 6:13 might also refer to the base of an altar,¹¹² the information there concerning dimensions and material is dependent on other traditions,¹¹³ rendering impossible any reconstruction of the original.

The north side of the altar is of particular significance in the temple.¹¹⁴ According to Lev. 1:11, the sacrificial animal is to be slaughtered *'al yerek hammizbēaḥ šāpônâ*, "on the north side of the altar" (cf. Lev. 4:24,29,33 concerning sin and guilt offerings), and the same formulation is used in 2 K. 16:14 to indicate the place to which Ahaz removed the older bronze altar. Ezk. 40:38-43 then reports that the tables for slaughtering stood in the north gate of the temple,¹¹⁵ suggesting that this north side of the altar is to be identified with the north gate where the slaughtering took place. Thus Ahaz had the bronze altar placed together with these slaughtering tables in the north gate. Although 2 K. 12:10(9) also mentions an altar in the north gate,¹¹⁶ this does not justify the hypothesis of a second altar in the temple; consistent with the semantic field of *mizbēaḥ*, this can be a reference to the slaughtering tables in the north gate. This same semantic association might be behind the erroneous (?) designation in Ezk. 8:5 of a north gate as the "altar gate" (*ša'ar hammizbēaḥ*), eliminating the need for the numerous conjectural attempts this has prompted.¹¹⁷

The temple construction account in 1 K. 7:48 mentions the table for the bread of the Presence and a golden altar.¹¹⁸ Not only the variously answered question concerning the origin, age, and type of the incense altar associated with the Israelite cult,¹¹⁹ but also substantive considerations have prompted Martin Noth¹²⁰ to doubt the existence of a special incense altar (*mizbaḥ haqq'îrēt*, Ex. 30:27; 31:8; 35:15; 1 Ch. 6:34[49], etc.). He suspects that the table for the bread of the Presence and the golden altar are identical,¹²¹ and that possibly a censer stood on the table; this accords with Ezk. 41:22, where the "table that stands before Yahweh" is called *k'mar'ēh hammizbēaḥ*.¹²² It

110. Cf. also E. A. Speiser, "The Terminative-Adverbial in Canaanite-Ugaritic and Akkadian," *IEJ*, 4 (1954), 108-115; J. Hoftijzer, *A Search for Method* (Leiden, 1981).

111. *GK*, §90.2(a).

112. Cf. *KBL*³, 450; cf. *HAL*, II, 472.

113. Cf. Fritz, 25.

114. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, IV (1966), 37.

115. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), *in loc.*

116. Cf. W. McKane, "A Note on 2 Kings 12₁₀ (Evv 12₉)," *ZAW*, 71 (1959), 260-65.

117. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*

118. Cf. Busink, I, 288-293.

119. → קטר *qtr*; Haran, 230-245.

120. *Könige 1-16. BK*, IX/1 (²1983), 122, 166.

121. For a different interpretation, see Fritz, 24.

122. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, *in loc.*

seems certain that incense was burned in the interior of the temple (Isa. 6:6).¹²³ Although Robert de Langhe has attempted on the basis of OSA *dhb*, “spice, incense,”¹²⁴ to explain the *mizbah zāhāb* as an incense altar, this is not likely considering the context in which the materials are indicated.¹²⁵

e. *Prior to the Exile.* The period before the division of the kingdom up to the exile is characterized by religious syncretism. Numerous cultic places were located outside Jerusalem, not just in the Jerusalem temple itself. This is made clear by the story of the Ahaz-altar in 2 K. 16;¹²⁶ Mordecai Cogan has shown that it is not a specific altar model that is the focus here (be it Assyrian, Phoenician, or Aramaic), but rather the interest in foreign gods and cults characteristic of the times. Peter Welten¹²⁷ distinguishes four categories of sanctuaries applicable to this period: central sanctuary, national temple, temple high place, and high place. The frequent mention of altars in the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler’s accounts reflects this situation.¹²⁸ The focus is not, however, on the nature or various types of altars; rather, as the center of any cult the altar itself represents *pars pro toto* the sanctuary and its cult. The dispute over these sanctuaries and cults¹²⁹ is also reflected in the story of the altar at Bethel in 1 K. 13.¹³⁰ Similarly, the story in Josh. 22 concerning the altar in Gilgal on the west bank of the Jordan,¹³¹ a story projected back into the period of Joshua,¹³² reflects the dispute over a sanctuary located there;¹³³ it does not represent a postexilic legitimization on the part of Jerusalem orthodoxy of diaspora sanctuaries without sacrificial cults.¹³⁴ The translators of the LXX recognized the underlying dispute and also commented on it by rendering *mizbēah* with *bōmós*, a term normally reserved for pagan altars.

One should assume with T. A. Busink that no altar for the sacrificial cult was erected on the rubble soon after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 587 B.C.¹³⁵ Not until

123. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 44, 269.

124. → זָהָב *zāhāb* (*zāhābh*), IV.1 (IV, 39).

125. On the various objects associated with censuring, cf. Glueck; de Vries; → חֲמֵם *hmm*, III (IV, 475–77).

126. Cf. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel*. WMANT, 24 (1967), 46–50.

127. “Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel,” ZDPV, 88 (1972), 19–37.

128. See III.3.e below.

129. Cf. A. Jepsen, “Gottesmann und Prophet: Anmerkungen zum Kapitel 1. Könige 13,” *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 171–182.

130. On this text, cf. E. Würthwein, “Die Erzählung vom Gottesmann aus Juda in Bethel: Zur Komposition von 1 Kön 13,” *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT*, 18 (Kevelaer, 1973), 181–89; on the end of the Bethel sanctuary (2 K. 23), cf. H. W. Wolff, “Das Ende des Heiligtums in Bethel,” *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 287–298.

131. → יָרְדֵן *yardēn*, II.3 (VI, 327f.).

132. Cf. H. J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult*. WMANT, 19 (1965), 99ff.

133. Cf. Snaith.

134. Diebner-Schult.

135. Cf. Kusters, Kittel, Noth; see Busink, II, 777f.

Ezr. 3:2f. (cf. Hag. 2:14) do we read that an altar was built after the exile. Insufficient source material prohibits more specific determination of details concerning the altars of the Second Temple.¹³⁶

f. *Ezekiel's Draft Constitution*. Scholarship has quite frequently augmented the lack of information concerning the altar of burnt offering, regarding the Solomonic and the Second Temple as well as the altar Ahaz had built, by drawing on the precise description of the altar provided by Ezekiel's draft constitution (Ezk. 43:13-27). Apart from the *opinio communis* regarding the overall disposition and layout of the altar, numerous and varying attempts have been made to explain specific terms, the resulting notions and reconstructions, parallels to the altar, and its possible origin.¹³⁷ Vaughan's remarks¹³⁸ in this regard are worth mentioning; a consideration of the terms *hēq* and *gab* leads him to the notion of an altar construction resting on a base platform. In this sense the altar described in Ezekiel represents a further development of the previously mentioned association of *bāmā* and altar; i.e., their functions — burnt offering and blood rite — can now take place together on the altar, a situation perhaps having something to do with the new orientation of the altar.¹³⁹ It is conceivable that this sort of "unified model" is also the basis for the Priestly conception in the sacrificial texts.¹⁴⁰

3. a. *Blood Rite*. The enormous significance which has always been attributed to blood in the Israelite cult can be traced back to the nomadic sacrificial cult.¹⁴¹ The blood of every sacrifice had to be applied to the altar itself (Dt. 12:27); depending on the type of sacrifice involved it was either thrown round about onto the altar, or the horns of the altar were smeared and the rest poured out onto the foundation of the altar.¹⁴² During the blood rite the blood itself stood in offering basins (*mizrāq*)¹⁴³ at or on the altar (Ex. 24:6-8; 29:21; Lev. 8:30; Zec. 9:15). The application of blood had an expiatory effect,¹⁴⁴ not only on the altar itself as the locus of atonement,¹⁴⁵ but also regarding human beings and objects. Together with oil, blood was also used in connection with the variously mentioned consecration of the altar (*h^anukkat ham-mizbēah*).¹⁴⁶

In connection with the absolute limitation of blood to the altar (Lev. 17:11), the altar represents the center of the cult itself; the reference here is thus to the exclusively cultic

136. On further descriptions, esp. in Josephus and the Mishnah, see Busink, II.

137. Cf. the presentations and critical comments in Busink, II, 730-36; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 423-28.

138. Pp. 51-54.

139. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 428.

140. See III.2.d above. On the incense altar in Ezk. 41:22, see III.2.d above.

141. See II.2.e above.

142. → זָרַק *zāraq* (IV, 162-65); → יָצַק *yāṣaq* (VI, 254-57); → שָׁפַךְ *šāpaḳ*.

143. → זָרַק *zāraq*, IV, 164.

144. → כָּפַר *kpr* (VII, 288-303).

145. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 433.

146. → חָנַךְ *hānaḳ*, V, 20f.

use of blood.¹⁴⁷ Allusions to the significance of the *yēsôd* also in connection with ritual¹⁴⁸ (not limited just to the orderly removal of the blood of the sacrifice) reflects perhaps the origins of the altar, which was built on or over a sacred rock.¹⁴⁹

E. W. Nicholson¹⁵⁰ has shown clearly that *‘ārîm*, “cities, towns,” in Jer. 2:28; 11:13; 19:15; Ezk. 6:6; Hos. 11:6; Mic. 5:13[14] cannot on the basis of Ugaritic parallels be traced back to a root **ārēh*, “blood-spattered altar.”

b. *Altar Horns*. The origin of altar horns (*qērānôt*, e.g., Ex. 27:2; 29:12; 30:2,3,10; Lev. 4:7,18,25; 1 K. 1:50f.; Jer. 17:1; Ezk. 43:20; Am. 3:14) cannot be determined with any certitude.¹⁵¹

One suggestion is that a *massebah* was quasi-quartered for technical reasons associated with sacrifice,¹⁵² another that it was a holder for censers.¹⁵³ De Groot¹⁵⁴ associates the altar horns with the horned crowns of both gods and kings and considers their original significance to be apotropaic. Walter Andrae¹⁵⁵ interprets the comparable horns of the Babylonian ziggurat as “successors of the ‘spar-bundles’ of the oldest huts of the gods on the hill.”¹⁵⁶ With F. J. Stendebach,¹⁵⁷ however, one should probably associate the altar horns with the cult of the bull, which was known throughout the ancient Near East, especially since evidence of actual bull horns from neolithic Çatal Hüyük¹⁵⁸ confirm this interpretation, and since a connection to the horn-pair attested in the Aegean (the so-called “horns of consecration”¹⁵⁹) can be established. The practices of blood rite and asylum indicate that the horns of the Israelite altar were considered especially holy. In Jer. 17:1, ineradicable guilt is also described as being engraved on the horns of the altar.¹⁶⁰

c. *Asylum*. Like most peoples, the Israelites recognized the right of asylum in the sanctuary.¹⁶¹ Through contact with holy objects the person seeking asylum participates in their holiness (Ex. 29:37).¹⁶² The altar itself, or its horns as the center of the sanctuary,

147. Cf. N. Fuglister, “Sühne durch Blut — Zur Bedeutung von Leviticus 17,11,” *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 143-164.

148. → **יָסַד** *yāsad* (VI, 111-121).

149. See III.2.c above.

150. VT, 27 (1977), 113-17.

151. On the distribution of horned altars, cf. Reichert, *BRL*², 9; → **קָרַן** *qeren*.

152. Gallinger, 67.

153. *ANEP*, 319.

154. Pp. 76-88.

155. *Das Gotteshaus und die Urform des Bauens im alten Orient. Studien zur Bauforschung*, 2 (Berlin, 1930), 59.

156. Cf. also Obbink.

157. P. 190.

158. Cf. J. Mellaart, *Çatal Huyuk: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (New York, 1967), 77-130, esp. 106ff.

159. Cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Eng. trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 37-39.

160. → **לֵב** *lēb*, V.6.c (VII, 426-29).

161. For an overview, cf. L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967).

162. Cf. J. Milgrom, “Sancta contagion and altar/city asylum,” *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT*, 32 (1981), 278-310.

represents this holy place in the OT; not only does it function as a place of asylum (1 K. 1:50,51,53; 2:28f.), but due to its holy nature it is also the place where a decision or sign is expected after the swearing of an oath in the case of unsubstantiated transgressions (1 K. 8:31 par. 2 Ch. 6:22). In an oracle of judgment, the prophet Amos (Am. 3:14) expands the exclusion of the murderer from the right of asylum (Ex. 21:14) by announcing the destruction of all places of asylum, thus cutting off possibility of deliverance.¹⁶³

d. *Altar Service*. As the center of the cult, the altar has also influenced the designations for priests; their task is the *mišmeret hammizbēah*, referring to the entire service of the cult (e.g., Nu. 18:5; 1 S. 2:28; Ezk. 40:46) for which the priests are responsible.¹⁶⁴ It was considered a grievous cultic transgression for the king to appropriate for himself priestly functions¹⁶⁵ (1 K. 12:32; 2 Ch. 26:16) which went beyond those assigned to him (cf. 1 K. 8:22 par. 2 Ch. 6:12; 1 K. 8:54; 9:25, etc.).¹⁶⁶

e. *Idol Worship*. In later historical writing the period of sedenterization and especially that of the later monarchy are characterized by the danger of religious syncretism.¹⁶⁷ The neighboring peoples' sanctuaries to be destroyed (Ex. 34:13; Dt. 7:5; Jgs. 2:2) are often described more specifically by → בַּמָּה *bāmâ* (*bāmāh*), → אֲשֶׁרָה *ʾāšērâ* (*ʾshērāh*), → מַצֵּבָה *maṣṣēbâ*, and → חַמָּנִים *ḥammānîm*.¹⁶⁸ These enumerations never fail to include references to the altars, whose idolatrous function Isa. 17:8 skillfully exposes when it refers to them as "work of the hands," a characterization borrowed from the polemic against idols.

The apocalyptist in Isa. 19:19 sees all of Egypt as a "cult place" (not merely individual places in Egypt of the kind familiar to his own period) with an altar in the midst of the land (*b^etôk*) and a massebah at its border (*ʿēṣel-g^ebûlāh*). This notion is then further expanded in vv. 23-25.

The central focus especially of prophetic criticism is the senseless multiplication of sanctuaries for offering sacrifices (Jer. 2:28; 11:13; Hos. 8:11; 10:1).¹⁶⁹ Not surprisingly, the majority of occurrences of the plural forms of *mizbēah* is found in these texts. Hezekiah's reduction of cultic places to a single altar in the Jerusalem temple must have seemed to the pagans like a diminution of worship (2 K. 18:22; Isa. 36:7).

The destruction of altars and defilement of the cultic places (2 K. 11:18; 23:20; Ezk. 6:4f., 13) signal the anticipated end of the worship of idols.

163. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 201.

164. *Ibid.*, 31.

165. → כֹּהֵן *kōhēn* (VII, 60-75).

166. Cf. Noth, *BK*, IX/1 (²1983), 220.

167. For a systematic presentation of the history of the Israelite cult within the Deuteronomistic history, cf. H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen*. *AThANT*, 66 (1980), *passim*.

168. Cf. K. Gallig, "Ba'al Hammon in Kition und die Hammanîm," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger*. *AOAT*, 18 (1973), 65-70; V. Fritz, "Die Bedeutung von *Ḥammān* im Hebräischen und von *hmn* in den palmyrenischen Inschriften," *BN*, 15 (1981), 9-20.

169. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 81, 144, 173.

IV. Qumran. Apart from rather fragmentary altar descriptions in the Temple scroll,¹⁷⁰ the term *mizbēah* occurs only 8 times in the manuscripts from Qumran (11QPs^a 18:9; 27:5 [DavComp]; CD 6:12,13; 11:17,19,20; 16:13). Consistent with the absence of any bloody sacrificial cult in Qumran,¹⁷¹ *mizbēah* is used on the one hand in a figurative sense; on the other hand, CD 11:17,19,20 seems to envision limited participation in the temple cult. Over against this stands CD 6:12,13, where the demand of Mal. 1:10 to do away with the temple service altogether rather than continue it in its unclean state is presented to the community members as a justification for their own separation from the official temple cult. Indeed, they should themselves be the ones to end this temple service (compare Mal. 1:10 with CD 6:12).

Dohmen

170. Cf. Y. Yadin, *Megillat hammiqdaš* (Jerusalem, 1977), I, 186; II, 37 [Heb.]; also Busink II, 1420-26.

171. Cf. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultes in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT. StUNT*, 7 (1971), esp. 22-41.

מִזְזָה *mēzûzâ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. Ancient Near East. III. OT. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology, Meaning. The etymology of this word is still unknown. The post-OT verb *zwz*, “move, push to the side” is hardly appropriate. Neither can Akk. *manzāzu/mazzaztu*, nominal forms of *izuzzu*, “to stand,”¹ be cognates, since they exhibit no semantic affinity whatsoever and since the doubling of the *z* has left no traces in Hebrew (e.g., **mazzûzah*). Maximilian Ellenbogen² refers to Akk. *muzzāzu* (N-stem ptc. of *zāzu*) with the meaning “doorpost.”³

The term *mēzûzâ* signifies either the “doorpost” (Ex. 21:6; Prov. 8:34; Isa. 57:8; Ezk. 43:8), the “gatepost” (of stone, Jgs. 16:3; Ezk. 46:2), or possibly the “door frame” (1 K. 6:31,33; Ezk. 41:21).

mēzûzâ. I. M. Casanowicz, “Mezuzah,” *JE*, VIII (1904), 531f.; J. Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary: The Priestly ‘Picture of Dorian Gray,’” *RB*, 83 (1976), 390-99; E. Reiner, “Plague Amulets and House Blessings,” *JNES*, 19 (1960), 148ff.; E. A. Speiser, “*Pālil* and Congeners: A Sampling of Apotropaic Symbols,” *Festschrift B. Landberger. AS*, 16 (1965), 389-393; J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York, 1939, repr. 1975), esp. 146ff.; S. Yeivin, *EMiqr*, IV (1962), 780-82.

1. *AHw*, I (1965), 408-411; II (1972), 638.

2. *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 99.

3. Cf. *AHw*, II, 692?

II. Ancient Near East. The importance of the *m^ezûzâ* can be traced to earliest historical times when symbols of identification and ownership were placed at or over house entrances. Chalcolithic ossuaries in the shape of houses, for example, with models of tools suspended over the entrance, show the owner's trade (?); Mesopotamian seals similarly place symbols of the deity above the entrance to his temple. Indeed, the identification of the occupants of tombs in ancient Egypt was proclaimed in inscriptions written on lintels or posts at their entrance. Similarly, Phoenician inscriptions were installed at sepulchre entrances to identify the interred (e.g., Yehimilk and Šipitba'al of Byblos).

Although Shemuel Yeivin asserts that the magico-cultic function of these entrance inscriptions is a subsequent development, there is no reason to doubt that this exorcistic-function was present from the beginning. In the ancient Near East the door/gatepost figured prominently in ritual and magical purifications. The house was considered most vulnerable at its entrance, since it was there that demonic incursion was most likely to take place. "No door can shut them out/no bolt can turn them back/through the door like a snake they slide/through the hinge like a wind they blow" (*Utukki limnuti*, V, 25-35). Hence, images of protector gods (*šēdu* and *lamassu*) were erected at the entrances: "I have made you stand at the gate, at right and left, to dispel them [the demons] from the house of PN."

III. OT. Such is clearly the intent of Ezk. 45:19, which calls for the daubing of the blood of the *ḥaṭṭā't*, the purification offering, on the doorposts of the temple and on the gates of the inner court, in addition to the four corners of the altar ledge. This procedure is similar in purpose to the use of the *ḥaṭṭā't* blood on Yom Kippur, when it was aspersed within the adytum and shrine and daubed on the horns of the altar.⁴ Thus was the sanctuary to be purged⁵ of impurity, not primarily of demonic, but more likely of human origin.

Blood smeared on doorposts had an apotropaic function as well as a purgative one. In the Exodus account it serves to ward off the destroyer (*mašhîṭ*, Ex. 12:23; cf. 7:22). A vestige of this apotropaic notion can be seen in the specific levitical office of the *šō^arîm*, the temple ostiaries, which were concerned primarily with guarding the entrances of the sanctuary against unauthorized intruders (1 Ch. 9:18; 26:1,12; 2 Ch. 23:19). Young Samuel in the Shilonite sanctuary seems to have performed this function. The importance of this function is further underscored by the fact that the priests serving as sanctuary guards (*šōm^erê hassap*, lit., "guardians of the threshold") stood immediately after the high priest and his assistant in rank, to judge by the list of officials deported by the Babylonians (2 K. 25:18).

The apotropaic function of doorposts is further attested by amulets.⁶ This custom is clearly the backdrop for the Deuteronomistic prescription to write verses "on the

4. See Milgrom.

5. → כפר *kipper* (VII, 288-303).

6. Cf. Reiner.

doorposts of your house and on your gates" (Dt. 6:9; 11:20). Although in biblical wisdom such writing (e.g., "on the tablet of your heart," Prov. 7:3) is probably metaphoric, there is no reason to doubt that the Deuteronomistic injunction is to be taken literally. Just as D prescribes the wearing of phylacteries on the forearm and forehead and tassels on the outer garment (Dt. 22:12), so it must be understood as enjoining the inscribing of key Torah verses on the doors and gateposts. Precisely what these verses are, however, is not clear from the text. The earliest such *m^ezûzâ* inscription comes from Cave 8 in Qumran.⁷ It is a parchment 6.5 × 16 cm. (2.6 in. × 6.3 in.), containing Dt. 10:12–11:21. The passage prescribed by the rabbis, however, is briefer and differs slightly (Dt. 6:4–9; 11:13–21).

Their widespread use during this period is verified by Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* viii.213). Accordingly, the term *m^ezûzâ* comes to signify these doorpost inscriptions. It is crucial, however, to be mindful of the overall development. Beginning with Deuteronomy, biblical Israel transformed what was originally a doorpost amulet into a reminder to the occupants of the dwelling that they should order their lives according to the Torah. Yet the apotropaic powers of the *m^ezûzâ* were not forgotten. Onqelos the proselyte explained it to the Roman soldiers who came to arrest him: "In the case of the Holy One, his servants dwell within, while he stands guard over them from without" (*Abod. Zar.* 11a; cf. *Menah.* 33b; Targ. Onqelos on Cant. 8:3). And on the talmudic remark that affixing a *m^ezûzâ* improperly may be a source of harm, the medieval commentator Rashi explains that such a house will not be protected against demons (*Menah.* 32b).⁸

IV. LXX. The LXX renders *m^ezûzâ* as *stathmós* (7 times), *stoá*, or *próthyron* (once each). Although the rendering *anaptýssein* in Ezk. 41:16 is semantically accurate, it is precisely here that the LXX has inserted an additional explanatory circumscription.⁹

Milgrom

7. Cf. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD III* (1962).

8. For further *m^ezûzâ* from Qumran, cf. also R. de Vaux and J. T. Milik, *Qumrân Grotte 4, II: Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums. DJD, VI* (1977), 80–85.

9. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 383.

מהה māhâ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Literal Meaning; 2. Figurative-theological Meaning; 3. Overview; 4. Special Cases. III. LXX.

māhâ. R. Oberforcher, *Die Flutprologe als Kompositionsschlüssel der biblischen Urgeschichte* (Innsbruck, 1981), 150–54.

I. Etymology. The Hebrew term *māḥâ* corresponds to Ugar. *mḥy*, “wipe away,”¹ Phoen. *mḥh*, “extinguish, wipe off,”² and perhaps Akk. *ma’û*, “throw down, destroy, exterminate,”³ Arab. *maḥa* (III. w), “wipe away.”⁴

II. OT Usage. 1. *Literal Meaning.* Since the theological use of *māḥâ* constitutes a figurative understanding of the word’s literal sense, it is advisable to begin with those cases in which *māḥâ* exhibits its physical aspect of action or process. These include:

a. 2 K. 21:13. A dish “is wiped” inside and out; i.e., with the help of water and perhaps something else (object or substance) a spot or impurity is removed from an article or utensil. The text mentions both object and verb (dish and “wipe off”); the other factors, namely, spot or stain and water, are implied. The parallel expression “stretch the measuring line” is not synonymous, but serves rather as another image for destruction. The stain appears in a general form in v. 13, while v. 16 speaks of spilled blood. This text can be compared with Isa. 4:4, probably a later text which speaks of unclean blood and “washing” (*rāḥaṣ*). One further significant parallel with related imagery is Ezk. 24:11, which speaks of “melting the filthiness and consuming the rust” on the kettle defiled by spilled blood.

b. Nu. 5:23 is part of the law concerning jealousy. After the priest has pronounced a curse, he writes it down, perhaps on parchment; he then washes the document off with the water (*māḥâ ’el-mê*) so that the water eradicates the words; the accused woman drinks the water, thus taking the curse into her own body. The text thus mentions the material on which something is written, what is actually written, and the water that washes that writing away. The transition from formless spot or stain to writing is significant. Although the meaning of the writing does not really influence the physical process itself, it radically influences the sense of the statement.⁵ Menaḥem Haran⁶ believes that the use of *māḥâ* here and in similar contexts suggests the use of papyrus; the eradication of writing from parchment is indicated by the verb *grd*.

c. Prov. 30:20. The adulteress “eats, and wipes (*māḥâ*) her mouth.” Here the verb is used in its literal meaning in a context which when taken as a whole exhibits metaphorical or figurative meaning.

d. Isa. 25:8. “God will wipe away the tears.” Here the physical act underlies the symbolic meaning. Here and in the previous case we find a person, a body instead of an object, something that stains or disrupts, and the act of wiping away (*māḥâ*). These

1. WUS, no. 1540; C. J. Labuschagne, “The Root MḤH Attested in Ugaritic,” VT, 5 (1955), 312f.

2. KAI, 26 A, III, 13, 18; C, IV, 15; 1, 2; DISO, 147.

3. AHw, II (1972), 637; CAD, X/2 (1977), 321. The semantic field is covered by other verbs as well: “wipe away” = *kapāru*, *mašāṣu*; “extinguish, eradicate”: something written = *pašāṭu*, sins = *pasāsu*.

4. On the Ethiopic, see Leslau, *Contributions*, 30.

5. For an overview, cf. G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel שָׁכַח* “schwören.” BBB, 56 (1981), 124ff.

6. “Book-Scrolls in Israel in Pre-Exilic Times,” JJS, 33 (1982), 169.

latter two constitute theological symbols: reproachable ethical behavior, and an ultimate salvific act.

2. *Figurative-theological Meaning.* The theological meaning of the verb *māḥā* appears only in contexts containing various individual or compound features: the object or person which is soiled or described; the image of the stain itself or of the writing which is to be eradicated. The factor that actually wipes away is less influential. This analysis permits the following corresponding classification. What is actually eradicated includes:

- a. a name from a register;
- b. sin/guilt: such as a stain from the person or inscribed guilt; virtue/merit: such as catalogued credit;
- c. living beings from the face of the earth, objects of idolatry from the land.

a. *Registers.* In these cases eradication occurs either explicitly or implicitly (the uttering of a name can be the same as something written): Ex. 17:14; 32:32f.; Dt. 9:14; 25:6,19; 29:19(Eng. v. 20); Jgs. 21:17; 2 K. 14:27; Ps. 9:6(5); 69:29(28); Sir. 44:13. There is no difference between the qal, niphāl, and hiphil. Synonyms in the wider sense include: *hišmîd*, *šākaḥ*, *sālah*, *ʾibbēd*, *hikrîṭ*; antonyms include: *kātab*, *hōšîaʾ*, *zākar*, *pālaṭ*, *ʾāmaḏ*, *qûm ʾal šēm*.

b. *Guilt (Sin) or Merit.* Neh. 3:37(4:5); 13:14; Ps. 51:3,11(1,9); 109:14; Prov. 6:33; Isa. 43:25; 44:22; Jer. 18:23 (conj.); Zec. 3:9 (conj.); Sir. 3:14; IQS 11:3. No difference is discernible between the qal, niphāl, and hiphil. Synonyms include: *nāšâ*, *kibbes*, *ṭihar*, *kissâ*, *kipper*; antonyms include: *zākar*, *nimṣâ*.

c. *Living Beings or Cultic Objects.* Gen. 6:7;⁷ 7:4,23; Jgs. 21:17; Prov. 31:3; Ezk. 6:6; Sir. 31:1. The same meaning is exhibited in the qal and niphāl. Synonyms include: *himṣîr*, *ḥrb*, *šmm*, *šbr*, *hišbîṭ*, *hēsîr*; antonyms include: *nišʾar*.

3. *Overview.* This classification yields the following brief overview. We began with two examples without identifying them chronologically, namely, the spot or stain that is washed out or wiped away, and the writing that is eradicated. It is always something external cleaving to a body. The example of writing leads us into the world of the word that names, registers, effects. Although the verb *kātab* and the noun *sēper* are not frequently mentioned in the same context, they are presupposed in many instances. There is then an easy transition from writing to its oral equivalent: from the written to the spoken name, from the document to the register of a person's memory. In both cases the word can function either as solicitation or as simple verification: eradicating a name or guilt can have juridical status; forgetting a transgression constitutes forgiveness. The consequences of the act can also have an enduring effect, e.g., the wiping out of a name, or of remembrance (*šēm*, *zēker*): Ex. 17:14; Dt. 9:14; 25:6,19; 29:19(20);

7. Cf. Oberforcher.

2 K. 14:27; Ps. 9:6(5); 109:13. In this sense a person implores that his merit not be eradicated, but that his guilt be wiped away.

The semantic scope of *māḥā* is illuminated by those texts that speak of ineradicable writing, e.g., Jer. 17:1: “The sin of Judah is written with an iron pen; with a diamond point it is engraved on the tablet of their hearts” (cf. also Job 19:23f.). The conceptual range of the notion of eradicating spots or stains is considerable; the passages initially cited are unequivocal (2 K. 21:13; Prov. 30:20; Isa. 25:8). Perhaps this group also includes Isa. 44:22 (the clouds are like spots in the heavens; cf. *tāhōr* as an epithet for heaven⁸) and Ps. 51:3(1) with its parallels *kbs* and *ṭhr* (v. 4[2]); Prov. 6:33 is more dubious (ineradicable disgrace). To which category do the living beings and human structures belong? One might assume the first, which proceeds from the notion of eradicating writing or of destroying something actual. One might also understand the human beings or objects as spots or stains on the earth that are to be eradicated. It is best, however, to dispense with any classification. The flood and its waters remove all living things from the earth (Gen. 6:7; 7:4,23), and systematic destruction eradicates all structures belonging to the cults of idols (Ezk. 6:6).

Three texts reveal the vague semantic fixation of *māḥā* in connection with transgressions and persons. Ex. 32:32: When in a given instance a sin is not forgiven (*nāśā’*), a person or name is blotted out of the register. Ps. 109:13: When guilt is not similarly eradicated, descendants are annihilated. Dt. 29:19(20): The curses written down will be visited upon the guilty party and will blot out his name.

The term *māḥā* occurs in various combinations in the theological semantic sphere. They can be classified as follows:

eradicate	something	from something
	writing	from a document
	spot/stain	from a body
	living beings/objects	from their normal place

Several texts illustrate the validity of this schema:

Gen. 6–7	living beings	from the face of the earth
Ex. 17:14	names/remembrance	from under heaven
Ex. 32:32	person/name	from the register (book)
Jgs. 21:17	a tribe	out of Israel
Isa. 25:8	tears	from a person’s face
Dt. 25:6	his name	out of Israel

This schema does not hold up when a member of the second column occupies the position of the direct object, which normally corresponds to the first column, e.g., eradicate/wash off Jerusalem (2 K. 21:13), wipe off one’s mouth (Prov. 30:20).

8. → טָהַר *tāhar* (V, 287-296).

4. *Special Cases.* This illustrates the theological use of *māhâ*, its basic schema, and its semantic variations. It can be useful, however, to examine individually several problematic or especially interesting cases.

a. *Ex. 32:32f.; Ps. 69:29(28).* The consequences of blotting out a name depend on the kind of book in which it is registered in the first place. Being entered in the book of the elect registers and guarantees membership in the community; being entered in the book of the living guarantees life.

b. *Dt. 25:6.* If a person dies without progeny, "his name is blotted out"; this eradication is avoided if a firstborn comes who carries his name on (*yāqûm 'al-šēm*). *Sir. 44:13* must be understood similarly, except that *kābôd* is used instead of *šēm*.

c. *Ezk. 6:6.* The accoutrements of the worship of idols, *bāmôt*, altars, idols, *hammānîm*, defile the land and must be violently destroyed so that such works (not "deeds"⁹) of those who serve idols are "wiped out."

d. *Jgs. 21:17.* Due to scarcity of wives the men have no inheritance (*y^eruššâ*), and a tribe "is blotted out." This is a reflection of reality, not a literary notice in a register; this passage is related to *Dt. 25:6*.

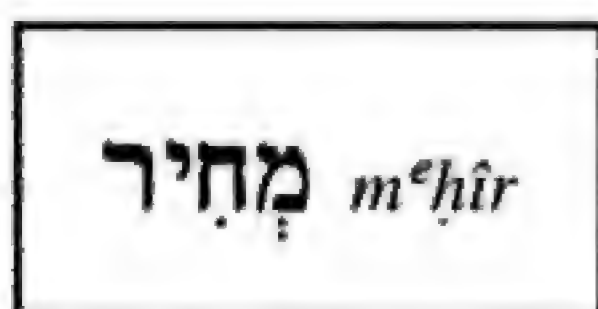
e. *Sir. 31:1.* The expression *ymḥh š'rw*, literally, "wipe away his flesh," refers to dissipating or debilitating one's health, allowing one's body to waste away.

f. *Prov. 31:3.* The variant *lamḥôt* is dubious. Similar to *Sir. 31:1*, the reference is to women who destroy or debilitate the health of kings. Compared with *Dt. 25:6; Jgs. 21:17*, this would mean that sexual deviation can "eradicate" a dynasty and bring about its end; this would yield an insightful but uncertain contrast: a tribe is extinguished because of scarcity of women; a dynasty is blotted out because of a superfluity of women.

III. LXX. The LXX does not translate consistently; the most frequent renderings are *exaleíphein* and *apaleíphein*, though *aponíptein*, *aphárein*, *ektēkein*, and *epilanthánein* also occur.

Alonso-Schökel

9. So *KBL*³.



Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage. III. LXX.

mēhîr. B. Landsberger, "Akkadisch-Hebräische Wortgleichungen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. Congress Volume 1967. SVT*, 16 (1967), 176-204, esp. 184f., n. 2; J. J. Rabinowitz, "Neo-Babylonian Legal Documents and Jewish Law," *JJP*, 13 (1961), 131-175, esp. 140f.

I. Etymology. The word *m^ehîr* derives from the root *mhr*, which is common to all the Semitic languages. In South Arabian *mhr* means "face, run toward."¹ In Classical and Literary Arabic the meaning of the verb *maḥara* has shifted from "advance towards" or "come over" to "cleave, traverse, plow through."² The basic meaning of the Akkadian verb *maḥāru* is "approach toward someone." Various substantives were derived from this term, e.g., *maḥīru*, "equivalent value, going price, purchase price, commercial activity, market place."³ The verb *mhr* > *mḥr* itself is not actually attested in the Northwest Semitic languages, although one does find there the nominal derivatives *mḥr/mḥ(y)r*, "equivalent value, correspondence," *mḥr*, "front (side)," like Akk. *maḥru*,⁴ → מחר *māḥār*, "tomorrow," and the PN *m^ehîr/Mαχίρ (Machir)* (1 Ch. 4:11), which is probably a substitute name meaning "correspondence, equivalent." Hence there is no reason to understand *m^ehîr* as having been borrowed from Akkadian, particularly since the semantic fields of the two terms do not coincide. In Hebrew the term *m^ehîr* is always used in the sense of "equivalent value," a notion originating in the activity of barter. The translation "price" seldom evokes the real sense of the texts, although the terms "reward" and "payment" occasionally do justice to the context.

II. Usage. The oldest West Semitic material comes from the royal archives at Ugarit. One business letter⁵ mentions *kl mḥrk*, "your delivery's total value," in reference to the payment due for a delivery of copper. At the end of an accounting document one finds the expression *ksp mḥrhn*, "silver of their value,"⁶ referring to the ships purchased by the Ugaritic king mentioned in the body of the text. The same expression, *kesep m^ehîr*, also occurs in 1 K. 21:2; Job 28:15. In these cases it is self-evident that the reference is to payment made with a specific amount of silver. The context suggests that 2 S. 24:24 is to be understood in precisely the same way. There the expression *qānâ bimḥîr* occurs, "acquire for the equivalent value" or "acquire through payment." In 1 K. 10:28 par. 2 Ch. 1:16, the expression *lāqah bimḥîr*, "take for an equivalent" or "take through payment," occurs in a context showing clearly that the reference is not to a gift, but rather to a business transaction. The expressions *bimḥîr*, "for an equivalent value" (Lam. 5:4; Dnl. 11:39; Mic. 3:11; Sir. 31:5), or *lō' bimḥîr* (Isa. 45:13; Jer. 15:13; 1QS 5:17) and *b^elō' m^ehîr* (Isa. 55:1; 1Q27 1, II 6) with the same meaning, "without equivalent value," occur without any dependable indication of just what type of payment the author had in mind. The expression *b^elō'-kesep ūb^elō' m^ehîr* in Isa. 55:1 accordingly seems to indicate that at least in this context *m^ehîr* does not refer to silver. The parallelism *kesep — m^ehîr* in Lam. 5:4 might sooner be synthetic and complementary than synonymous. Other parallelisms such as *m^ehîr — šōḥad*, "equivalent value

1. Cf. Leslau, *Contributions*, 30.

2. Cf. Wehr, 1051.

3. Cf. CAD, X/1 (1977), 92-99.

4. KTU, 4.625, 2.

5. KTU, 2.32, 9.

6. KTU, 4.338, 18.

—reward” (Isa. 45:13), *šōḥad* — *m^ehîr* — *kesep* (Mic. 3:11), and *hôn* — *m^ehîr* (Ps. 44:13[12]; 4Q160 7:3) all suggest even less that our term refers to a given amount of silver.

According to Ps. 44:12f.(Eng. vv. 11f.), God sold his people and delivered them for slaughter like sheep without any gain for himself and without enriching himself through the appropriate equivalent value. It cannot be shown that the psalmist is referring here to the sale of small livestock for its silver value. Even the enumeration *rkwš whwn wmḥyr*, “possession, wealth, equal value” (4Q160 7:3), does not disclose the true nature of the *m^ehîr*. The same is true of ostracon 2 from Arad (7th century B.C.), until now the only known piece of writing of Hebrew provenience spelling *mḥr* without the mater lectionis. The letter writer demands an appropriate equivalent value for the delivery of two baths of wine and three hundred loaves of bread to Greek merchants or mercenaries: *whsbt mḥr*, “and you are to bring an equivalent value” (ll. 5f.). In any case, in Prov. 27:26 the “equivalent value” for a field consists of goats. When the transaction involved silver, the terminology regularly includes the expression *b^ekesep* (Dt. 2:6,28; 14:25; 21:14; 2 S. 24:24; 1 K. 10:29; 16:24; 21:6,15; 2 K. 6:25; 1 Ch. 21:22,24; 2 Ch. 1:17; 25:6; Isa. 7:23; 43:24; Jer. 32:25,44; Lam. 5:4; Ezk. 27:12; Hos. 3:2; Am. 2:6; 8:6; Mic. 3:11). Correspondingly, the expressions *lō’ b^ekesep* (Isa. 48:10; 52:3; 55:1) and *b^elî-kesep* (Job 31:39) signal a transaction not involving payment in silver. Such claims to “equivalent value,” however, were not merely raised in exchanges for movable or immovable goods, but also for services rendered. Thus one can speak of a *m^ehîr* for priests (Mic. 3:11), male cult prostitutes (*m^ehîr keleb*, Dt. 23:19[18]; “dog’s wages”⁷), and prostitutes (*m^ehîr zônâ*, Bab. *Soṭah* 26b, etc.). In these three cases *m^ehîr* evokes a clearly pejorative estimation. Although the content of the *m^ehîr* is not specified here, other examples give us an idea of what is meant. According to Gen. 38:17,20,23, Judah offers the supposed prostitute or hierodule Tamar a kid⁸ as payment. The compensation to priests consists in a legislated portion of the sacrifice (Lev. 2:3,10; 6:9f.,19,22[16f.,26,29]; 7:6,10,14f.; 10:12-15).

One cannot, of course, expect any precise indication of the *m^ehîr* in those texts that speak of *m^ehîr* in a metaphorical sense. In Prov. 17:16, the wise person asks what use the *m^ehîr* could possibly have in the hand of a fool, since the fool cannot buy wisdom with it. A similar notion occurs in the Book of Mysteries of the Qumran Essenes (1Q27 1, II 8): *wk[wl mḥ]yr lw’ yšwh b[. . .]*, “and there is no equivalent value that corresponds to. . .” In Sir. 6:15, the expression *’ên m^ehîr* is the pendent to *’ên mišqāl*, which might evoke the weighed amount of silver. However, *’ên m^ehîr* here means that there is no equal to a loyal friend. CD 16:8f. admonishes the Qumran Essenes to keep their oath *’ad m^ehîr māwet*, “even at the price of death.” 1QH 10:10 is also important: *lgbwrtkh ’yn mḥyr*, “nothing is comparable to your strength.” Such expressions signal a comparison of values and show that *m^ehîr* maintained this meaning even into the postbiblical period.

7. Cf. G. J. Botterweck, → כֶּלֶב *keleb* (146-157).

8. → גִּדִּי *g^edî* (*g^edhî*), II.3 (II, 386).

The few concrete examples in which *m^ehîr* definitely implies payment in silver refer to commercial transactions in which at least one partner is a reigning sovereign: the kings of Ugarit and Byblos,⁹ David (2 S. 24:24), Solomon (1 K. 10:28f.; 2 Ch. 1:16f.), Ahab (1 K. 21:2). This is probably no accident. Proper commercial activity only became customary in Israel at a late period, and even then wholesale trade was primarily a royal undertaking, whereas private citizens in Israel and Judah made do mainly with local barter activity. It was at the village square or city gate, where the market was located, that artisans sold their works and farmers their agricultural produce (2 K. 7:1). This kind of retail trade took place directly between the producer and consumer, without any intermediary. Although weighed silver was doubtlessly being used as a kind of currency (e.g., Gen. 23:15f.; 2 K. 6:25; 7:1,16; Jer. 32:9), barter was still the more customary form of trade. Jacob purchased a parcel of land in exchange for 100 *q^ešîôt* (Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32), the tenant pays his lease with goats (Prov. 27:26). Judah pays Tamar with a kid (Gen. 38:17), and each of Job's friends pays him with a *q^ešîâ* and a ring of gold (Job 42:11). The meaning of *q^ešîâ* is known from the older translation "lamb" (11QtgJob *'imm^erâ*; Targ. Onqelos *hûrpâ*; LXX *amnós, amnás*) and from the etymology **qšî*, "shear" (cf. Arab. *qašata*, "scrape off," Akk. *kašātu*, "cut off"). Because of the confusion regarding the roots *qšî* and *qšî*, "be right, true" (> Arab. *qst*), however, commentaries have tended to view this as a specific weight or quantity (cf. Arab. *qist*, "a measure") of gold or silver.¹⁰ The term *m^ehîr* refers in any case to payment in silver or in kind, or even at a later period also in services rendered (Dnl. 11:39). The division of the lands by Antiochus Epiphanes *bimhîr* obviously was not carried out in exchange for a payment in silver or in kind. The background here is military service to be rendered as compensation by those who profited from the divided land (*gē klērouchikē*). This system was widespread among the Seleucids and Ptolemies.

III. LXX. The translation of *m^ehîr* clearly caused difficulties for the LXX. In addition to *állagma* (5 times) and *antállagma* (3 times), the LXX also uses *anállagma*, *dóron*, *lýtron*, *misthós*, *timé*, and *chréma* once each. In 2 Ch. 1:16, it translates *lāqah bimhîr* by *agorázein*.

Lipiński

9. KTU, 4.338, 18.

10. Cf. A. de Wilde, *Das Buch Hiob. OTS*, 22 (1981), 406.

מַחָשׁ *māḥaš*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Occurrences, Literal Meaning; 2. Theological Usage; 3. Combinations. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. This root is attested in most Semitic languages: Ugar. *mḥš*, “smash, smite,”¹ Akk. *maḥāšu*, “strike; weave,”² Ethiop., Tigre *maḥaša*, “strike,” Arab. *maḥaḍa*, “shake,” Aram. *mēḥā’/mēḥā* (< *mēḥa’*), “strike.”³

II. OT Usage. 1. *Occurrences, Literal Meaning.* The verb *māḥaš* and the subst. *maḥaš* occur only in poetic texts (the verb occurs in Jgs. 5, though not in the par. Jgs. 4), especially in hymns and similar genres. Discounting Ps. 68:24(Eng. v. 23) (scribal error *timḥaš* for *tirḥaš*?) and the duplicate involving Ps. 18 and 2 S. 22, the verb occurs 12 times and the noun once; i.e., this verb is relatively rare.

Considering the scarcity of material, it is noteworthy how relatively often *ro’š* (4 times) and *pē’ā* (once) occur as objects, either in the literal sense or figuratively as “roof,” “superior.” If one additionally considers the object *moṭnayim* (1 occurrence), the fundamental meaning “strike, smash” seems most probable, and thence “conquer.”

The physical quality emerges perhaps best in Jgs. 5:26, in a descriptive series of verbs.⁴ Although this might evoke a shattering blow, the mention of an arrow as the instrument in Nu. 24:8 militates for a less specific meaning.

The object is usually personal or personified, and if a collective, a people or an army; the verb means to “conquer, overcome.” The predominating meanings are thus “strike, smash” and “conquer.”

2. *Theological Usage.* The subject determines the theological use of the verb. It never occurs with a secular or theologically neutral meaning; the subject is always God or his people, a fact aiding in evaluating the sparse material.

a. With God as the subject, *māḥaš* occurs antithetically with *rāpā’* in Dt. 32:39; Job 5:18; Isa. 30:26 (subst.); this antithesis expresses God’s unlimited sovereignty, and the three passages are intended as arguments supporting the notion of hope. In Dt. 32:39, the pair *māḥaš* — *rāpā’* parallel the verbs of killing (*mwt* hiphil) and making alive (*ḥyh* piel). These three texts are related to Isa. 19:22 (*ngp* — *rp’*); Jer. 30:17 (*nkḥ* hiphil — *rp’*); Hos. 6:1 (*ṭrp* — *rp’*), and are best evaluated in connection

māḥaš. H. Schäfer, “Das Niederschlagen der Feinde: Zum Geschick eines ägyptischen Sinnbildes,” *WZKM*, 54 (1957), 168-176.

1. *WUS*, no. 1547; by-form *mḥš*, *WUS*, no. 1550.

2. *AHW*, II (1972), 580.

3. *DISO*, 147.

4. See below.

with the notion of the healing God.⁵ Here they also serve to draw *mḥš* into the semantic range of *nkḥ* and *ngp*.

b. With God as the subject in warfare, God fights against his or his people's enemies (Dt. 33:11; Ps. 68:22[21]; 110:5f.; Hab. 3:13) or against a mythical adversary (Job 26:12).

Although in Hab. 3:13 one might take *rō'š mibbêl* to be the "head of the family," the parallel word *y^esôd* shows that the reference is to a house, with its roof and foundation. The second expression, *'ārôl y^esôd*, recalls Ps. 137:7 (*'ārâ*); Ezk. 13:14; Mic. 1:6 (*gālâ*). This sparse evidence does not allow the conclusion that *māḥaš rō'š* represents a fixed formula. The term *y^esôd* might adroitly be alluding to *sôd* for the sake of creating a play on words: roof and foundation, leader and counselor.

Ps. 110:5f. contains a series of chiastic correspondences which must be considered in any explanation of the text. A schematic presentation reveals several relationships:

mḥš m^elākîm
yādîn baggôyim
mḥš rō'š 'al-'ereš rabbâ
yārîm rō'š minnaḥal badderek
m^elākîm/gôyim, m^elākîm/rō'š
māḥaš rō'š/yārîm rō'š, mḥš/dyn

If we consider the common elements for *mḥš* and *dyn*, the sense is that of a victory with the character of judgment confusing the kings and their peoples. If we direct attention to the objects of *mḥš*, the first *rō'š* could be a defeated leader on a broad plain; if in contrast we consider the two verbs in connection with *rō'š*, the physical aspects emerge: a shattered head (collective) and a head that raises itself in victory. The poet combines the two aspects to attain a pregnant ambiguity or ambivalence.

In Ps. 68:22(21), *rō'š* can also be alluding to the leader, although the par. *qodqôd* suggests a physical connotation with descriptive value.

The texts of this group all belong to the notion of God as warrior.

c. Israel or its king is the subject of *mḥš* in Nu. 24:8,17; Ps. 18:39[38] par. 2 S. 22:39. In these cases God's intervention and even his warrior role are unequivocal, something also discernible in Nu. 24:17 from the parallelism and preceding oracles (cf. 1QM 11:6; 12:11). Thus for all practical purposes these texts can be subsumed under the previous group.

3. *Combinations*. Outside the context of holy war several series or parallels can be discerned.

Nu. 24:8: *yô'kal šārāw — y^egārēm 'ašmōtêhem — ḥiṣṣāw yimḥaš*. Because of insufficient correspondence between *ḥēš* and *'ešem*, some interpreters emend the text to achieve a parallel to *šar* and *'ešem*; in the MT, however, the third expression introduces a change in function, underscoring it with the alliteration *mḥš/ḥš*.

5. → רָפָא *rāpā'*.

Jgs. 5:26: *hālam* — *māḥaq rō's* — *māḥaṣ* — *ḥālap raqqātō*. This combination of expressions brings *māḥaṣ* into a parallel position with *hālam*, and assonance connects *hālam* and *ḥālap*, *māḥaq* and *māḥaṣ*.

Ps. 18:38f.(37f.): *rdp*, *hišmîd* (so 2 S. 22 contra Ps. 18 *nśg* hiphil), *klh*, *mḥṣ*; *lō' qûm*, *npl* is a series sooner attesting pleonasm than genuine differentiation; it describes emphatically the finality of the victory.

III. LXX. The LXX does not render *māḥaṣ* consistently. The only renderings that recur are *patássein* (3 times) and *synthlán* (4 times); the other occurrences use *bállein*, *báptein*, *ekthlíbein*, *thlán*, *thraúein*, *katagnýnai*, *katatoxeúein*, *paíein*, *strōnnýein*, *syntríbein*, and *tríbein*.

Alonso-Schökel

מָחָר *māḥār*; מִחְרָת *moh^orāt*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning, Related Words, Distribution. II. OT Usage: 1. Departure; 2. Meals and the Cult; 3. Good Fortune or Disaster; 4. Drinking Songs and Proverbs; 5. The Children's Question. III. LXX.

I. 1. Etymology. The etymology of *māḥār* is disputed. Although Carl Brockelmann¹ postulates an original form **ma'ḥar* (root 'ḥr),² this etymology is unlikely, since there is no trace of the '. G. R. Driver's suggestion³ that *māḥār* belongs with Akk. *maḥāru*, "confront" (cf. *ina mahri*, "before"), is doubtlessly preferable. Other related words are attested in Canaanite (EA *ūmi ma-ḥa-ri*)⁴ and in several Aramaic dialects (Egyp.-Aram.,⁵ Targ. *m^eḥar*, *mahrā'*, Syr. *m^eḥār*). This militates for derivation from *mḥr*.

2. Meaning, Related Words, Distribution. The term *moh^orāt* unequivocally means

māḥār. J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time*. SBT, 33 (1969); S. J. DeVries, "Temporal Terms as Structural Elements in the Holy-War Tradition," VT, 25 (1975), 80-105; *idem*, "The Time Word *māḥār* as a Key to Tradition Development," ZAW, 87 (1975), 65-79; *idem*, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Time and History in the OT* (Grand Rapids, 1975); J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton, 1964); G. Gerleman, "'Heute', 'Gestern' und 'Morgen' im Hebräischen," TAik, 72 (1967), 84-89; B. Halpern, "The Ritual Background of Zechariah's Temple Song," CBQ, 40 (1978), 167-190.

1. VG, I, 241.

2. So also *GesB*.

3. Review of P. Leander, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, 34 (1928), JRAS, 1932, 178f.

4. AHW, III (1972), 580a.

5. DISO, 148.

“the following day,” and follows upon *bayyôm hahû*’ just as *māḥār* follows upon *hayyôm* (2 S. 11:12); *kol yôm hammoh̄rāt* follows upon *kol-hayyôm hahû*’ w^e*kol-hal-laylâ* (Nu. 11:32). The day between a specific day (*yôm zibh^akem*) and *yôm hašš^elîšî* is *moh̄rāt* (Lev. 19:6). The day which in a given context is designated as *māḥār* (Ex. 9:5f.; 32:5f.; 1 S. 11:9-11) and follows upon a night (Gen. 19:34; Jgs. 6:38; 1 S. 30:17; Jon. 4:7; cf. v. 10) is *moh̄rāt*. Combinations containing *moh̄rāt* include *l^emoh̄rat hayyôm hahû*’ (1 Ch. 29:21), *mimmoh̄rat haḥōdeš* (1 S. 20:27), *mimmoh̄rat happensah* (Nu. 33:3; Josh. 5:11), *mimmoh̄rat haššabbāt* (Lev. 23:11,15f.).

The term *māḥār* means “tomorrow, the morrow,” and usually has the sense “tomorrow” = “on the following day,” although it can sometimes be translated with “in the future” (Gen. 30:33; Ex. 13:14; Dt. 6:20; Josh. 4:6,21; 22:24,27,28). The connection with *bōqer* and *škm* hiphil shows that *māḥār* often means “early tomorrow morning” (Ex. 9:13-18; cf. 8:16-19[Eng. vv. 20-23]; 10:4-13; 16:23; cf. v. 24; Nu. 14:25; cf. v. 40; 16:5-7; Josh. 7:13-16; Jgs. 19:9; 1 S. 9:16-19; 11:9-11; 19:11; 2 S. 11:12-14; 2 K. 10:6-9; 2 Ch. 20:16-20). Combinations with *māḥār* include *kā’ēt māḥār*, “tomorrow about this time” (1 S. 9:16; 1 K. 19:2; 20:6; 2 K. 7:1,18; 10:6), and *māḥār kā’ēt hazzō’* (Josh. 11:6).

The use of *māḥār* and *moh̄rāt* is unequally distributed among the biblical books: 31 occurrences in the Pentateuch, 11 in Joshua, 5 in Judges, 24 in Samuel-Kings, 4 in the prophets, twice in Proverbs, 3 in Esther, 4 in Chronicles.

II. OT Usage. 1. *Departure.* A person can request of another (e.g., a Levite, Jgs. 19:9; Uriah, 2 S. 11:12; cf. v. 14) to stay the night and postpone departure until “tomorrow morning.” The Israelites set out from Rameses “on the day after” the passover (Nu. 33:3; cf. Josh. 5:11f.); later they are instructed to set out on a different route “tomorrow” (morning) (Nu. 14:25; cf. v. 40).

2. *Meals and the Cult.* Esther prepared a dinner for the king “today” and “tomorrow” (Est. 5:8,12; cf. v. 4). Saul’s intentions toward David are to be disclosed by David’s absence from the Feast of the New Moon “tomorrow and the day after tomorrow” (1 S. 20:5,12,18f.,27). A great famine prompts a woman to propose: “Give up your son; we will eat him today, and we will eat my son tomorrow” (2 K. 6:28).

A thanksgiving offering (*zeḇaḥ tôḏaṭ š^elāmîm*) must be eaten on the day of the offering, and may not be left till the morning (*bōqer*, Lev. 7:15); a votive offering or a freewill offering is to be eaten on the day of the sacrifice or on the next day (Lev. 7:16; 19:6). A portion of the food prepared on the sixth day from the manna and quail was put aside for the following sabbath (Ex. 16:23). The first sheaf of the harvest is to be sacrificed as a wave offering on the day after the sabbath (Lev. 23:11,15,16). After a lament before God in Bethel the people arose early the next morning, built an altar, and offered sacrifices (Jgs. 21:4). When Aaron had built an altar before the golden calf, he announced: “Tomorrow (*māḥār*) shall be a *ḥag* to Yahweh,” and early in the morning of the next day (*škm* hiphil; *mimmoh̄rāt*) the celebration took place with offerings, eating, drinking, and play (Ex. 32:5f.). On the following day Moses entreated Yahweh to forgive the people (32:30; on celebrating *māḥār*, cf. Ex. 16:23; 32:5; 1 S.

20:5,18). On the day after Moses tells his father-in-law about being delivered by God he appointed judges (Ex. 18:13-26). At an offering feast Solomon becomes coregent on the day after David's thanksgiving prayer for the generous contributions to the temple construction (1 Ch. 29:21). God announces Saul's arrival to Samuel: "Tomorrow about this time I will send to you a man . . . and you shall anoint him to be ruler" (1 S. 9:16).

Several texts speak of preparations for a divine sign and/or theophany which is to take place *māḥār*, "tomorrow" (Nu. 16:7,16; 17:6,23[16:41; 17:8]).

Four passages speak of consecration on the day before a proclamation of God's deeds: before the making of the covenant (the act is postponed until the *yôm haššelišî*, Ex. 19:10f.), the quail miracle (Nu. 11:18), the halting of the waters of the Jordan (Josh. 3:5; cf. 4:6,21), and the casting of lots to determine guilt (Josh. 7:13).

"Tomorrow" is an important concept in the account of the plagues (Ex. 7:8-11:10), although it does fulfill different functions in the various accounts and does not occur in them all. Yahweh declares: "this sign [flies] shall occur *l'māḥār*" (8:19[23]). Yahweh set a time and said: "*māḥār* Yahweh will do this thing [cattle plague] in the land" (9:5). The expression *mimmoh'rāt* is used in the account of the actual carrying out of the plagues (9:6).⁶ Yahweh twice speaks in conditional terms: "If you oppose/refuse . . . *māḥār* I will cause the heaviest hail to fall/bring locusts" (9:17f.; 10:4). Moses promises to ask God to take away the flies *māḥār* (8:25[29]), and Pharaoh himself is permitted to set the time for the departure of the frogs. He answers "*l'māḥār*" (8:6[10]). This precise agreement on the time excludes any possibility of chance.

Other texts use *kā'ēt māḥār* in threats and promises (1 S. 9:16; 1 K. 19:2; 20:6; 2 K. 7:1,18; 10:6; *māḥār kā'ēt hazzō't*, Josh. 11:6). These occurrences of *māḥār* suggest that Yahweh's theophany, signs, or intervention was announced the preceding day.

3. *Good Fortune or Disaster*. It is often said that the defeat of Israel's enemies and, concomitantly, Israel's victory will occur "tomorrow," or occurred on the following day/morning. In warfare God is *māḥār* (Ex. 17:9; Josh. 11:6; Jgs. 20:28; 1 S. 11:9f.; 2 K. 7:1,18; Est. 9:13; 2 Ch. 20:16f.) or *moh'rāt* (1 S. 5:3f.; 11:11; 30:16) present in the midst of his victorious people (Josh. 11:6; 1 S. 11:11; cf. vv. 6,13; 2 K. 7:1,18; cf. 6:33; 7:6) with his rod (Ex. 17:9), with the ark of the covenant (Jgs. 20:27f.; 1 S. 5:1-4), with the ephod (1 S. 30:17; cf. v. 7f.), through hymn singers before the warriors (2 Ch. 20:14-26). The sign of deliverance (dew on the fleece of wool) also occurred *moh'rāt* (Jgs. 6:38).

It also happens that disaster or defeat is predicted for "the following day" (Josh. 22:18; 1 S. 28:19; 1 K. 20:6). Defeat is brought about by Yahweh himself because of sin (Josh. 22:18; 1 S. 28:19). The day after Saul's death the Philistines defile his corpse (1 S. 31:8; 1 Ch. 10:8; cf. 2 K. 10:6). Jezebel threatens to kill Elijah "tomorrow" (1 K. 19:2). Saul tries to kill David (1 S. 19:11). To become king, Hazael kills Ben-hadad

6. See S. Ö. Steingrímsson, *Vom Zeichen zur Geschichte*. CB, 14 (1979), 227f.

the day after telling him “you will certainly recover” (2 K. 8:15f.). The plant under which Jonah sat withered the day after it sprouted (Jon. 4:7).

4. *Drinking Songs and Proverbs.* Despite an apparently similar formal background, the hedonistic exhortations in Isa. 22:13; 56:12 evoke different perspectives on the future. “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die” (Isa. 22:13; cf. 1 Cor. 15:32) is the people’s resigned reaction to the disaster. Instead of holding a lament, they celebrate with an excess of wine and flesh. “Come, let me get wine; let us fill ourselves with strong drink. And tomorrow will be like today, great beyond measure” (Isa. 56:12; cf. Am. 4:1) is spoken by the selfish shepherds of the people who do not comprehend the imminent threat of disaster. The common formal background is that of a drinking song (cf. Isa. 28:7-10). Several so-called harpists’ songs from Egyptians tombs contain similar statements, e.g., “Celebrate a cheerful day, you noble one! Forget all that is bad and think only of joy, till the day when you come into the land that cherishes silence.”⁷

Prov. 3:28 admonishes a person to be quick to lend aid: “Do not say . . . tomorrow I will give it [to you]” (cf. Dt. 24:14f.), and Prov. 27:1 to be mindful of the uncertainty of the morrow (cf. Ps. 39:5f.[4f.]; Sir. 18:26; Jas. 4:13-16). A similar maxim can be found on a statue of the twenty-second dynasty: “Put tomorrow clearly before us! What is in it is not known”;⁸ compare also the story of the Eloquent Peasant: “Do not prepare for tomorrow before it is come. One knows not what evil may be in it.”⁹

5. *The Children’s Question.* This question occurs in three variations: *kî-yiś’ālēkā binkā māḥār lē’mōr mah-* (Ex. 13:14; Dt. 6:20, Passover celebration), *kî-yiś’ālûn b’ēnēkem māḥār lē’mōr mah-* (Josh. 4:6,21, stones), *māḥār yō’m’rû b’ēnēkem l’bānēnû lē’mōr mah-* (Josh. 22:24,27,28, altar at Gilead). In the first case the son will inquire at the sacrifice of the firstborn¹⁰ about its significance. His father will then recall God’s killing of the Egyptian firstborn. In Josh. 4 the question “What do these stones mean to you?” is associated with two versions of the crossing of the Jordan.¹¹ The answer to v. 6 explains the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan, while that to v. 21 addresses the Gilgal sanctuary. Both explanations are to recall the miracle of the water (Josh. 3). The context in Josh. 22 is different. The question in 22:24, “What have you to do with Yahweh, the God of Israel?” is intended as an accusation made to the eastern tribes, as shown by vv. 27f.: “You have no portion in Yahweh.” To counter this

7. Cf. S. Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zurich, ²1950), 134.

8. *Kairo WB*, no. 49(58) = *WbÄS*, Belegst. V, 423[1]; cited in J. G. Griffith, “Wisdom About Tomorrow,” *HThR*, 53 (1960), 219-221.

9. B 1, 183, A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. trans., New York, 1927, repr. 1971); cf. F. Vogelsang, *Die Klagen des Bauern* (Berlin, 1904), 146.

10. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 101f.

11. J. A. Soggin, *Joshua. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 43-67; cf. also E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal. BWANT*, 107[6/7] (1975), esp. II.2.

accusation in the future, the altar (the real reason behind the accusation) is erected as a witness to the common faith in Yahweh.¹²

III. LXX. The LXX usually translates *māḥār* with *aúrion* and *moḥ^orāt* with *epaúrion*, although *moḥ^orāt* is also rendered with *aúrion* (Lev. 7:16; 19:6), *metá tén aúrion* (Ex. 32:30; 1 S. 11:11), *hē echoménē* (sic, 1 Ch. 10:8), and *tó prōí* (1 S. 5:4). In Ex. 13:14 *māḥār* in the sense of "in time to come" is translated by *metá taúta*. The parallel in Dt. 6:20 has *aúrion*. The LXX gives no equivalent for *māḥār* in Josh. 4:21; 1 S. 20:12 or for *moḥ^orāt* in Josh. 5:11,12; Jer. 20:3.

André

12. On the "children's question," cf. recently H.-J. Fabry, "Gott im Gespräch zwischen den Generationen," *Katechetische Blätter*, 107 (1982), 754-760.

מַטֵּה *maṭṭeh*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. LXX. II. 1. Literal Meaning; 2. Literal Meaning with Overtones: a. Branch, Stem; b. Rod, Staff. III. Figurative Meaning: 1. Tribe; 2. Instrument of Might (Isaiah); 3. Power (Ezekiel). IV. Problematic Passages. V. 1. Qumran; 2. Post-OT Period.

I. 1. Occurrences. The word *maṭṭeh* (pl. *maṭṭôt*) occurs 252 times in the OT,¹ in the majority of cases with the sociological meaning "tribe." Of these, 111 are in Numbers, 59 in Joshua, 27 in Exodus, and 23 in 1 Chronicles. To these passages one should add the 6 occurrences in Sirach and the conjectures in Ps. 89:45(Eng. v. 44); Ezr. 9:13.² The most frequent combinations with *maṭṭeh* are *maṭṭēh-lehem*, *maṭṭēh 'ōz*, *maṭṭeh* in parallelism with *šēbet*, in connection with the names of the tribes of Israel, and in the expression *maṭṭēh b^enē* . . . , further the expression *rā'sē hammaṭṭôt*. Besides *maṭṭeh* and *šēbet*, other OT words with the meaning "stick, staff" include *m^ehōqēq* (Nu. 21:18; Gen. 49:10), which acquires the connotation "the ruler, authority" (Jgs. 5:14; Dt. 33:21)

maṭṭeh. S. Cavalletti, "La terminologia ebraica per 'bastone,'" *Antoniano*, 28 (1953), 411-424; W. Dietrich, *Jesaja und die Politik. BEvTh*, 74 (1976), 115-122, 125-28; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT*, n.s. 71[89] (1965), 95-98, 171-188; P. Humbert, "Étendre la main," *VT*, 12 (1962), 383-395; G. Sauer, "Mandelzweig und Kessel in Jer 1_{11ff.}," *ZAW*, 78 (1966), 56-61; H. Valentin, *Aaron: Eine Studie zur vor-priesterlichen Aaron-Überlieferung. OBO*, 18 (1978), 72-81, 158-182; R. de Vaux, *Anclsr*, 4-10; P. Weimar and E. Zenger, *Exodus: Geschichten und Geschichte der Befreiung Israels. SBS*, 75 (1975); G. J. Wenham, "Aaron's Rod (Numbers 17₁₆₋₁₈)," *ZAW*, 93 (1981), 280f.

1. A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the OT* (Jerusalem, 1983), lists 251 occurrences.
2. See IV below.

and, through its association with Yahweh (Ps. 60:9[7] par. 108:9[8]), becomes one of Yahweh's titles, and also exhibits the connotation "judge" or "king,"³ and *maqqēl*, "rod, branch, staff."⁴

2. *Etymology.* The word *matteh* probably derives from *nty*.⁵ J. M. A. Janssen⁶ views it as a loanword from Egyp. *mdw*. Akkadian attests the root *naṭû*, "strike,"⁷ although neither the meaning "stretch forth" nor any subst. **maṭṭû* is attested. Of the substantives referring to the staff or scepter, *ḥaṭṭu* occurs most frequently; *šabbītu* (Heb. *šēbet*) occurs only in three texts.⁸ In contrast, *matteh* occurs in Ugaritic⁹ and has now also been attested in the Ebla texts.¹⁰ In *KTU*,¹¹ *mṭm* stands parallel with *qšth*, as in Hab. 3:9.¹²

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses *stérigma* for "staff of bread" (Ps. 105:16; Ezk. 4:16; 5:16; 7:11), *skēptron* in Hab. 3:9; 1 S. 14:27,43, *zygós* in Isa. 14:5, *plēgē* in Isa. 10:24, and *thymós* in Isa. 10:26. Jer. 31:17 uses *baktéria*; *rābdos* is used in Gen. 38:18,25 and in the narratives in which the staff exhibits quasi-magical power (Ex. 7–10; 14:16; 17:5,9) or functions as a sign of Yahweh's might (Ex. 4). In all texts where *matteh* means "tribe" it is translated by *phylē*, including Mic. 6:9, where the meaning is difficult to determine.¹³

II. 1. *Literal Meaning.* The term *matteh* occurs in its literal meaning without additional connotations in Gen. 38:18,25 as one of the pledges Judah gives Tamar; Jonathan, who is unaware of Saul's oath, carries one (1 S. 14:27,43), as do the Levites who transport the ark (1 Ch. 15:15). This group also includes the expression *maṭṭēh-lehem* (Lev. 26:26; Ps. 105:16; Ezk. 4:16; 5:16; 14:13; cf. Sir. 48:2), in reference to the stick or staff on which the ring-shaped *hallā*-bread was stacked to keep it away from mice, etc.,¹⁴ or to the stalk (*lḥm* is attested in the meaning "corn, grain"¹⁵). Since *maṭṭēh-lehem* is everywhere associated with the verb *šbr* and with the explicit mention

3. "קקן *ḥqq* einritzen, festsetzen," *THAT*, I, 628, 630.

4. On the staff and scepter as symbols of authority, cf. G. Fohrer, "Stab," *BHHW*, III, 1845; L. E. Toombs, "Scepter," *IDB*, IV, 234f. (with bibliog.); → שֶׁבֶט *šēbet*; → מַקֵּל *maqqēl* (VIII, 548-551).

5. *BLe*, §491n; *KBL*³, 542.

6. *L'AT et l'Orient* (Louvain, 1957), 40; cf. also W. B. Kristensen, *MKAU*, 16/14 (1954), 591-610.

7. *AHw*, II (1962), 768.

8. *AHw*, III (1981) 1119.

9. *WUS*, no. 1551; Whitaker, 417; cf. M. Held, "*mḥš*/**mḥš* in Ugaritic and Other Semitic Languages," *JAOS*, 79 (1959), 169f.

10. TM.75 G.2005 obv. III, 13-17 ^{giš}*gu-RU^{urudu}* = *ma-ṭi-um*; TM.75 G.1426 obv. III, 8-13 ^{giš}*gu-RU-kak^{urudu}* = *ma-ṭi-um*; references by G. Pettinato.

11. 1.3 III, 15f.

12. Cf. M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP*, I, 349.

13. See IV below.

14. *HAL*, II (1995), 573.

15. *KTU*, 1.16 III, 14 and Ps. 104:15; see M. Dahood, *Psalms III. AB*, XVIIA (1970), 40.

of famine in a city, the expression probably refers to a city's food supplies. The expression is always collective, with the exception of Ps. 105:16, "every *matteh-lehem*."¹⁶

2. *Literal Meaning with Overtones.* a. *Branch, Stem.* The expression *matteh/matôt 'ôz/uzzāh* (3 times) occurs in the allegorical lament Ezk. 19:10-14 (a product of the school of Ezekiel that rounds off and concludes Ezk. 19:1-9) with the literal meaning "branch, stem"; it fashions the allegory by referring simultaneously also to the scepter of power and to descendants. Israel's ultimate victory is evoked by the image of the vine. The *matôt 'ôz* could transform themselves into *šibṭê mōš'êlîm* (v. 11), but after chastisement, expressed in a general sense by the images of the east wind and fire, there is no longer any strong stem (descendants, tribe) able to transform itself into the ruler's scepter (v. 14). It is possible that this image has been influenced by the old Royal Psalm Ps. 110, with the expression *matteh-'uzz'kā* (Ps. 110:2), where *matteh* serves more clearly than in any other OT text as the symbol of the royal dynasty Yahweh has chosen and protects. In Ezk. 19:10-14, *matteh* is simultaneously the symbol of the descendants (pl. *matôt*, v. 11) of Israel in general and of the royal dynasty in particular. In Jer. 48:17, the elegiac exclamation "how the *matteh-'ôz* (par. *maqqēl*) [of Moab] is broken!" most closely resembles Isa. 14:5b. This image is a completely fixed expression and does not refer to the branch or descendants, but rather only to the authority evoked by the figure "staff of power."

b. *Rod, Staff.* The "staff" as a concrete object which nonetheless connotes a special power attributed to Yahweh occurs especially in Exodus and Nu. 17:20[5]. Ex. 4:2f. (J) is the oldest passage attesting this notion; both Ex. 7:15 ("the staff that was turned into a snake") and Ex. 17:5 ("the staff with which you struck the Nile"; cf. 7:17) then allude to it. In Ex. 4:2f., the rod that turned into a serpent is a symbol of Yahweh's powerful help, while in Ex. 4:17 it is the instrument of the manifestation of such power before Pharaoh. The demonstrative expression "this staff" seems to introduce an unknown element into the narrative; possibly the intention is to distance the object from Moses' possession, since it has become the instrument of divine action. This is also the sense of the E conclusion to the narrative (Ex. 4:20).

In the plague stories, *matteh* is mentioned 14 times in reference to Moses' or Aaron's staff; all occurrences belong to P with the exception of Ex. 7:15, 17. Martin Noth¹⁷ views these two passages as J; apparently, however, the new introduction "thus says Yahweh" in v. 17 seems contrived after vv. 14, 16, and it remains unclear just who is carrying out the action, Moses or Yahweh. Verse 17 thus might contain the pre-Yahwistic source of the plague story in which Yahweh himself smites Egypt and the first-born (7:17; 12:29). As soon as the action shifts into the hand of Moses (as

16. Cf. further H. Schult, "Marginale zum 'Stab des Brotes,'" *ZDPV*, 87 (1971), 206-8; J. Schoneveld, "Het breken van de staf des broods," *NedThT*, 27 (1973), 132-145; → מַטֶּה *lehem* (VII, 521-29) and the postbiblical metaphorical parallel construction "staff of living water" among the Mandeans; cf. K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, II. *FRLANT*, N.S. 75[93] (1961), 33-37.

17. *Exodus*. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 72f.

Yahweh's instrument?), the rod is introduced. In the other passages in the plague story the ambiguity is striking; the rod of Moses (Ex. 9:23) or of Aaron (7:9f.) is mentioned. The sequence of events is confused; there is no connection between command and execution as regards the expressions "take/stretch forth the rod," "stretch forth one's hand," and "strike with the rod." Compare Ex. 7:19 with v. 20; 8:1(5) with v. 2(6); 8:12[16] with v. 13[17] and 9:22; 10:12 with 9:23; 10:13. Although the mention of Aaron in the plague story is universally viewed as a later addition, probably by P, the lack of consistency in the use of the expression does not permit the attribution to P of all texts in the plague story which mention *matteh*.¹⁸ One might sooner assume a redaction JE which has combined the expression preferred by E, "stretch forth one's hand," with the motif of the powerful rod found in J. In the story of the crossing of the sea, the command "stretch out your hand" is given twice (14:16,26), and its execution is narrated in 14:21,27. In this context the mention of the raising of the rod seems displaced and to be a redactional attempt (by P?) to associate the crossing of the sea with the E account of the plagues.

The "staff of God in my hand" in Ex. 17:9 introduces an element of tension into the narrative of the victory over the Amalekites, where in the final analysis the rod has no real function. Moses' action is centered in holding up both hands (arms), although he does need the physical help of both Aaron and Hur. The introduction of the rod into this story might be intended to justify theologically a given action (holding hands up) as having been commanded by Yahweh ("staff of God"), an action which in the original version of the story, i.e., without any explicit commission by Yahweh, might have appeared to be an act of magic. In Nu. 20:1-13 (P) (water from the rock in the wilderness of Zin), *matteh* is mentioned 3 times (vv. 8,9,11) in the middle of the narrative. In contrast to the clear and logical exposition in the other version of the event in Ex. 17:1-7, Nu. 20 is characterized by an element of tension between the action focusing on the use of the *matteh* on the one hand and the information in v. 8 on the other: it is through the power of Moses' and Aaron's word that the rock will yield water to the assembled people. Here, too, P has attempted to correct the elements of the narrative of Ex. 17 as he found them by means of a theological commentary: Moses' and Aaron's action receives its power not through magic, but rather through Yahweh's will.

The expression *millipnê YHWH* in Nu. 17:24(9) is alluding to Aaron's rod in v. 25(10). In Nu. 17:17-26(2-11) (P), *matteh* occurs 16 times. The unified account of Aaron's budding rod cannot have been incorporated into the context of Nu. 16-17 as a positive counterpart in order to show, e.g., that the Aaronites are the only legitimate priests,¹⁹ nor to produce an advantage for the Levites over against the laity by mentioning Aaron as the "head" of the tribe of Levi. Rather, the intention is more likely to integrate Aaron into the tribe of Levi as the genealogies do, thus resolving the old theoretical and practical problems associated with the relationship between Levi and

18. *Ibid.*, 67-84.

19. M. Noth, *Numbers*. OTL (Eng. trans. 1968), 130f.

Aaron. It is hardly conceivable that a rod was kept in the temple as a relic, as A. H. J. Gunneweg suggests.²⁰

III. Figurative Meaning.

1. *Tribe*. The transition from the literal meaning “branch, rod” to the sociological meaning “tribe” is reflected perhaps in Nu. 18:2. The translation of *maṭṭēh lēwī* par. *šēbet ’ābīkā* might be “tribe of Levi, branch of your father.” There is no persuasive reason simply to repeat the term “tribe.” The sense of *maṭṭeh* as “tribe” is preferred not only because of the notion of the “*maṭṭeh* of power” under which all the members of a group are subsumed, but also because of the image of the different branches which belong to the same tree trunk (i.e., stem/trunk [Ger. “Stamm”] > tribe). A third component would be the sexual connotation of *maṭṭeh*, which is probably attested in several Ugaritic texts²¹ and perhaps implied in Ps. 89:45(44) if one reads *maṭṭēh hārô*, “branch of procreation”; this variant might be supported by parallelism with vv. 30,37(29,36).²²

There does not seem to be any difference between *maṭṭeh* and *šēbet* in the meaning “tribe,” although *maṭṭeh* occurs predominantly in reference to the names of the traditional tribes.

a. P uses *maṭṭeh* systematically in its lists, although this does not imply that such usage is exclusive to P nor that P initiated the use of *maṭṭeh* in the sense of “tribe.” This more likely reflects common exilic and postexilic usage.²³

P lists in which *maṭṭeh* is used in the sense of “tribe” include: Nu. 1:20-46 (the census of the tribes); 2:3-31 (the arrangement of the tribes while encamped); 10:14-27 (the order of march out of the Sinai desert); 13:4-15 (the list of spies as representatives of the tribes); 34:18-28 (the lists of those commissioned to divide the land among the nine and one half tribes).

Nu. 1:20-46 probably represents the older document which served as the reference for 2:3-31; 10:14-27.²⁴ The list of spies seems to be an *ad hoc* construction by P based on the model of 1:5-15, whose order of tribes it essentially duplicates. In its own turn, Nu. 34:18-28 takes the two preceding lists as its model. The appearance of old names both in Nu. 13 and in Nu. 34 shows merely that the author had access to such names; it says nothing about the age of these lists. Because of their structure and the high overall numbers, Nu. 1:5-15; 26:5-51 seem to be the oldest documents from the period of the organization of the tribes. These served as the model for the lists of P, the former for the lists of the *nēšî'im*, the latter for the lists of tribes. Neither of the two lists uses *maṭṭeh*, prompting the question whether the genuinely older element in Nu. 1:20-46

20. P. 184.

21. Cf. *KTU*, 1.23, 27, 40, 44, 47; other possible occurrences are listed in Whitaker, 417.

22. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 199, 200 reads *maṭṭēh hōdô*, “his powerful scepter.”

23. M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (Tübingen, 1943), 184.

24. On the high numbers, cf. G. E. Mendenhall, “The Census Lists of Numbers 1 and 26,” *JBL*, 77 (1958), 52-66.

does not consist in the simple mention of the tribe, *libnê* + number. The two later lists, 10:14-27 and 34:18-28, use *matteh* + *b^enê* + the name of the tribe.

b. In Josh. 13:15,29; 15:1-19:48 (with the exception of 17:1), the pattern is *matteh* + *b^enê* + name of the tribe. The expression is used consistently in the story of the division of the land, both in Transjordan and in Canaan, in the oldest stratum of the book of Joshua. The most uniform text is preserved in Josh. 18:11-19:48, where the description of the possessions of each tribe commences with the formula "the lot of the tribe of NN came up . . ." and concludes with the formula "this is the inheritance of the sons of . . . according to their families." Despite the regularity of the formulation, *matteh* does not occur in 19:10,16; 19:17 (Issachar — the sons of Issachar); or in 19:32, where the "sons of Naphtali" is repeated before and after "and the sixth lot came out." With the exception of 19:10,16, the absence of *matteh* in the beginning or concluding formula generates an element of uncertainty suggesting the presence of textual corruption. The formula "tribe of the sons of . . ." seems to have been the one usually appearing in the source before the redactor. This is confirmed by the usage in 13:15,29b (distribution by Moses in Transjordan) and 15:1,20 (beginning and concluding formula of the distribution of land to Judah), in negative fashion also by 13:24, where the absence of the customary formula led to the repetition "tribe of Gad — sons of Gad."

Josh. 17:1 constitutes the only exception in the use of "tribe" within the narrative of the division of the land, a fact that might be explained by the complex relationship between Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Joseph is never referred to as a "tribe," but rather as a "house" (17:17) or "sons of" (16:1; 17:14,16; but cf. Nu. 36:5). Similar references are made to the "sons of Ephraim" (16:5,9) and the "sons of Manasseh" (16:9), although both are also referred to as "tribes." Hence *matteh* is usually used when the context involves a tribe's possessions.

The combination *matteh* + tribal name is used in Josh. 7:1,18; 13:24; 17:1; 20:8 (3 times); and in 21:4-22:1 (25 times), with the exception of 21:9. The three occurrences in 20:8 are additions to the nucleus of the text about cities of refuge (Josh. 20:7-9abα); the lists of the levitical cities in Josh. 21 doubtlessly belong to the post-Deuteronomistic period when Samaria had so receded from Jerusalem's purview that not a single locale in Samaritan territory is mentioned. In contrast, Josh. 7:1,18 belongs to the older stratum of the etiological story of Achan from the tribe of Judah, and 13:24 resulted from a possible textual corruption after the elimination of the formula "tribe of the sons of. . . ."

A comparison between the use of *matteh* + name of the tribes in Numbers and in Joshua leads to the conclusion that the oldest stratum in the lists did not contain the word *matteh*; a later usage is *matteh* + tribal name as in Nu. 1:21-43, and a third stage used *matteh* + *b^enê* + tribal name, although the postexilic texts revert to *matteh* + name (Josh. 21:4-38; 1 Ch. 6:45-65[60-80]). In 1 Chronicles, the expression *matteh* + *b^enê* + tribal name (3 times) is limited to 1 Ch. 6:50[65]).

"The heads of the fathers' houses of the tribes of the people of Israel" (*rā'sê 'ābôt hammattôt libnê yiśrā'el*, Nu. 32:28; Josh. 14:1; 19:51; 21:1) is a fixed expression (P) with reference to Eleazar and Joshua, the son of Nun. The P-character of the expression is unequivocal since the introduction of Eleazar in Ex. 6:25. 1 K. 8:1 par. 2 Ch. 5:2

unite in an undifferentiated enumeration "the elders of Israel, all the heads of the tribes, and the leaders of the fathers' houses of the people of Israel." A similar enumeration appears in the later addition to P in Nu. 7:2, where the leaders of Israel, the heads of the fathers' houses, and the leaders of the tribes are all mentioned.

2. *Instrument of Might (Isaiah)*. Isa. 10:5,15, the most important text for the understanding of *maṭṭeh* in Isaiah, is an oracle against Assyria generally held to be genuine. The tandem *šēbet/maṭṭeh* (as *inclusio*) implies that Assyria is the instrument for chastisement by Yahweh, although this chastisement will not be ultimate. That instrument, however, sought independence and overstepped the bounds Yahweh imposed on its commission. Through its own destruction Assyria is to realize that Yahweh is the only master of history, and that the nations play but a limited roll in this drama. The chastisement of Assyria in Isa. 10:24-27a, an oracle of promise to Israel, completes 10:5-15. The pair *šēbet/maṭṭeh* (v. 26, *maṭṭeh-šôl*) undergoes a shift in meaning. Assyria is no longer the instrument, but rather the enemy who must be annihilated. The terms *šēbet* and *maṭṭeh*, now without *za'mî* and *'appî* (as in 10:5), are symbols of Assyrian aggression (v. 24) and of Yahweh's punishment (v. 26). The motif of the *maṭṭeh* has evoked the allusion to Midian in Isa. 10:26 through the association Midianites-Amalekites (Jgs. 7:12) with the story of Moses and the Amalekites (Ex. 17:9, rod of God). The expression *b^ederek mišrayim* in Isa. 10:24,26 is dependent on Ex. 14:16, since here, too, the raising of the staff is a sign of deliverance for Israel. The pair *maṭṭeh/šēbet* also appears in Isa. 9:3[4], integrated into the image of the yoke (cf. Isa. 10:27) in three-part parallelism with reference to oppression. Here, too, the image of the *maṭṭeh* (through literary dependence on Isa. 10:24-27a?) is associated with the day of Midian.²⁵

It does not seem justified to draw on Isa. 14:5, "Yahweh has broken the staff of the wicked, the scepter of rulers," in the explanation of the "broken reed" in Isa. 42:3 (broken staff or broken reed as a symbol of those condemned to death = *r^ešā'im*²⁶). The parallelism with *šēbet mōš'êlîm* on the one hand, and the incorporation of the image into a text directed against the king of Babylon on the other, show clearly that the image is referring to the ruler's power. Isa. 14:5,20b,21 refer to a single addressee in contrast to the plural in vv. 4b + 6-20. The composition of 14:4b-20(21), however, is a unity. The point of departure is a mythological motif (vv. 12-15) which with the aid of various ideas has been assimilated to the Jerusalem theology. The whole shows the influence of Isaiah's theology, something clearly manifested in the favored motif *maṭṭeh-šēbet*, which is strongly colored by anti-Assyrian polemic. This does not mean, however, that the text aims directly at Assyria. Isa. 14 is directed not so much against a specific person or power as against any person or power that would usurp Yahweh's power. Two paradigms are portrayed. Verse 5 alludes to the hybris of the old enemy

25. → מִיָּו *yôm* (VI, 7-32).

26. Cf. J. Begrich, "Zur Interpretation von Kap. 42,1-4," *Studien zu Deuterojesaja*. BWANT, 77[4/25] (1938), 164; repr. *ThB*, 20 (1963).

Assyria, while v. 12 contains a mythical motif, Helal, the son of dawn. Setting up one's throne on the Zaphon means setting it up on Zion (cf. Ps. 48); whether Assyria or Helal is the power attempting to install itself in Jerusalem, it will be punished.

The motif *šēbet-maṭṭeh* recurs in Isa. 30:31f. (usually considered post-Isaianic), apparently in the context of anti-Assyrian polemic. Here, however, the expression has lost its theological meaning and portrays a violent image within an apocalyptic description of Yahweh's advent to punish the nations. In Isa. 28:27, *maṭṭeh-šēbet* might be intended in the purely literal sense as an instrument used for certain agricultural tasks. The unit 28:23-29, however, contains other expressions ("Yahweh of hosts," *'ēṣā*), which Isaiah uses in a technical sense to describe Yahweh's political decisions. Quite possibly — and this is why the piece was inserted into the book of Isaiah — the substance of this wisdom parable from agricultural life might be genuinely Isaianic. Assyria had a commission to be carried out with rod and staff, but executed it with the wheels of its chariots instead. The implicit conclusion is the same as in Isa. 10:5-15; 10:24-27a; 14:5: Yahweh again takes control of the situation and chastises the person who has not understood what it means to be Yahweh's instrument. Behind this parable we note the perplexity of the Jerusalemites, who see that from a certain moment on (713?) Isaiah is announcing a message of good news or at least the destruction of the enemy.

3. *Power (Ezekiel)*. Ezk. 7:10 needs no modification, since *maṭṭeh* can be understood as power (*concretum pro abstracto*) in direct parallelism with *hazzādōn*. The connotation of "power" which *maṭṭeh* usually has shifts to "act of violence" when it involves the power of the unrighteous. Ezk. 7:11 also says this: power arises and becomes the scepter of wickedness. Cf. also Isa. 14:5.

IV. Problematic Passages. Hab. 3:9aα: MT *šēbu'ôt maṭṭôt 'ōmer* is unintelligible. The term *maṭṭôt* should be translated in parallelism with v. 9a as "arrow,"²⁷ while *'mr* is a noun with prothetic *aleph* from *mrr*: "strength, might."²⁸ The term *šēbu'ôt* conceals a form of *šb'* with accusative: that with which a person sates himself, intended figuratively. The entire verse might be translated: "Your bow is completely bare, your arrows sated with power." Yahweh is ready to begin his acts of war. The meaning "arrow" can also be assumed in Hab. 3:14a; the general sense is clear.

A grammatically adequate resolution emerges in Ezr. 9:13 even without altering the consonantal text if one reads *l^emaṭṭeh* instead of *l^emaṭṭâ*: "Thou hast spared some of our evil deeds from the rod," whereby *m* is partitive and *l^e* separative instead of *min*, which is normally used with *hšk*. The pair *hšk-maṭṭeh* also appears in Prov. 24:11b (cf. in Prov. 13:24 *hšk šēbet*): "that you might spare the rods of execution," whereby *'im* is precatory as in Ps. 95:7: "O that. . ."

Various translations are given for *maṭṭeh* in Mic. 6:9: "tribe" (NRSV) or "rod of

27. Cf. I.2 above.

28. Dahood, *AB*, XVIIA, 21.

correction" (Ger. *Zuchtrute*).²⁹ If one divides and points the words differently than the MT, one might translate: "If they hear him who guides [bends] them, who could accuse him?" Then *mṭh* would be the hiphil participle of *nṭh*, "bend, guide," which is used figuratively, e.g., in reference to the hearts of adversaries (2 S. 19:15[14]). This translation fits the forensic context well.³⁰

Simian-Yofre

V. 1. *Qumran*. In contrast to the Mandeans,³¹ the Qumran Essenes had no special use for a staff or scepter. The term *maṭṭeh* occurs more than 15 times, always in the meaning "tribe," unless one follows Jean Carmignac's suggestion that 1QM 5:1 is speaking of the scepter of the prince of Israel.³² Usually, however, one reads *mgn*, "shield," in the lacuna, which seems more evident, since only a shield would have the necessary surface area upon which to write the names of the twelve tribes (*šibṭê*) of Israel. The use of *šēbet* (14 more times in 1QM) clearly recedes in the Temple scroll (3 times) behind *maṭṭeh*, which appears here especially in the sacrificial regulations (11QT 18–24), in synonymous parallelism with *šēbet* (11QT 18:16[?]; 21:2), with the "clans of Israel" (19:14f.), the "children of Israel" (22:12), and the "children of Jacob" (23:7).

2. *Post OT-Period*. In the post-OT period a rich matrix of associations developed especially regarding the rod of Moses, prompted essentially by the miraculous powers of this rod (cf. Ex. 4; 7; Nu. 20:11f.; cf. also Gen. 30:37ff.; 2 K. 4:19; 6:6). The Apocrypha views the rod of Moses as a branch from the trees of paradise or from the tree of life.³³ In rabbinic messianic expectation the rod of Moses is identical with the rod of the redeemer,³⁴ and in Christianity ultimately with the cross of Christ.³⁵

Fabry

29. W. Rudolph, *Micha*. KAT, XIII/3 (1975), 114.

30. Cf. F. Frezza, *Ascendenze filologico-letterarie semitico-nordoccidentali* (diss., Rome, 1977), 120–22.

31. Cf. K. Rudolph, 33ff.

32. J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de lumière contre les Fils de ténèbres* (Paris, 1958), 75.

33. G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion*. UUA, 1951/4, 38f.; 55f.

34. Cf. B. Murelstein, "Adam, ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre (Forsetzung und Schluss)," WZKM, 36 (1929), 55.

35. Cf. Tertullian *De bapt.* ix; R. Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (Leipzig, 1929), 381; K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer II*, 36; C. Schneider, "πάβδος," TDNT, VI, 966–971, esp. 969f.

מָטָר *māṭār*; גֶּשֶׁם *gešem*; זֶרֶם *zerem*

Contents: I. The Various Words for Rain: 1. Frequency; 2. Meaning. II. Rain as a Natural Phenomenon. III. Yahweh and the Rain. IV. Yahweh/Ba'al and the Rain. V. Rain in Metaphors and Comparisons: 1. Secular References; 2. Religious References to Salvation and Judgment; 3. Apocalyptic Usage.

I. The Various Words for Rain.

1. *Frequency*. Biblical Hebrew has access to a series of words that refer to rain or to certain aspects of rain. According to frequency, the following nouns and verbs occur: *māṭār* (38 times), *gešem* (35 times), *zerem* (9 times), *malqôš* (8 times), *šetep* (6 times), *r^ebîbîm* (6 times), *ḥāzîz* (3 times), *môreh* (3 times), and *yôreh* (2 times), as well as single occurrences of *gōšem*, *šagrîr*, *zarzîp*, *sāpîah*, *š^eîrîm*, and *^arîpîm*. Specific verbs include *štp* (31 times), *mṭr* (16 times), *yrh* (3 times), *zrm* (2 times), and *gšm* (once). To these one can also add → טַל *ṭal*, "drizzle, dew," or → מַיִם *mayim*, "water,"¹ as well as *šemen* as a metaphorical expression for rain.²

Most of these words are attested throughout the Semitic languages: *māṭār* occurs in Syriac, Arabic, Aramaic, and Ugaritic, where it is by far the most common noun and verb. Ugaritic occasionally also attests the noun *rbb*, "drizzle," and the noun *yr*, "raindrops, rain," and once each the noun *gšm*, "cloudburst," and the verb *zrm*, "rain." Furthermore, Syr. *šēgma* and Arab. *ḡasama* are related to Heb. *gšm*; Akk. *zunnu* (the usual word for "rain"), Arab. *zarama* IV, "to thunder," and Ethiop. *zēnām*, "rain," are compared with Heb. *zrm*; Heb. *štp* corresponds to Arab. *saṭafa*, Heb. *ḥzz* to Arabic nouns, Heb. *spḥ* to Arabic words, Heb. *zrp* to Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic words, and Heb. *yrh/mrh* can also be compared to certain Arabic words. For the most part each of these words is attested at least once in another Semitic language. Since Ugaritic attests at least five of the fifteen different designations, one can assume that these words are typically West Semitic constructions.

2. *Meaning*. As regards the semantic nuances of these words, the most frequently

māṭār. G. Dalman, *AuS*, I (1928), s.v.; H. W. Hertzberg, "Regen," *BHHW*, III, 1568-1571; R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg: Kosmische Verbindungslinien zwischen dem kanaänischen Wettergott und Jahwe* (diss., Halle, 1965); L. Köhler, "Hebräische Vokabeln II," *ZAW*, 55 (1937), 161-174; M. Noth, *The OT World* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966); J. van der Ploeg, "Prov xxv 23," *VT*, 3 (1953), 189-192; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT*, *SVT*, 6 (1958); R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW*, 64 (1952), 11-25; E. F. Sutcliffe, "The Clouds as Water-Carriers in Hebrew Thought," *VT*, 3 (1953), 99-103; H.-J. Zobel, "Der bildliche Gebrauch von *šmn* im Ugaritischen und Hebräischen," *ZAW*, 82 (1970), 209-216.

1. Reymond, 23.

2. Zobel.

occurring one, *māṭār* (rendered consistently in the LXX as *hyetós*), is also the most general term for rain.³ According to Dt. 11:14, it can be further subdivided into *yôreh*, “early rain,” and *malqôš*, “latter rain” (also Job 29:23). In Isa. 30:23, rain is necessary for the growth of the seed and refers to the winter rain. The combination *māṭār sôḥēp* (Prov. 28:3) refers to something like a devastating “downpour.” Also, *māṭār* is used in connection with *mayim*, “water” (Job 5:10), *’eglê ṭal*, “dewdrops” (Job 38:28), or simple *ṭal*, “dew” (Dt. 32:2), to circumscribe all sorts of moisture that comes from the heavens (2 S. 1:21; 1 K. 17:1). “Thunder” (*qôlôt*; 1 S. 12:17f.) or “lightning and thunder” (*ḥ^azîz qôlôt*; Job 28:26; 38:25) are used together with *māṭār*. In Jer. 10:13 par. 51:16; Ps. 135:7, rain is associated with lightning and in Isa. 4:6 with a “storm” (*zerem*). The combination of rain, hail, and thunder occurs in Ex. 9:33f., and of rain, rainshower (*r^ebîbîm*), and penetrating rain (*zarzîp*) in Ps. 72:6.

The next most frequent noun, *gešem*, exhibits a slightly different meaning.⁴ It, too, can encompass the “early” and “latter” rains (*yôreh* and *malqôš*, Joel 2:23 [BHS]; the same series in Jer. 5:24; both words constitute a “specifying appositive” to *gešem*;⁵ cf. Dt. 11:14), can be used together with *malqôš* (Hos. 6:3) or, given the temporal indication “three months before the harvest,” can refer thus to the “latter rain” (Am. 4:7); it can also, however, refer to the winter rains (Cant. 2:11; cf. Isa. 55:10; par. *šeleg*, “snow”) or to rain in a very general sense (Isa. 44:14; Jer. 14:4; 1 K. 17:7,14). Thus the plural form in Lev. 26:4 likely refers to the various seasonal rains.⁶ More striking associations are those of clouds (*nāšî’* or *’āb*), storm (*rûaḥ*), and rain (1 K. 18:45; Prov. 25:14), winds and rain (2 K. 3:17; cf. Ezk. 13:11,13), or clouds and rain (Eccl. 11:3), since these allude to the actual meaning of *gešem* as “downpour” (cf. also Ezk. 1:28; the rainbow on the day of rain). Thus the plural form (Ezk. 34:26; Ezr. 10:9,13, and elsewhere) implies “heavy showers,” as do the genitive combinations *m^eṭar-gešem* (Zec. 10:1), *gešem māṭār*, and *gešem miṭrôt* (Job 37:6).⁷ Finally, the expression *gešem šôṭēp*, “deluge of rain” (Ezk. 13:11,13; 38:22), and the rain of the flood story (Gen. 7:12; 8:2) should be noted.

As far as *zerem* is concerned, we have already anticipated its meaning as “cloudburst,” “stormy weather.” The combination *zerem mayim* (Isa. 28:2; Hab. 3:10; cf. BHS) circumscribes the strong downpour of a sudden cloudburst, *zerem bārād* a destructive “hailstorm” (Isa. 28:2), and *zerem qîr* the “storm that dashes against a wall,” threatening its stability (Isa. 25:4); the verb is used accordingly to refer to the pouring out of water from the clouds (Hab. 3:10 conj.; Ps. 77:18[Eng. v. 17]) and to rinsing or washing away (Ps. 90:5). In Isa. 30:30, *zerem* is associated with a preceding *nepeš*, “bursting, shattering,”⁸ and mentioned together with “hailstones.” Finally, Job 24:8; Isa. 4:6; 25:4; 32:2 speak of shelter from such violent weather. This overview shows

3. Cf. Scott, 23; Reymond, 22.

4. Cf. Scott, 23; Reymond, 22.

5. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 55.

6. Scott, 23.

7. *Idem*, “the falling of rain, but possibly with the sense of heavy rain, showers.”

8. Reymond, 23: hendiadys.

at least that *zerem* consistently evokes the negative aspects of the ravaging, threatening, or destructive results of such weather.

The term *malqôš* always refers to the “latter rains” in the spring.⁹ It stands after *māṭār* (Dt. 11:14; Job 29:23; Zec. 10:1), after *gešem* (Hos. 6:3; Joel 2:23; also Jer. 5:24), and after *r^eḥibîm* (Jer. 3:3). The combination “early and latter rains” appears in Dt. 11:14; Jer. 5:24; Joel 2:23. The expression *’āḇ malqôš*, “clouds of the latter rains,” occurs in Prov. 16:15.

The counterpart of the latter rain is the “early rain” anticipated in autumn. In Joel 2:23 (twice); Ps. 84:7[6], this is replaced by *môreh*; in Zec. 10:1, the LXX amplifies with “at the time of the early rain.”¹⁰ In contrast, the form *yôreh* appears in Dt. 11:14; Jer. 5:24. Both words derive from the same root → יָרָה *yrh*, which in Hos. 6:3; 10:12; Prov. 11:25 means to “rain, moisten, refresh,” yet in other contexts to “throw” and to “teach.”¹¹ Wilhelm Rudolph¹² associates the first-mentioned *yrh* semantically with *rwh*, “drink one’s fill,”¹³ from which then *yôreh* and *môreh* also derive. In Joel 2:23a, the Targ. and Vulg. (probably also Qumran: Teacher of Righteousness) interpret *môreh* as “teacher” and thus derive it from the other root *yrh*. Gustaf Dalman¹⁴ refers to Jewish tradition which interprets the early rain among other things also as “teacher,” “because it teaches (*mōrē*) people to bring in their fruits [into the house] and to seal their roofs [against inclement weather].” The merely folk character of this ingenious etymology emerges in the rest of the citation, which interprets the early rain also “as a satiator that sates the earth (*marwē*), soaking it to the depths, but which also as . . . an archer aims at the earth, though not shooting (*yōrē*) in anger.” Dalman himself suggests that “this latter interpretation . . . is basically on target,” since the early rain is the “rain of the archer,” arriving at the time “when the course of the sun advances through the zodiac sign of the ‘archer’ [Sagittarius].” This reference to the zodiac, however, shows that the etymological explanation only came about retrospectively. Thus the most probable solution is to derive both words from *yrh* as a by-form of *rwh*.¹⁵

The noun *šēṭep* refers in Job 38:25 to “torrents of rain,”¹⁶ since it stands parallel here to *ḥ^azîz qôlôṭ*, which is used in Job 28:26 in parallelism with *māṭār*. Ps. 32:6 speaks of the “rush of many waters” (*šēṭep mayim rabbîm*), and Nah. 1:8 of an “overflowing flood” (*šēṭep ’ôḇēr*). Prov. 27:4 associates this noun with “anger” (*’ap*). Concerning Dan. 9:26, “and its end will come with a flood”; 11:22, “empires of the flood shall be inundated,” see the comms.

The root *štp*, which occurs much more frequently than the noun, means to “overflow,

9. Scott, 23, with etymological information.

10. Cf. the comms.

11. HAL, II (1995), 436.

12. Hosea. KAT, XIII/1 (1966), 132.

13. So also KBL³.

14. AuS, I/1 (1928), 122.

15. Cf. Scott, 23.

16. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*. KAT, XVI (1963), 488.

flood" (Isa. 8:8; 10:22; Jer. 47:2; Ps. 69:3,16[2,15]; 124:4; Cant. 8:7; Dnl. 11:10, 22,26,40), though also "wash away, wash off, cleanse" (Lev. 6:21[28]; 15:11,12; 1 K. 22:38; Job 14:19; Isa. 43:2; Ezk. 16:9), and is used in reference to the flowing of streams (2 Ch. 32:4; Ps. 78:20). Quite often the ptcp. *šōṭēp* is associated with a noun: *gešem šōṭēp*, "pouring rain" (Ezk. 13:11,13; 38:22), *naḥal šōṭēp*, "overflowing stream" (Isa. 30:28; 66:12; Jer. 47:2), *zerem mayim kabbîrîm šōṭēpîm*, "storm of mighty, overflowing waters" (Isa. 28:2), and figuratively *sûs šōṭēp*, "plunging horse" (Jer. 8:6), and *šōṭ šōṭēp*, "overwhelming scourge" (Isa. 28:15,18).

The Hebrew *pluralia tantum* *rēbîbîm* probably refers to "rainshowers," a "sudden shower."¹⁷ In Ps. 65:11(10), such showers refer to the early rains, since they "soften" the dried earth (*mwg polel*). Jer. 3:3 might mean something similar if this term is interpreted not as synonymous with *malqôš*,¹⁸ but rather as a substantive counterpart to the latter rains. Such rainshowers, however, also fall upon the "herbs" (*ēšēb*; Dt. 32:2; Mic. 5:6[7]), causing them to grow. It stands parallel to *māṭār* in Ps. 72:6, to the root *gšm* in Jer. 14:22, and in connection with *ṭal* in Mic. 5:6[7]). Since the hapax legomenon *šē'îrim* functions as a synonym of this term in Dt. 32:2, it probably has the same meaning,¹⁹ "rainshower for the new fresh grass" (*deše*).

Am. 7:4 should be read *lirbîb 'ēš*, "rain of fire."²⁰

Before briefly addressing the other words that occur only once, we must yet consider the term *hāzîz*. *KBL*³ renders the plural in Zec. 10:1 (Sir. 35[32]:26) as "strong (gust of) wind," and the expression *hāzîz qōlôṭ* (Job 28:26; 38:25; Sir. 40:13) as "thunderclap."²¹ Dalman²² early saw that "although one's inclination is to associate Heb. *hāzîz* with a thunderclap, it probably refers rather to a thunderhead." With this reference in mind, Georg Fohrer²³ suggests the meaning "storm cloud," which can also be accompanied by "thunder." That this word does indeed refer to such clouds bringing the anticipated latter rains emerges clearly from Zec. 10:1, though it is also suggested by the two passages from Job. Georg Sauer²⁴ aptly renders this term in Sir. 35(32):26 with "rain" and in Sir. 40:13 with "thunderstorm."

Finally, Prov. 27:15 speaks of a "continual dripping on a rainy day" (*yôm sagrîr*). The term *zarzîp*, occurring only in Ps. 72:6, is almost always interpreted not as a noun,²⁵ but rather as a verbal form (*zirzēpû* or *yarzîpû*).²⁶ The term *sāpîah* is attested only in Job 14:19 (pl. with 3rd fem. sg. suf.), where *GesB* translates it as "pouring rain" and

17. Cf. Scott, 23, also concerning etymology; Reymond, 22: Fr. *bruine*, "small drizzling rain."

18. So Scott, 23.

19. Scott, 23, n. 1; Reymond, 22: Fr. *pluie douce*, "soft rain."

20. Correctly so interpreted most recently by Wolff, 292.

21. Already so interpreted by Köhler, 173.

22. P. 215.

23. P. 392.

24. *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, III/5 (Gütersloh, 1981).

25. Thus interpreted only by *GesB*: "strong, penetrating rain."

26. H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen*. HAT, XV (1934), 136; BHK; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 74: "like showers that water the land"; similarly HAL; BHS.

*KBL*³ as “downpour.” Gustav Hölscher,²⁷ *BHK*, and Fohrer²⁸ suggest reading *s^eḥîpâ* instead, which *KBL*³ translates as “downpour” (though cf. also *BHS*). Perhaps *ʿarîpîm* in Isa. 5:30 should also be mentioned, which *KBL*³ translates as “trickle, drip.”

II. Rain as a Natural Phenomenon. The discussion has already either mentioned or alluded to the various kinds of rain, their intensity and seasonal sequence, and their meaning. At this point the OT evidence itself can be evaluated.²⁹

The enthusiastic portrayal of the land where Israel is to dwell (Dt. 11) emphasizes the characteristic differences in a comparison between the promised land with Egypt. Whereas in Egypt one must water the fields “by foot” after sowing seeds (v. 10), Palestine is “a land of hills and valleys, which drinks water by the rain from heaven” (v. 11). The decisive factor affecting the land’s yield is not human effort, but rather the rain, which is inaccessible to human control.

This high estimation of rain is also expressed by the fact that a season is named after the rain, and that various designations are used to refer to the rain associated with specific months. The “time of heavy rain” (Ezr. 10:13) is winter;³⁰ “winter” and “rain” belong together (Cant. 2:11). It was at this time, which included such rain, that all the people shivered in the open square before the temple on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which corresponds to our month of December (Ezr. 10:9).³¹ According to Dalman,³² this period of winter rains lasts from December to March.

It is noteworthy, however, that the OT emphasizes both the early³³ and latter rains much more strongly than the winter rains. Dalman³⁴ considers this an attestation to their crucial economic significance, and to the fact that on the whole the winter rains do come every year.

The early rains “water” the earth (*rwḥ* hiphil: Isa. 55:10), “soften it” (Ps. 65:11[10]), and make it fruitful (Isa. 55:10). They fall from the middle of October to the middle of November,³⁵ just as according to Jewish reckoning (Gen. 7:11) the flood began on Nov. 17, i.e., during the time of the early rains.³⁶ Zec. 14:17 gives the impression that participation in the Feast of Tabernacles in October involves an assurance of rain that must be referring at least to the early rains,³⁷ Saturation of the earth (cf. Job 38:27)

27. *Das Buch Hiob*. HAT, XVII (1952), 37.

28. P. 239.

29. Cf. the meteorological data in Noth, 28-32, 35; Scott, 12-16, 19; Hertzberg, 1569f., as well as the bibliographical information there.

30. Cf. Scott, 16; Reymond, 19-24; Hertzberg, 1568, 1571.

31. Dalman, 190.

32. *Ibid.*, 172; information concerning amounts of rain is given on pp. 173-77.

33. Cf. Reymond, 18f.; Hertzberg, 1571.

34. P. 177.

35. Dalman, 119; statistical data given on pp. 128-130.

36. *Ibid.*, 123.

37. Cf. also Lev. 26:3-5; K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. HAT, IV (1966), 365: “in all probability . . . part of the agenda of the autumnal festival.”

means soaking to a depth of 40 centimeters (16 in.).³⁸ The early rain is followed by a pause in the rains, the earth dries up somewhat, and the farmer can begin planting.³⁹

The latter rain is even more important for the land's yield.⁴⁰ It is with this rain and this rain only that the plea in Zec. 10:1 is concerned. It "refreshes, revives the earth" (Hos. 6:3 conj.; cf. Isa. 55:10), and "moistens" it (Ps. 72:6). The latter rain is expected three months before the harvest (Am. 4:7), i.e., after March/April. Jewish reckoning also dates the end of the Flood (Gen. 8:4,14) to the end of the rains and the time of drying, i.e., to the beginning of summer.⁴¹ Although the latter rain occurs primarily during April, it can also continue to fall in May. Dalman⁴² supplies information concerning levels of rain and draws attention to the fact that this latter rain is absolutely necessary for a good yield of grain crops,⁴³ as expressed by the Arabic proverb: "It is the life of human beings."⁴⁴

How the rain falls is also important, something revealed by the various nouns themselves. The term *māṭār* is largely associated with the notion of an intensive, penetrating rain such as that which falls in winter (cf. Isa. 30:23; Ps. 72:6), though this might be contradicted by the comparison in Dt. 32:2, where the verb *ʾrp* is used, which means to "drizzle, drip." If the point of comparison is the constant evenness with which such rain falls, then the verb *ʾrp* might express the most essential feature of the winter rain as a longer lasting, steady rain. This is also suggested by the plural form of *gešēm* used to refer to the winter rain in Ezr. 10:9,13. Other terms and combinations suggest that especially the early and latter rain, though also the winter rain, fall as brief downpours or showers. Thus, e.g., Prov. 16:15 can employ the image of the "clouds of the latter rains," and Ezk. 1:28 that of the rainbow after the downpour.

Human beings owe virtually everything to rain in the larger sense. Spring causes the flowers to bloom again; it is the "time of singing" (Cant. 2:12). "All green things" grow (Gen. 2:5; Dt. 32:2; 2 S. 23:4 conj.), and "the land shall yield its produce" (Lev. 26:4); rain is for the "seed" (Isa. 30:23), the "land," the "earth," the "mown grass" (Dt. 11:14,17; 1 K. 18:1; Jer. 14:4; Ps. 72:6; 147:8), or for "your land" (Dt. 28:12,24; 1 K. 8:36). The bounty of fields made fertile by the rain includes "grain, wine, and oil" (Dt. 11:14; Joel 2:24; cf. Ezk. 34:27), as well as "grass for your livestock" (Dt. 11:15), the fruit from the trees of the field (Lev. 26:4; Ezk. 34:27), and the oak or cedar. The rain is responsible for people having bread enough to eat their fill (Lev. 26:5; Isa. 55:10), and for the sower having seed again for sowing (Isa. 55:10). Dalman⁴⁵ views all this as evidence that while the seed-corn needs soft rain, the trees and cisterns need

38. Dalman, 127.

39. *Ibid.*, 157-160.

40. Cf. Reymond, 24; Hertzberg, 1571.

41. Dalman, 295f.

42. *Ibid.*, 291-94.

43. *Ibid.*, 291.

44. *Ibid.*, 299.

45. *Ibid.*, 186-88.

heavy rain, and that every kind of rain can be beneficial both for human beings and for animals.

The substance of these findings concerning rain is also expressed by various expressions and formulas. References are made to “rain in abundance” (Ps. 68:10[9]) and repeatedly to rain “in its season” (Dt. 11:14; 28:12; Jer. 5:24; Ezk. 34:26; cf. Zec. 10:1) or to the different rains “in their season” (Lev. 26:4). The proper season and adequate amounts are the essential prerequisites for speaking about “showers of blessing” (Ezk. 34:26).⁴⁶ Ps. 84:7[6] similarly asserts that the early rain covers the valley of Baca with blessings.

If the rain comes at the wrong time, however, it can bring disaster on both fields and animals.⁴⁷ Rain “at the harvest” (1 S. 12:17,18; Prov. 26:1) is such a disaster, though an even greater disaster is late rain (Jer. 3:3; Am. 4:7), and especially a total absence of rain (Dt. 11:17; 1 K. 8:35; 17:7; 2 Ch. 6:26; 7:13; Jer. 14:4; Ezk. 22:24).⁴⁸ The result is aridity (1 K. 17:7; Jer. 14:4; Ezk. 22:24; cf. also, e.g., Gen. 12:10; 45:6) and infertile fields (Dt. 11:17; Am. 4:7f.) with all the ravaging consequences for life. The image of the “rain of powder and dust” refers to such a drought in which the wind becomes clouds of dust (Dt. 28:24).⁴⁹ Thus it is quite understandable that the Israelites yearn for the rains and open their mouths for the spring rain (Job 29:23).

Of course, the opposite can also occur; too much rain or too heavy a rain can fall, bringing disruption and destruction. The rain of the flood lasted forty days and nights (Gen. 7:12). “Torrential rain” or a “downpour” (Isa. 28:2; Nah. 1:8; Hab. 3:10; Ezk. 38:22) can cause a wall to collapse after laying bare its foundations (Ezk. 13:11,13). This is the rain that can also be called a “wall torrent,” as it dashes against a wall (Isa. 25:4).⁵⁰ What is essential is that such rain “leaves no food” (Prov. 28:3) and that it sends everyone running for shelter (Isa. 4:6; 25:4; 32:2; cf. Job 24:8). Such violent, mighty storms cause streams to overflow suddenly far beyond their banks, becoming a threat both for human beings and for animals (Isa. 30:28; Jer. 47:2; Ps. 69:3,16[2,15]; 124:4f.; compare 2 K. 3:16-20 and Job 14:19).⁵¹ Finally, it should also be mentioned that merely sporadic or local rain can also constitute considerable misfortune.⁵² While one city and one field receive rain, another city and another field do not (Am. 4:7f.). In his elegy over Saul and Jonathan, David asks that there be neither dew nor rain upon the mountains of Gilboa (2 S. 1:21). Neither should the clouds rain upon the vineyard (Isa. 5:6).

The final question concerns what the OT says about the origin of rain.⁵³ A somewhat

46. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 474 (Ger. “segenspendende Regengüsse”); W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 210 (Ger. “gesegnete Regen”).

47. Cf. Dalman, 116-18.

48. Cf. *ibid.*, 195-97, 297: “winters of meager rain.”

49. *Ibid.*, 133f.

50. *Ibid.*, 188, 208.

51. See also *ibid.*, 201f., 207.

52. *Ibid.*, 131f.

53. Cf. the thorough work of Sutcliffe.

infrequent expression proceeds from the notion that rain “comes down from heaven” (Dt. 28:24; Jer. 14:22), whereby the “heavens are opened” (Dt. 28:12). The view in Job 36:27f. is a bit more complex. The drops of water are taken from the celestial reservoirs, trickle through the firmament, and collect into clouds which then finally cause the rain to fall.⁵⁴ Rain is most frequently associated with clouds (Job 26:8; Ps. 77:18[17]; 147:8; Prov. 16:15; Eccl. 12:2; Isa. 5:6). Elijah sees a small cloud rising out of the sea and knows that rain is coming (1 K. 18:44), and Qoheleth knows: “When the clouds are full, they empty rain on the earth” (Eccl. 11:3). Wind and rain, however, are also closely associated. Although there is neither wind nor rain, the valley is full of water (2 K. 3:17). The miraculous nature of this event draws attention to the fact that the wind is the harbinger of rain.⁵⁵ However, the assertion that the north wind brings rain (Prov. 25:23) fits the conditions in Egypt more than those in Palestine.⁵⁶ The complete picture unites the elements of clouds and wind with the rain (1 K. 18:45; Prov. 25:14) and adds lightning as well (Jer. 10:13 par. 51:16; Ps. 135:7).⁵⁷

This notion is not really contradicted by the assertion that rain comes from the upper celestial ocean (Gen. 1:6-8; Ps. 104:2f.; 148:4) and falls to earth through sluices (Gen. 7:11; 8:2; Isa. 24:18).

According to E. F. Sutcliffe,⁵⁸ however, two other conceptions are attested in Job 38:25 and in Jer. 10:13c par. 51:16c; Ps. 135:7b. Behind the first we allegedly find the notion that God has cleft a groove or channel for the rain, guiding it down to earth and each individual drop to its specified place; according to the other conception, both the clouds and the wind come from the celestial repositories at Yahweh’s command. It is questionable, however, whether these really constitute different conceptions.

III. Yahweh and the Rain. Job 28:26 asserts that at its origin and in its various manifestations rain follows a prescribed law (*hōq*) and a predetermined path (*derek*). The author of this “law” and “path” is none other than Yahweh. A similar notion occurs in Job 38:25: Yahweh has “cut a channel for the torrents of rain.” Yahweh is always the subject of rain events. He is the only “bringer of rain” (Jer. 14:22); heaven cannot give rain of its own accord. Rain has no father (Job 38:28). The order human beings discern is thus a divine order, “Yahweh’s order” (Isa. 8:7). “The Yahweh faith knows of no natural laws.”⁵⁹

All these statements reveal that it is Yahweh who through his abundant rain during the proper seasons renders a good life possible for his chosen people in the promised land (cf. esp. Dt. 11). Ps. 68:10(9) emphasizes this in a unique fashion: God sheds rain

54. Fohrer, 481.

55. Dalman, 103f., 154.

56. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos*. HAT, XVI (21963), 92; H. Ringgren, *Sprüche*. ATD, XVI/1 (31980), 101; a different view is taken by van der Ploeg, 189f., who interprets *šāpôn* as an “unknown place.”

57. Dalman, 304f.

58. P. 103.

59. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*. HAT, XII (31968), 102.

in abundance, thereby restoring the land of his heritage. Such rain is a “dispensation of divine generosity,”⁶⁰ since rain is “never directly related to ‘compassion’ or ‘grace,’ ”⁶¹ even when Yahweh causes the water for watering the fields to flow out of the “river of God” (*peleg ʿlōhîm*) (Ps. 65:10f.[9f.]).

A different notion is expressed by assertions that Yahweh or his “glory” offers “shelter from the storm and rain” (Isa. 4:6; 25:4; cf. Isa. 32:2). Despite the directness of this statement, recalling the protective function of the Jerusalem sanctuary,⁶² this seems to be metaphorical usage (cf. also Nah. 1:8; Ps. 32:6; 69:3,16[2,15]; 124:4, where Yahweh provides deliverance from a torrential flood).

The distinction between object and metaphor is also fluid in those passages that speak of rain and other meteorological phenomena as Yahweh’s “strength” (Job 37:6), as his weapons against Israel’s enemies, against the wicked in Israel, or against the disobedient people itself. As early a text as Ex. 9:18,23 (J) mentions as the seventh plague a “very heavy rain of hail” upon Egypt, to which Ps. 105:32 then alludes. Ps. 77:18[17] uses various images to describe Yahweh’s miraculous deeds during the Exodus, including the observation that “the clouds poured out water.” From this perspective it is understandable that Isa. 30:30 portrays Yahweh’s anticipated help for Israel in the form of a “cloudburst and tempest and hailstones” upon its enemies. Yahweh causes “coals of fire and brimstone” to rain down upon the wicked (Ps. 11:6), recalling Gen. 19:24 (J) (cf. also Job 20:23). Similar threats are directed toward “those who smear whitewash” (Ezk. 13:11-13).

Walther Zimmerli⁶³ correctly sensed that older forms of speech belonging to the context of the wars of Yahweh resonate in these passages. At the battle of Gibeon Yahweh threw down “huge stones from heaven” (Josh. 10:11), and in the Song of Deborah the actual battle is described with reference to the warring of the stars from heaven⁶⁴ and to the overflowing Kishon (Jgs. 5:20f.).

These figures of speech are picked up again with references in Isa. 28:2,17; Ezk. 38:22 to the storm of mighty, torrential waters, in Isa. 29:6 to thunder, quaking, tremendous noise, tempests, whirlwinds, and flames of fire, and in Ezk. 13:11, 13 to a deluge of rain, storm wind, and hailstones (cf. Jer. 23:19), though now directed against Israel itself. Thus does “Yahweh destroy the work of his enemies.”⁶⁵

Yet another perspective involves the incorporation of rain phenomena into theophany portrayals.⁶⁶ The appearance of Yahweh in the Song of Deborah includes the dripping of water from the heavens and clouds (Jgs. 5:4). Ps. 68:9(8) contains a similar reference to the heavens pouring down rain, and Hab. 3:10 associates Yahweh’s appearance with a cloudburst and the rumbling of the *tʿhôm*. In a reverse fashion, Am. 1:2 mentions the

60. Dalman, *304.

61. *Idem*.

62. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 171f.

63. *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 295f.

64. Cf. KTU, 1.3 II, 41, IV, 34.

65. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 295.

66. Cf. Dalman, 216-18; Reymond, 20f.

withering of the top of Carmel as one of the phenomena accompanying Yahweh's theophany. This "tumult of nature"⁶⁷ manifests itself in downpours or rainlessness. As Jörg Jeremias has persuasively demonstrated with regard to Jgs. 5, such theophany portrayals originally belonged to the thematic material associated with the wars of Yahweh,⁶⁸ and were developed out of this material.⁶⁹ This suggests that we should not really draw any distinctions in principle between the rain motif in the context of the wars of Yahweh and that in theophany portrayals.

The entire people of Israel is affected when Yahweh withholds rain because of disobedience (Dt. 11:16f.; 1 K. 8:35; 2 Ch. 6:26; Jer. 3:3; 5:24; Ezk. 22:24), which means that such absence of rain can also become the occasion of repentance for Israel (Jer. 5:24; Am. 4:7), or that each time Israel confesses its guilt before Yahweh the rains return (1 K. 8:35f.; 2 Ch. 6:26; 7:13; similarly also Ex. 9:33f.). This includes the notion that one can and should entreat Yahweh for rain. Both Samuel (1 S. 12:17f.) and Elijah (1 K. 18:42) did this successfully, and Zec. 10:1 (cf. the counterpart Zec. 14:17) also issues this exhortation. Hosea shows, however, that this can result in a false sense of security for Israel; he polemicizes against what is apparently an older priestly penitential song (Hos. 6:1-3) which presupposes that Yahweh can be found as soon as one looks for him, and that he will come to Israel as surely as the rain comes. Our attention is drawn to the cultic provenance of this rain motif by the fact that Solomon's temple dedication prayer (1 K. 8; 2 Ch. 6), the text of Zec. 14, and that of Hos. 6 all belong to the temple cult, and that the prayers of Samuel and Elijah constitute cultic or at least cultic-like actions.

Gerhard von Rad correctly emphasizes⁷⁰ that "cultic curse formulas" resonate in Dt. 11, formulas "in which it is traditional for the withholding of rain to play a great part (Deut. 28:12,24; Lev. 26:4)." In this context it is appropriate to refer again to Ezk. 34:26; Ps. 84:7(6),⁷¹ which explicitly associate the gift of rain with the catchword "blessing." This shows that rain also belongs to the context of blessing and curse. Finally, we note the several references to Yahweh's wrath or anger (Dt. 11:17; Job 20:23; Ezk. 13:13; 22:24). Just as the gift of rain reflects Yahweh's love, so also does the absence of rain reflect divine anger. Yahweh's love toward his people also colors those passages which speak of the rain of bread (Ex. 16:4), manna (Ps. 78:24), and flesh (Ps. 78:27) during the period of wilderness wanderings.

It is also of significance that a whole series of statements about Yahweh as the lord of rain is either hymnically formed or appears in hymns themselves. This hymnic style is characterized by participial constructions in the statements functioning as predicates to Yahweh: "who gives rain . . . and sends waters" (Job 5:10); "who gives the 'early rain'" (Jer. 5:24). Similar statements occurring in hymns from the psalter include: "rain in abundance thou didst shed abroad" (Ps. 68:10[9]); "the clouds poured out water"

67. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie*. WMANT, 10 (1977), 15 and *passim*.

68. *Ibid.*, 142, 144.

69. *Ibid.*, 145-150.

70. *Deuteronomy*. OTL (Eng. trans. 1966), 85.

71. See II above.

(Ps. 77:18[17]); “the early rain covers it with blessing” (Ps. 84:7[6]); “he who makes the clouds rise . . . who makes lightnings for the rain” (Ps. 135:7); “he covers the heavens with clouds, he prepares rain for the earth” (Ps. 147:8); “rejoice in Yahweh . . . for he has given the early rain . . . he has poured down for you abundant rain” (Joel 2:23). Similar statements are made in the Thanksgiving Psalm 65:11(10) and the Historical Psalm 105:32. All these hymnic statements might be summarized by Jer. 14:22: “For it is you who do all this.” Such power over the rain is a sign of Yahweh’s power as creator, and the gift of rain an expression of his glory as creator.

IV. Yahweh/Ba’al and the Rain. The observation that the thematic “Yahweh and the rain” occurs in various contexts — Yahweh-war/theophany, cult, praise of the creator — needs some illumination. The OT contains several indications that Israel did not always subscribe unequivocally to the assertion “Yahweh provides rain”; rather, other gods fulfilled this function. The fact that in retrospect of the exile Israel never associated rain and the fear of Yahweh (Jer. 5:24)⁷² can be interpreted in two ways. Either it understood rain as a natural phenomenon — which, as we have seen, was not the case — or the rain was derived from the “false gods of the nations” (Jer. 14:22). The reference to “harlotry” in Jer. 3:3 suggests this latter possibility. The postexilic text Zec. 10:1f. also speaks of teraphim and diviners who impart lies and deception to Israel. The reality behind Hos. 6:1-3 is more clearly discernible. When v. 3 refers to seeking and finding Yahweh, which would mean both God’s advent and rain for Israel, “mythical motifs” of “seeking the absent or sleeping God” resonate,⁷³ motifs obviously associated with rain. Such statements are made unequivocally in 1 K. 18:27, where Elijah says in a mocking tone that Ba’al is either “musing, or he has gone aside, or he is on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened.” It should be noted that the context here involves the question of the absence or presence of rain, Yahweh or Ba’al.

Although this makes it likely that the alternative Yahweh or Ba’al also constitutes the background of the other passages, Hos. 2 confirms this. Israel is persuaded that it must “go after its lovers,” who give it bread and water, wool and flax, oil and drink (v. 7[5]), for it has not realized that it is Yahweh who gives it grain, wine, and oil (v. 10[8]). That these “lovers” mentioned in v. 7(5) are none other than Ba’al emerges from v. 10(8), where we find that the silver and gold Yahweh lavished upon the people was used to make an image of Ba’al. And since these gifts enumerated here are typically those provided by the rain,⁷⁴ the question becomes: Who provides that rain, Yahweh or Ba’al?

This interpretation is entirely confirmed and amplified by the texts from Ugarit. Rain is unequivocally associated with Ba’al. “Ba’al’s rain [is] for the earth, and the rain of the sublime for the field” (*l’rṣ mṭr b’l wlšd mṭr ‘ly*),⁷⁵ repeated in ll. 7f.: “Ba’al’s

72. Rudolph, 41.

73. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 119.

74. See II above.

75. *KTU*, 1.16 III, 5f.

rain is bliss for the earth, and the rain of the sublime for the field.” Rain is the most wonderful of Baʿal’s gifts, for it provides human beings with bread, wine, and oil: “Those plowing lift their heads, the grain farmers their heads high: the bread is consumed . . . the wine . . . the oil.”⁷⁶ Another text reveals that Baʿal is indeed the lord of the rain: El has become old; his spouse therefore decrees: “From now on let Baʿal set the time of his rain (*wnʿp ʿdn mṭrh bʿl yʿdn*), the time of becoming rigid as ice [?], the resounding of his voice from the clouds, the hurling of lightning to the earth.”⁷⁷ Baʿal determines the times of the rains, of winter, of thunder, and of thunderstorms. The fact that a rainless summer follows upon the winter rain is explained by the assertion that Baʿal has gone to the world of the dead and taken along his clouds, his winds, his team of horses, and his rain (*ʿrptk rhk mdlk mṭrk*).⁷⁸ The cry of anguish at the beginning of the dry season refers to this occurrence: “Aliyan Baʿal is dead! The Prince, the Lord of the Earth is perished!”⁷⁹ El himself joins in the dirge: “Baʿal is dead! What becomes of the people? Dagon’s Son! What of the masses! After Baʿal I’ll descend into earth!”⁸⁰ “The primary cause of this anxiety is . . . the fear of famine.”⁸¹

The counterpart to this scene is the one in which the joy prompted by the first autumnal rains finds eloquent expression. ʿAnat relates a dream to El in which she realizes: “Alive is Aliyan Baʿal! Existent the Prince, the Lord of the Earth!”⁸² for “the heavens fat did rain (*šmm šmn tmṭrn*),⁸³ the wadis flow with honey!”⁸⁴ El himself picks up this good news and spreads it further: “the springs of the fields babble . . . a god has made them flow: the lord of the springs of the land.”⁸⁵

However, just as the gift of rain comes from Baʿal, so also the absence of rain. Danel’s lament relates that “seven years shall Baʿal fail, eight the Rider of the Clouds; no dew (*ṭl*), no rain (*rbb*), no welling-up of the deep, no sweetness of Baʿal’s voice!”⁸⁶ That Danel is addressing the clouds apparently results from the close relationship between Baʿal and the clouds, which are his vehicle: “O clouds! Bring rain. . . ! O clouds! Cause . . . rain to fall!” (*yr ʿrpt tmṭr*).⁸⁷

Yet another scene shows that rain is a gift from Baʿal. After the goddess ʿAnat has befouled herself in a bloodbath, she bathes in “sky-dew (*ṭl*), fatness of earth (*šmn ʿrṣ*), spray (*rbb*) of the Rider of the Clouds; dew that the heavens do shed, spray (*rbb*) that is shed by the stars.”⁸⁸ Everything the heavens yield in the way of moisture is Baʿal’s

76. *KTU*, 1.16 III, 12-16.

77. *KTU*, 1.4 V, 6-9.

78. *KTU*, 1.5 V, 7f.; *ANET*, 139.

79. *KTU*, 1.5 VI, 9f.; *ANET*, 139.

80. *KTU*, 1.5 VI, 23-25; *ANET*, 139.

81. Hillmann, 3.

82. *KTU*, 1.6 III, 2f.; *ANET*, 140.

83. Cf. Zobel, 210-12.

84. *KTU*, 1.6 III, 6f., 12f.; *ANET*, 140.

85. *KTU*, 1.6 III, 25-27, 36-38.

86. *KTU*, 1.19 I, 42-46; *ANET*, 153.

87. *KTU*, 1.19, I, 39-41; cf. *ANET*, 153.

88. *KTU*, 1.3 II, 39-41; *ANET*, 136; similarly also *KTU*, 1.3 IV, 33f.; cf. here Jgs. 5:20.

benefaction: dew, rain, drizzle. All this makes the earth fruitful and causes the streams to bubble. When one hears the thunder, the rushing of rain, and the bubbling of springs, a great relief comes over both the gods and the human beings of Ugarit, since they can now face the immediate future with joy and confidence. Ba'al will again bequeath grain, wine, and oil. His aids include *Rb*, the "goddess of the drizzling rain," mother of *Tly*, the "dew goddess," who is one of Ba'al's daughters.⁸⁹

As far as our original question is concerned, we can see unequivocally that Yahweh became associated with life-giving rain only after the fact. That is, Ba'al's sphere was gradually attributed to Yahweh, who took over his function and was thereafter the only "giver of rain" for Israel. However, since the notion of God as creator also only became known to Israel during the course of its history, and only then was actually attributed to Yahweh, there is nothing unique about the present case either. In the meantime, rain seems to have been a part of theophany and of Yahweh-war from the very beginning, where it expresses Yahweh's sovereign power and strength as experienced by his people from the beginning of its history. Precisely because during the course of the exodus events and in his salvific intervention for his people both during and after the land conquest Yahweh always emerged as the more powerful, stronger God, the one superior to all others, this derivation of life-giving rain from Yahweh, who was now also venerated as the creator God, was a natural, necessary consequence.

V. Rain in Metaphors and Comparisons. The comparisons and imagery drawn from the notion of rain are as varied as the statements about rain itself.

1. *Secular References.* Extensive comparisons constructed with *kē* occur in reference to Job and to the figure of the king. Job draws on images of the expectant anticipation of rain to describe the respect he enjoyed among his contemporaries and the high expectations they had of him: "They waited for me as for the rain; they opened their mouths as for the spring rain" (Job 29:23). And David's last words (2 S. 23:4) describe the king as the one who shines "like the sun shining forth upon a cloudless morning, like rain that makes grass to sprout from the earth" (cf. *BHS*). The goodwill and favorable predisposition of the king mean life-giving benefaction. The comparison in Ps. 72:6 draws similar images: the king is "like rain that falls on the mown grass, like showers that water the earth" (cf. *BHS*). When the king advances the welfare of his kingdom, he is like rain that fructifies the earth (cf. Hos. 6:3, referring to Yahweh). The comparison in Isa. 32:2 describes the protection afforded subjects by a just association of king and prince as "refuge from storm and downpour."

Considering the extraordinary significance rain has for human life, it is not surprising that Wisdom Literature attests a large number of comparisons and metaphorical expressions referring to rain. First it should be briefly noted that Eccl. 11:3; Prov. 25:23 contain what amounts to popular weather rules based on an extensive experience. But now to the Wisdom material itself. The favor of the king is compared with "clouds

89. *KTU*, 1.4 I, 17; IV, 56 and *passim*.

that bring the spring rain" (Prov. 16:15). The "didactic opening summons" in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:2)⁹⁰ employs the typical language of wisdom sayings to compare the activity and positive effects of "teaching" and "speech" with the falling rain, the dripping dew, and the freshening of the tender grass and herbs by gentle rainshowers. Steady, continuing, uninterrupted instruction has a beneficial effect on the life of the listener and pupil. The metaphorical use of *yrh* and *rwh* in Prov. 11:25 is the final positively intended formulation: the person who blesses, is blessed; the person who refreshes, is refreshed; goodness is requited.

Other passages use cause and effect as points of comparison. "The north wind produces rain; and a backbiting tongue, angry looks" (Prov. 25:23); "like clouds and wind without rain is one who boasts of a gift never given" (v. 14).

The other comparisons and metaphors refer to those aspects of rain that are less pleasant for human beings. Prov. 27:15 compares a contentious woman with a leaky roof that drips on a rainy day.⁹¹ Prov. 28:3 compares a poor man who oppresses those of lesser station with a beating rain that leaves no food because its waters run off too quickly. The wild impetuosity of human passion is the point of comparison in Jer. 8:6. A fool and honor are as compatible as rain and harvest (Prov. 26:1). Cant. 8:7 finds that love is stronger than mighty waters and overflowing rivers. And the description of the miserable lot of the inhabitants of the steppe, who are wet with rain from the mountains because they have no shelter (Job 24:8), probably also derives from didactic wisdom.⁹²

2. *Religious References to Salvation and Judgment.* This imagery occurs more frequently in theological contexts. The image of Yahweh or of his → כְּבוֹד *kāḥôd* as a refuge from downpours and a shelter from storms (Isa. 4:6; 25:4) is a reference to the protection which his oppressed postexilic community finds in God against dangerous, life-threatening powers.⁹³ The other image, one occurring several times both in the Psalter and in exilic-postexilic prophets, is that of the protection of the individual or community against the life-threatening danger of being washed away and dying in torrents of water. A plea to Yahweh for succor in such disaster appears in Ps. 32:6; 69:3,16(2,15), and thanksgiving for deliverance from such danger in Ps. 124:4f. (cf. Ps. 40:3[2]; 88:7f.[6f.]; Lam. 3:53; Jon. 2:6[5]). Nah. 1:8 is formulated as a confession: Yahweh provides deliverance from an overflowing flood; Isa. 43:2 seeks to console: "When you pass through the waters . . . they shall not overwhelm you." The expressiveness of the imagery of torrential rain and flooding water is so strong,⁹⁴ and their symbolism so extensive, that every danger and threat to the community and to the individual can be rendered and expressed, be it external affliction or inner temptation.

Only a few passages use the positive aspect of rain, that aspect so decisively

90. Von Rad, 196.

91. Dalman, 189.

92. Cf. Fohrer, 370.

93. Wildberger, 172f.

94. Cf. Dalman, 210f.

determinative for growth, as a metaphor or comparison involving Yahweh's salvific acts or presence. Isa. 55:10f. compares the efficacy and power of Yahweh's word with the rain that waters the earth. Yahweh's salvific deeds in Israel's history are summarized in the image of the abundant rain Yahweh sheds (Ps. 68:10[9]). He extends prosperity to his community like a flowing river (Isa. 66:12), in overflowing abundance. Whereas in its own self-deception Israel believed that one need only come to Yahweh and he, too, would come like rain watering the earth (Hos. 6:3), Hos. 10:12 assures the Israelites that Yahweh will come and rain salvation upon them only when they themselves sow righteousness.

The imagery of rain and storm is most strongly associated with the theme of judgment. This may have resulted from the fact that the substance of this imagery was always quite naturally incorporated into the theophany portrayals and the motif of the wars of Yahweh, and that the life-giving effects of rain were originally associated with Ba'al. Various points of focus can be discerned. Yahweh caused fire and brimstone to rain down upon Sodom (and Gomorrah) (Gen. 19:24 J). The annihilation was total. The same imagery is reflected in the rain of fire in Am. 7:4⁹⁵ as well as in Job 20:23; Ps. 11:6, where the wicked are met by a ravaging rain.

Other imagery employs elements of an exaggerated portrayal of thunderstorms or other destructive weather to express the unlimited might and irresistible power of Yahweh or of his emissary and his judgment. The oracle of doom concerning Ephraim is introduced by the announcement that Yahweh will send "one who is mighty and strong," something then elaborated in two similes: "like a storm of hail, a destroying tempest, like a storm of mighty, overflowing waters." The result is: "He will hurl them down to the earth [with violence]" (Isa. 28:2). This tripartite imagery occurs again in the announcement of judgment against "those who smear whitewash," the false prophets: a "deluge of rain," "hailstones," and "a stormy wind" will come upon them (Ezk. 13:11,13).

A third metaphor, perhaps drawing on the flood imagery, renders independent the element "deluge of rain," recasting it as an "inundation" and "overflowing" of the entire land by the waters of the Euphrates (Isa. 8:8; cf. the inauthentic verse Isa. 10:22) or by waters from the north (Jer. 47:2). The Jerusalemites will be crushed by a "torrential scourge" (Isa. 28:15,17f.). Yahweh's breath, however, will reach up to the neck of Israel's enemies "like an overflowing stream" (Isa. 30:28). Finally, the theme of rainlessness also belongs to the language of judgment (cf. Isa. 5:6; Ezk. 22:24). "Rain is blessing . . . and not to be rained upon is not to be blessed."⁹⁶

Thus the promise is made that postexilic Israel will be "surrounded by many peoples . . . like dew from Yahweh, like showers on the grass," a gift from Yahweh bringing blessings to the nations (Mic. 5:6[7]).

3. *Apocalyptic Usage.* Ps. 90:5 describes the end of human life with the image of being swept away, and Job 14:19 describes the way Yahweh destroys human hopes

95. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 298.

96. J. Herrmann, *Ezechiel*. KAT, XI, (1924), cited by Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I*, 468.

with the image of the cloudburst that washes away the soil of the earth. This imagery of the torrential flood seems to have been especially favored in apocalyptic writing because it effectively expresses the sudden, absolute end of the oppressor (Dnl. 9:26; 11:10,22,26,40).

Two passages show how the various metaphorical elements can be combined together or even accumulated: Ps. 105:32 mentions both "rain of hail" and "flaming fire," and Ezk. 38:22, "pestilence and bloodshed," "torrential rains and hailstones," and "fire and brimstone." This, too, seems to be a style closely related to that of apocalyptic writing.⁹⁷

Zobel

97. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 313.

מים mayim

Contents: I. 1. Meaning; 2. Etymology; 3. Word Field; 4. Place Names; 5. LXX; 6. Ancient Near East. II. Secular Usage: 1. Natural Element; 2. Natural Properties; 3. Israelite Cosmology; 4. Sustenance; 5. Cleansing; 6. Food Preparation; 7. Metaphorical Usage. III. Religious Usage: 1. The Mythological Power of Chaos; 2. The Sanctity of Water; 3. Ritual Usage; 4. Legal Usage; 5. Religious Symbolism. IV. 1. Qumran; 2. The Mandeans.

mayim. T. Canaan, "Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine," *JPOS*, 1 (1920), 153-170; *idem*, "Water and 'the Water of Life' in Palestinian Superstition," *JPOS*, 9 (1929), 57-69; U. Cassuto, "Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts," *IEJ*, 12 (1962), 77-86; A. Causse, "Le jardin d'Elohim et la source de vie," *RHR*, 81 (1920), 289-315; B. S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the OT*. *SBT*, 27 (1960); F. M. Cross, Jr., *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); *idem* and D. N. Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving — II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," *JBL*, 72 (1953), 15-34; N. A. Dahl, "The Origin of Baptism," *Interpretationes ad VT Pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel*. *NTT*, 56 (1955), 36-52; M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York, 1966); O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer*. *BRA*, 1 (1932); *idem*, "Gott und das Meer in der Bibel," *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario* (Copenhagen, 1953), 76-84 = *KISchr*, III (1966), 256-264; I. Engnell, "'Planted by the Streams of Water,'" *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario*, 85-96; L. R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the OT," *VT*, 15 (1965), 313-324; H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948); *idem*, *et al.*, *Before Philosophy* (Harmondsworth, 1949); B. Gemser, "Be'ēber hayyardēn: In Jordan's Borderland," *VT*, 2 (1952), 348-355; J. C. L. Gibson, ed., *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1978); N. Glueck, *The River Jordan* (Philadelphia, 1946); L. Goppelt, "ὕδωρ," *TDNT*, VIII, 314-333; C. H. Gordon, "Leviathan: Symbol of Evil," *STLI*, 3 (1966), 1-9 = in A. Altmann, ed., *Biblical Motifs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 1-9; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*. *SVT*, 5 (1965); H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895, ²1921); R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg: Kosmische Verbindungslinien zwischen dem kanaanäischen Wettergott und Jahwe* (diss., Halle, 1965); J. J.

I. 1. *Meaning.* The Hebrew subst. *mayim* derives from a biliteral base מַי¹ or מֵי². The word is widely attested in the Hamito-Semitic languages,³ and its Hebrew form should be taken as a *pluralia tantum* instead of as (an apparent) dual.⁴ It occurs more than 500 times in the OT to describe "water" in a wide range of cosmic, ritual, and secular contexts. The distribution of these occurrences is unremarkable, although it occurs most frequently in the Pentateuch (more than 200 occurrences), with particular concentration in Gen. 7–9 (the Flood Narrative); Ex. 14f. (deliverance at the Reed Sea); Lev. 11 (regulations concerning clean and unclean animals); Nu. 19 (rites for the water of purification); and Nu. 20f. (desert wanderings from Meribah to Transjordan). The Deuteronomistic history attests *ca.* 100 occurrences, with particular concentration in Jgs. 7 (Gideon's water test at 'ēn ḥ^arōd) and 1 K. 13, 18; next in frequency are the Psalms (53 occurrences), Ezekiel (46, with 13 of those in Ezk. 47 [the temple stream]), Proto-Isaiah (33; 18 times in Deutero-Isaiah, 5 in Trito-Isaiah), Jeremiah (29), and Job (25).

2. *Etymology.* The base occurs in Aramaic and Syriac as *mayyā'*, *mayyin*,⁵ and in Ugaritic as *my*, pl. *mym*.⁶ Akkadian attests *mû*,⁷ as well as the poetical usage in

Jackson, "The Deep," *IDB*, I, 813f.; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit, und Israel*. *BZAW*, 78 (1962); A. S. Kapelrud, "King and Fertility: A Discussion of 2 Sam. 21:1-14," *Festschrift S. Mowinckel*, 113-122; R. Kratz, *Rettungswunder*. *EH*, 23/123 (1979); W. G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," *JTS*, N.S. 16 (1965), 287-300; R. Luyster, "Wind and Water: Cosmogonic Symbolism in the OT," *ZAW*, 93 (1981), 1-10; H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of MAYIM RABBÎM, 'Many Waters,'" *JBL*, 74 (1955), 9-21; M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung der Wasser in Kult und Leben der Alten* (1921, repr. Darmstadt, 1967); S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer*. *CB*, 9 (Ger. trans. 1977); M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*. *SVT*, 2 (1955); R. Press, "Das Ordal im alten Israel," *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 121-140, 227-255; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT*. *SVT*, 6 (1958); *idem*, "Un tesson par 'ramasser' de l'eau à la mare (Esaie xxx, 14)," *VT*, 7 (1957), 203-7; J. M. Sasson, "Nu 5 and the 'Waters of Judgement,'" *BZ*, N.S. 16 (1972), 249-251; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel*. *BZAW*, 80 (1966); R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW*, 64 (1952), 11-25; E. A. Speiser, "Ed in the Story of Creation," *BASOR*, 140 (1955), 9-11; E. F. Sutcliffe, "The Clouds as Water-Carriers in Hebrew Thought," *VT*, 3 (1953), 99-103; H. Torczyner, "The Firmament and the Clouds: Rāqî' and Sheḥāqîm," *StTh*, 1 (1948), 188-196; B. Vawter, "A Note on 'The Waters Beneath the Earth,'" *CBQ*, 22 (1960), 71-73; M. K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden, 1973); A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*. *VAWA*, N.S. 19/2 (1918; repr. 1968); R. A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Leiden, 1981); H. Zimmern, "Lebensbrot und Lebenswasser im Babylonischen und in der Bibel," *ARW*, 2 (1899), 165-177; E. Zolli, "'Eyn 'adām (Zach. ix 1)," *VT*, 5 (1955), 90-92; → מַבּוּל *mabbûl* (VIII, 60-65).

1. Joüon, §98e.

2. VG, I, §85.

3. Cf. P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico," *AANLR*, N.S. 20 (1965), 140, 146, 150; G. Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans., Winona Lake, 1983), 214f.; *KBL*², 546.

4. Following Joüon, §§90f., 91f.; contra *BLe*, §78q, and *GK*, §88d.

5. *LexSyr*, 383; "aqua; semen virile."

6. *WUS*, no. 1559; *UT*, no. 1469; 21 occurrences in Ugaritic according to Whitaker, 417.

7. *AHw*, II (1972), 664; *CAD*, X/2, 149-156; *GaG*, §61h.

Middle/Neo-Babylonian of *mām/wū*.⁸ The word *mē/ima*, “water,” occurs in the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letters.⁹ The Paleo-Aramaic pl. const. *my* occurs in Sefire¹⁰ in connection with *bîr*, “well water.” The Siloam inscription (ca. 700 B.C.) mentions the flow of water (*hmym*) evidencing the successful breakthrough in the tunnel construction.¹¹ Finally, the base also occurs in Official Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic, Nabatean, and Palmyrene. The emphatic *my*’ also occurs in the Gnostic Aramaic letter “WAW.”¹² Mandaic reads *mai* and *mia*.¹³ South Semitic also widely attests the base: OSA *mū* (Minean *mh*);¹⁴ Arab. *mā*’, “water; liquid, fluid; juice”;¹⁵ Ethiop., Tigr. *māy*.¹⁶ Similarly, the base occurs in Egyptian only as *pluralia tantum mw (myw)*, “water,”¹⁷ *mwy*, “urine, semen,” metaphorically for “son”; *mwyt*, “moisture.”¹⁸

Fabry

3. *Word Field*. The element water is found in a wide range of natural sources, comprising the sea,¹⁹ rivers,²⁰ wadis or seasonal stream-beds,²¹ springs,²² and wells.²³ The source of all these types of water in a more cosmic setting is the primordial ocean.²⁴

The primary reference of *mayim* is to the colorless, usually tasteless liquid which occurs as a natural substance in these varied sources. It means “liquid” in the broader sense, and can appear as a euphemism for “urine” (cf. Ezk. 7:17; 21:12[Eng. v. 7], and *mēmê rēgālîm* in 2 K. 18:27 par. Isa. 36:12 *Q*); in Isa. 48:1, it is used (as in Syriac and Egyptian) in reference to *semen virile*,²⁵ although the reading probably follows 1QIs^a, namely, *ûmimmê*, “loins,” instead of *ûmimmê* (cf. *BHS*).

Water was considered basic to the sustenance of life in Israel, and as such it soon acquired a strong cosmic importance in Israelite cosmology. Its presence in the

8. *AHW*, II, 601a; *CAD*, X/1, 202b.

9. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*. VAB, 2/2 (1915, ²1964), 1547, and EA 148, 12, 31; 155, 10.

10. *KAI*, 222B, 33, 34.

11. *Ibid.*, 189, 5.

12. Published by A. Dupont-Sommer; *DISO*, 149.

13. *MdD*, 242, 265.

14. ContiRossini, 175.

15. Wehr (⁴1979), 1094.

16. *TigrWb*, 138.

17. *WbÄS*, II, 50ff.

18. *Ibid.*, II, 53.

19. → יָם *yām* (VI, 87-98).

20. → נָהָר *nāhār*.

21. → נַחַל *naḥal*.

22. → עֵין *‘ayin*.

23. → בָּאֵר *b‘ēr* (I, 463-66).

24. → תְּהוֹם *t’hôm*; Akk. *ti‘āmtum* (*tāmtu*); Ugar. *thm*.

25. Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, “Notes on the Manual of Discipline (DSD) I 18, II 9, III 1-4, 9, VII 10-12, and XI 21-22,” *VT*, 3 (1953), 201, and the additional occurrences adduced there from rabbinic writings and the Koran.

primordial ocean (*t^ehôm*) thence took on a mythological aspect, giving it the force of a primal power and investing it with the attributes of will and intelligence.²⁶

4. *Place Names*. The presence of water near a locale led to the identification of such sites through their water supply: sites near a well, e.g., *b^eēr šeba*; sites at a river, e.g., *ʿaram nah^arayim*; sites near springs, e.g., *ʿên h^arôd*, *ʿên rōgēl*, *ʿên dōʿr*, *ʿên šemeš*; sites generally near water, e.g., *mê dîmôn* (Isa. 15:9), *mê y^erîhō* (Josh. 16:1), *mê m^egiddō* (Jgs. 5:19), *mê m^erîbâ* (Nu. 20:13), *mê nimrîm* (Isa. 15:6), *mê neptôah* (Josh. 15:9), *mê zāhāb*, (Gen. 36:39),²⁷ and *mê hayyarqôn* (Josh. 19:46). The “city of waters” (*ʿîr hammayim*, 2 S. 12:26f.) refers to the lower city of Rabbath-Ammon.

5. *LXX*. The LXX almost always translates *mayim* with *hýdōr*;²⁸ Hebrew word combinations are rendered by *hydrophóros*, *hydragōgós*, *hygrasía*, *hydropoteín*, and *ánydros*. Occasionally the LXX will respond to the context and translate *pótos*, “drink,” *pēgē*, “spring,” *hyetós*, “rain,” and *ouíron*, “urine.” In Nu. 24:7, it reads *goyim* (*éthnos*), and in Ps. 73:10 *yôm* (*hēméra*).

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6. *Ancient Near East*.

a. *Mesopotamia*. In Mesopotamia water acquires a significance that can hardly be surveyed; contexts include daily life in connection with cleansing and food preparation,²⁹ in divination and conjuring,³⁰ and in medicine.³¹ Since water was long regarded as a power, deification came more easily. Enki is the god of the waters of the deep, which emerge in springs and fructify the earth. Water monsters³² also play a part in the Mesopotamian worldview, and are associated particularly with the name Tiamat. Mesopotamian cosmogony also attributed enormous significance to water. The gods were thought to have arisen from a mixture of the primordial waters Apsû and Tiamat (sweet and salt water).³³ This notion of the bisexual primordial water probably has its origin in Eridu in the south with its acquaintance with the mixture of sweet and salt water in the Delta. The counterpart to this conception is that from Nippur, according to which there was only one primal goddess, Nammu, the mother of Enki and Engur (Apsû).³⁴

b. *Egypt*. Washing with water and natron was given priority within the framework of purification rites in Egypt; sacrificial priests, vessels, and sacrifices were additionally

26. Cf. Gunkel, 103f.; Eissfeldt, *KISchr*, III, 256ff.

27. *HAL*, II (1995), 577.

28. Cf. Goppelt, 314ff.

29. Cf. *BuA*, I, 412ff.

30. *Ibid.*, II, 207ff.

31. *Ibid.*, II, 309.

32. → לִיַּיְתָן *liwyātān* (VII, 504-9).

33. *EnEl*, I, 1-10; *ANET*, 60-61.

34. Cf. W. G. Lambert, “Kosmogonie,” *RLA*, VI (1983), 220f.

flow of the stream of Shiloah, especially compared with the abundant waters of the Tigris (Isa. 8:6). 2 Ch. 32:3f. mentions that Hezekiah endeavored to block off the flow of water from springs outside Jerusalem in order to prevent their use by the Assyrians. Isa. 22:9 refers to the waters of the "lower pool" at the lower end of the Kidron valley. The "Water Gate" (*ša'ar hammayim*) is mentioned in Neh. 3:26; 8:1,3,16; 12:37.

There is a reference to waters in a visionary stream in Dnl. 12:6f., and unnamed streams are referred to in Job 12:15; Ps. 42:2(1). Jer. 18:14 contrasts the permanent flow of water in the mountain rivers with the more seasonal and limited supply in the wadis (*nahal*), which flowed with water only in the rainy season. These water-filled gullies could also suddenly turn into rushing torrents during the rainy season (Jgs. 5:4; 2 S. 21:10; 2 K. 3:20; Joel 4:18[3:18]) and so acquired significance in military tactics (Jgs. 5:19; 2 S. 17:20) when they became difficult, or impossible, to ford. Water then appeared as a threatening element not only in the seas, where storms could make it dangerous, but even in much smaller lakes and streams (cf. Ps. 66:12; Isa. 43:2; Hab. 3:10).

The presence of springs⁶¹ in arid regions (cf. Gen. 24:13; Isa. 49:10) contributed to the emergence of particular religious traditions associated with such springs (cf. the waters of Merom, Josh. 11:5,7; *'ên šemeš*, 15:7; the waters of Nephtoah, 15:9; 18:15; and *mê hayyarqôn*, 19:46). According to Josh. 15:19, the daughter of Caleb asked for a portion of land with springs of water (*gullōt*). 2 S. 12:27 refers to the Ammonite city of Rabbah as the "City of Waters." Finally, springs of water served as geographical landmarks (Jgs. 1:15; 1 K. 18:5; 2 K. 3:19f.,22,25; Ps. 107:33,35).

Two oases in the desert region of Sinai played an especially prominent role in Israelite tradition: Meribah (= Meribath-kadesh, Ezk. 47:19) and Marah. The name of the first of these (*m^erîbâ*, "lawsuit, strife") suggests that this oasis functioned as the site for the hearing of lawsuits. Israelite tradition has developed this nomenclature through various etiological elaborations into a series of traditions concerning Israel's rebellion against the leadership of Moses, and thus ultimately against the authority of Yahweh (cf. Nu. 20:8,10,13,24; 27:14; Dt. 32:51; 33:8; Ps. 81:8[7]; 106:32).⁶² Ps. 106:32f. links the names of the two oases so that the name "Marah" now indicates the distinctive "bitter" taste of the water, which evidently resulted from its mineral content and led to certain fears concerning its safety for use as drinking water. The tradition that Moses cast a tree into the water to make it drinkable (Ex. 15:23ff. [J]) became linked with this fear. In turn this tradition was elaborated by a divine promise to deliver Israel from the "diseases" of Egypt (Ex. 15:26).⁶³ For the healing of the "poisoned" water of springs we may note also the tradition of 2 K. 2:19ff. In Jgs. 15:19, we have a tradition in which a popular folk-motif involving Samson has become linked with the spring of *'ên haqqôrê*.

61. → מַיִן *'ayin*.

62. Cf. C. Barth, "Zur Bedeutung der Wüstentradition," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965*. SVT, 15 (1966), 14-23; G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville, 1968), 47ff.

63. Cf. H. F. Fuhs, "Qādes — Materialien zu den Wüstentraditionen Israels," *BN*, 9 (1979), 54-70, esp. 60.

The experience of physical weakness and faintness caused by dehydration and lack of water is reflected in a number of OT traditions (cf., e.g., 1 S. 30:12; Ps. 107:4f.). Even the smith, traditionally a figure of considerable strength, could be weakened by lack of water (Isa. 44:12).

Because of the seasonal nature of rainfall in Israel, half the year essentially constituted a dry season. If the winter rains failed, the situation became life-threatening for human beings, animals, and plants. As a result there occurred periodically years of drought in which areas which had been cultivable were dried up and regular sources of water became dangerously depleted. The OT reflects experiences of such seasons of exceptional drought (Am. 4:8; Jer. 14:1-6; 38:6). At such times the storage of water became necessary (cf. Jer. 14:3 [Q]; 15:18). Scarcity of water could also result from military siege, which cut off access to wells and springs outside the city, although such lack could be bridged for a time by careful rationing of water (Ezk. 4:11-17). The "water of affliction" (*mayim šār* [text?]; Isa. 30:20) probably refers to such a situation. The provision of an adequate water supply for the special needs of such times of distress consequently became an important aspect of the defense of cities, e.g., of Jerusalem (2 Ch. 32:3f.; Isa. 22:11; cf. also 2 K. 20:20; Isa. 3:1). Similarly, part of the deprivation which imprisonment brought was a lack of normal quantities of water (1 K. 22:27 par. 2 Ch. 18:26). During a period of fasting a person might also do without water (Ex. 34:28; Dt. 9:9,18; Ezr. 10:6; Jon. 3:7), although this was understandably regarded as unusual.

It was a mark of well-being and security to be in possession of a continuing and reliable water supply (Nu. 24:6f.; Isa. 33:16). The stealing of water was proscribed, and only a foolish woman might extol the sweet taste of stolen water (Prov. 9:17).

This overriding need for a good water supply made it essential that it should be kept wholesome and uncontaminated. Hence to drink clean water, and then to proceed to foul the remainder, like an uncomprehending animal, was seen as a mark of inhuman folly (Ezk. 34:18; cf. 26:12). The action here refers to ravaging soldiers who contaminate the cisterns after capturing a city. Of course, water could also become contaminated or poisoned by natural causes, something taken as a sign of divine judgment (Jer. 8:14; 9:14[15]; 23:15). However, even contaminated water supplies could be rendered drinkable again through appropriate measures. According to 2 K. 2:19-22, Elisha "healed" (*rippē*) a supply of water in Jericho. Such prophetic power over water was manifested in Moses, who changed the water of the Nile into blood, rendering it unfit for drinking purposes (Ex. 7:14-24).

Different types of containers were used to store water and to carry it: jars (*kād*, Gen. 24:15,17,43; 1 S. 26:11f.,16; 1 K. 19:6), troughs for watering sheep (*šequet*, *rahaṭ*, Gen. 30:38), bottles made of animal skin for use on a journey (*hēmet*, Gen. 21:14f.,19), and cups for drinking purposes (*kôš*). Without the help of such a container a person might use a shard of broken pottery (Isa. 30:14) or his own hands, or even lie down and lap like a dog (Jgs. 7:5ff.). In order to draw water up from a well one might use a bucket (*dēlî*, Nu. 24:7) or storage jars (Gen. 24:14-17). For the drawing of water, see also Dt. 29:10[11]; Josh. 9:21,23,27.

For reasons of hygiene it was obviously necessary to ensure that all containers and pits used to store drinking water were also clean (Lev. 11:34,36,38). If these basic rules

of cleanliness were not observed, the water itself was classified as unclean (Lev. 11:38). Finally, water could be mixed with wine so as to improve its taste and palatability.⁸²

2 K. 8:15 has documented how water can become the instrument of murder. According to this tradition, Hazael dips a bed coverlet in water and spreads it across the face of the sick king Ben-hadad to induce asphyxiation.

5. *Cleansing.* The secular and cultic customs involving water are closely intertwined in its use for washing, since the concepts of holiness and purity were very closely related to each other. As a consequence, it is frequently impossible to separate the ritual from the secular in connection with the cleansing efficacy of washing.⁸³ The washing of Aaron and his sons for their consecration to the service of the priesthood involved both aspects (Ex. 29:4; 30:20).⁸⁴ Hygiene and ritual cleansing were not distinguished in the case of involuntary sexual emissions, normal sexual activity, emissions of blood from women, and the appearance of skin infections, as well as contact with lepers and the dead. Besides the removal of dirt, the washing of a child also included such ritual removal of uncleanness. Yet there was an awareness of a more directly secular necessity for washing off dirt, as is to be seen in the washing of the feet after a journey (Gen. 18:4; 24:32; 43:24). The relationship of a servant to his master could even be described as that of "pouring water on the hands" (cf. the relationship between Elisha and Elijah, 2 K. 3:11). It was also evidently usual to wash new items of clothing before wearing them; this notion lies behind the sign-action involving a linen waistcloth (Jer. 13:1-11) and explains why Jeremiah was prohibited from washing the waistcloth before using it.

Utensils for cooking and eating were doubtlessly washed before the preparation and consumption of food. We can only assume that the normal daily acts of washing and bathing (e.g., 2 S. 11:2) were not accorded any specific ritual significance.

6. *Food Preparation.* Water was used in the kitchen for boiling the food, including in some circumstances the meat of sacrificial animals. Although those parts of a sacrificial animal which were to be eaten would normally have been roasted (*šālâ*, 1 S. 2:15; Isa. 44:16,19; *ḥārak*, Prov. 12:27), the meat could also be boiled (*bāšal*, Lev. 8:31; 1 K. 19:21; 2 K. 6:29; Ezk. 46:20,24) to render it more suitable for eating, and also to reduce the risk of food poisoning through deterioration. Even the Passover sacrifice, which might more commonly have been roasted (Ex. 12:8f.), could be boiled (Dt. 16:7; cf. 2 Ch. 35:13). Through a period of "seething" (*rāṭah*, Job 30:27; 41:23[31]; Ezk. 24:5) one could boil various vegetables and herbs together (cf. also Ezk. 24:5; Job 41:23[31]).

7. *Metaphorical Usage.* Heb. *mayim* is also extensively used in metaphors and as a component in symbolical gestures.

82. On the metaphorical interpretation, cf. Isa. 1:22 and II.7 below.

83. Cf. Douglas, 7ff.

84. See further below under III.3.

a. The physical property of water as a fluid has occasioned its use as an image of weakness. After their defeat and the loss of thirty-six men at Ai, the Israelites became disheartened, i.e., “the *lēb* of the people melted and turned to water” (Josh. 7:1-5). The *nepeš* can also be poured out like water, an image for weakness and illness leading to the pronounced fear of death (Ps. 22:15[14]). The expression “all knees turn to water” (Ezk. 7:17; 21:12[7]) probably attests a drastically realistic background: “Men are no longer able to preserve the elementary aspects of self-control, like the infant and the dying man who passes water.”⁸⁵ The wise woman of Tekoa is alluding to the ultimate human weakness leading to death when she says to David: “We must all die; we are like water spilled on the ground” (2 S. 14:14).

b. The formlessness and evanescence of water also invite metaphorical usage. The psalmist implores that his enemies “vanish like water that runs away” (Ps. 58:8[7]). Job 14:11 compares human beings with the water of a lake that dries up and disappears. Zophar uses this image in Job 11:16 to conceive of the sins of the person reconciled to God as having disappeared “as waters that have passed away” (*kēmayim ābērû*). In Nah. 2:9(8), Nineveh in its destruction is likened to a pool “whose waters (read: *mēmeyhā* with *BHS* mg.) run away.” The reverse image of constancy can be attained through negation: the righteous of Israel will become “like a watered garden, like a spring of water, whose waters never fail” (Isa. 58:11; cf. 1:30).

c. The idea of the constant movement of water is employed by the wisdom poet to describe God’s power over the king: “The king’s heart is a stream of water in the hand of Yahweh; he turns it wherever he will” (Prov. 21:1).

d. There was also an awareness of the power and irresistible force of water, and of the difficulty in controlling it or containing it in a fixed place. This is probably in Amos’ mind when he demands that social justice be like a cascading stream (Am. 5:24). In Mic. 1:4, the coming of God to his people in judgment is described with the aid of the imagery of a storm theophany; his presence causes the mountains to melt, “like waters poured down a steep place.” The image of the destructive torrent of water also stands behind Job 27:20 (fear and terror overtake the wicked like a flood); 1 Ch. 14:11 (Yahweh overcomes the enemies like a bursting flood); Isa. 8:7; 17:12f.; Jer. 47:2. And just as the persistent dripping of water wears away stones, so is God able gradually to destroy human hopes (Job 14:19).

e. A consciousness of the fluidity and formlessness of water when poured out has led to its being used to convey the notion of excess and unlimited freedom. So the enemies of Jerusalem are said to have poured out the blood of its citizens like water (Ps. 79:3; cf. also Dt. 12:24; 15:23); according to Hos. 5:10, Yahweh threatens to pour out his wrath like water upon the princes of Judah. In a similar fashion the afflicted Job can describe his cries and groanings as “poured out like water” (Job 3:24), the point of the metaphor being to convey the idea of suffering beyond all measure (cf. also Lam. 2:19).

85. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 208.

f. Descriptions of grief also employ the image of water, associating water with tears. The eyes of the person who fails to observe the torah gush with water (Ps. 119:136; cf. Jer. 8:23[9:1]; 9:17[18]).

g. The depth of cisterns and the fact that they were fed by subterranean springs occasioned metaphorical usage. The wisdom teacher asserts that the words of a person's mouth are like deep waters (Prov. 18:4), and the purpose of a person's mind is like deep water (Prov. 20:5). Deep water conceals things. Just as a person can sink stones into such water, so were the Egyptians sunk in the Sea of Reeds (Ex. 15:1,5; Neh. 9:11).

h. Ps. 109:18 contains a vivid image for the act-consequence relationship. Just as water is able to soak into other substances, so also the man who loves to curse is so pursued by the consequences of his own actions that the curse is said to soak into his body.

i. Water that surrounds a person is understood as a threat (Ps. 88:18[17]). God's wrath surrounds a person like water (Ps. 69:2[1]; cf. v. 3[2] with different terminology, *šibbōlet*), till it reaches up to his neck. We can easily detect remnants of mythological features in such descriptions as these that draw on the threatening force of water, i.e., water as a power of chaos threatening the realm of creation. Yahweh's power, however, overcomes this threat (cf. Isa. 43:2).

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j. The reflective surface of water serves the aphorism in Prov. 27:19: "Just as water reflects a face, so does the heart of a man reflect him."

A more controversial metaphorical application is to be found in Eccl. 11:1: "Cast your bread upon the waters, for you will find it after many days." Interpreters long suspected the presence here of a sexual motif from the cult of Adonis.⁸⁶ Willy Staerk⁸⁷ early suggested that this constituted an injunction to unreflected generosity and goodness, which would be rewarded in due time. Yet the peculiar expression *šallah laḥm^ekā* repeatedly evoked the idea of encouragement to undertake a sea journey,⁸⁸ and this — with somewhat inconsistent interpretation — in its own turn evoked the challenge to accept the risk of confronting the uncertain.⁸⁹ As Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg⁹⁰ and Oswald Loretz⁹¹ suggest, the proverb thus probably refers to an act that contrary to all expectation comes to a beneficial end.⁹²

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k. A range of metaphorical applications relating to water is drawn from its importance as a drink, and consequently as a basic element necessary for the sustenance of life and vigor. Thus the image of drinking water (*šātā*) frequently represents the acquisition

86. Cf. O. S. Rankin, "Ecclesiastes: Introduction and Exegesis, *IB*, V (1956), 81.

87. "Zur Exegese von Koh 10₂₀ und 11₁," *ZAW*, 59 (1942), 216f.

88. Cf. R. Gordis, *Koheleth — The Man and His World* (New York, ²1955), 320.

89. Cf. also W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD*, XVI/1 (³1980), 240.

90. *Der Prediger. KAT*, XVII/4 (1963), 200-202.

91. *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* (Freiburg, 1964), 88.

92. Contra A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK*, XIX (1978), *in loc.*

of certain behavioral characteristics. The wicked person “drinks iniquity like water” (Job 15:16). Job himself, when faced with the rebukes and admonitions of his friends, is characterized as a person “who drinks up scoffing like water” (Job 34:7). The experience of drinking water from a cistern provides the basis of the didactic metaphor, “Drink water from your own cistern” (Prov. 5:15), an unmistakable admonition to remain sexually loyal to one’s own wife. With the same overtone Cant. 4:15 describes the beloved as a “well of living water” (= a garden spring) and as “flowing streams from Lebanon.” And again with mythological resonance, Cant. 8:7 refers to the constancy of true love, which even “many waters (*mayim rabbîm*, an allusion to the waters of chaos?⁹³) cannot quench.” Prov. 25:21 alludes to concepts of hospitality with its custom of giving a guest water to drink, enjoining that an enemy also be given water to drink and food to eat that he may thereby be brought to feel the shame of his enmity. Finally, the reception of good news from a distant land is likened to the eagerness with which a thirsty man accepts a drink of cool water (Prov. 25:25).

1. Water is important for fertility and high crop yield. The well-being of a righteous person is compared to a tree planted by streams of water (cf. Job 29:19; Ps. 1:3); the Egyptian pharaoh is likened to a well-watered cedar (Ezk. 31:4), and according to Isa. 12:3 the future Israel, when it has been restored to its land, is assured that with joy it will “draw water from the wells of salvation.” And finally, the outpouring of God’s spirit⁹⁴ upon the descendants of Israel is compared to the pouring out of water upon parched ground (Isa. 44:3; cf. 32:2; 44:4; 55:1; 58:11; Jer. 17:8; Ezk. 17:5,8; 19:10; 31:5,7).

Ps. 73:10 is probably alluding to the water supply system when it refers to the actions of the wicked: “abundant waters are drained by them.” Several commentators here have sought an emendation of the text so as to eliminate any reference to *mayim*,⁹⁵ even though the MT is certainly intelligible. If the text is allowed to stand, the harmful activities of the wicked are compared to the blameworthy waste of a plentiful water supply.⁹⁶

That God is a “fountain of living waters” becomes a readily explicable metaphor of the life-giving power of Yahweh, in his role as giver of fertility and of salvation and righteousness (Jer. 17:13). Yahweh is the source of life and blessing for his people. Thus in Jer. 2:13 the turning of Israel to Ba’al is described as having “forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and dug out . . . cracked cisterns that can hold no water.”

A much more complex development of the imagery of water is to be found in Ezekiel’s vision of the restored temple and its stream (Ezk. 47:1ff.). Here mythological, metaphorical, and traditional ritual associations of water have been combined into an image of the blessing which will be given to Israel through its restored cult. Notions of fertility, salvation, prosperity, and cultic blessing have been brought together in

93. Cf. III.1 below and H. Ringgren, *Das Hohelied. ATD*, XVI/2 (31981), *in loc.*

94. → רוּחַ *rûah*.

95. *BHS*; cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 83f., 87f.

96. Cf., however, the similar assertion about the demonic “gods,” *KTU*, 1.23, 62f.; see H. Ringgren, “Einige Bemerkungen zum LXXIII. Psalm,” *VT*, 3 (1953), 269.

wife to the temple, where the ordeal is then carried out. The husband is required to bring "a grain offering of jealousy" (v. 15). The woman is then subjected to a test by being compelled to drink "holy water" into which particles of dirt from the sanctuary floor have been mixed. The water then becomes the "water of bitterness that brings a curse" (*mê hammārîm ham^eār^arîm*, v. 19).

Jack M. Sasson¹¹⁷ associates *mārîm* with *mrr III*, "bless,"¹¹⁸ and views this designation of the water as a merism "consisting of 'waters that bless' and 'waters that curse,' hence 'waters of judgement.'" The goal of the ordeal thus remains fundamentally open to proof of the woman's *innocence*. In contrast, Georg Giesen¹¹⁹ refers to the synonymous character of *'rr* and *mr* (Nu. 5:22f.) and considers the goal of the ordeal (contra Sasson) to be proof of the woman's *guilt*. The decidedly negative emphasis on the curse within the procedure seems to militate for this view. G. R. Driver¹²⁰ associates *mārîm* with *mrh*, "to be contentious, rebellious," and interprets *mê hammārîm* as "waters of contention, dispute." Herbert C. Brichto¹²¹ refers to *yrh III*, "teach," and interprets this as "oracle-water."

The mediation of the curse by the water is strengthened by a very solemn oath which the woman accepts as binding through the repeated "Amen, Amen" (Nu. 5:19-22). If the woman is guilty, the curse comes upon her with its entire force after she drinks, causing bodily disorders (vv. 21f.).¹²² The efficacy of the water in mediating the effects of the curse is further strengthened by the priest's writing down the words of the curse upon a document and washing them off into the water. The complex magical background is further evidenced when the priest unbinds the woman's hair (vv. 17f.).¹²³

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A further fragmentary echo of the use of water in forms of trial by ordeal is suggested by the narrative tradition of the golden calf (Ex. 32:20). However, no other occurrences can be adduced to suggest any widespread use of such practices in ancient Israel.

5. Religious Symbolism. The promise in Ezk. 36:25 in which Yahweh avers to the renewed Israel that he will "sprinkle clean water" upon them to remove all their uncleanness reflects a complex blending of cult-ritual, mythological, and even metaphorical elements. The range of ideas that later led to the rite of Christian baptism owes its development to such symbolic language and such rituals. An extensive religious

117. *BZ*, N.S. 16 (1972), 249-251.

118. Cf. later M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Die ugaritischen Verben *mrr I*, *mrr II* und *mrr III* (Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie VIII)," *UF*, 5 (1973), 119-122.

119. P. 127, n. 270.

120. "Two Problems in the OT Examined in the Light of Assyriology," *Syr*, 33 (1956), 73-77.

121. "The Case of the *ŠŌTĀ* and a Reconsideration of Biblical 'Law,'" *HUCA*, 46 (1975), 61.

122. → *בטן* *beten*, II, 98: "damage to the female reproductive organs, or, if she has conceived in an extramarital affair, then it could refer to loss of the child."

123. Cf. *Anclsr*, 157f.

symbolism was concerned with water from the beginning of OT times, although especially the cosmic-mythological aspect gradually fell into disuse. Finally, an example of complex symbolism is also found in the imagery of the river which flowed out from the threshold of the temple (Ezk. 47:1ff.), a prophetic image symbolic of the blessing and prosperity of the renewed Israel.

So we find that various features of a mythological and ritual heritage have been blended together to establish a fundamentally new type of religious symbolism. Once established in the literature of the OT, such symbolism came to be more extensively developed in late Judaism (especially in Qumran)¹²⁴ and Christianity (cf. Jn. 7:37-39).

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IV. 1. *Qumran*. Given the archaeological evidence, it comes as no surprise that the word *mayim* occurs quite frequently in the Qumran writings (more than 110 times, 27 of those in 1QH alone, 11 in CD, 7 in 1QS, and 13 in 11QT; it does not occur in 1QM). The use of water in connection with ritual washings clearly predominates, something attested by the occurrences in 1QS (in which every occurrence can be attributed to the latest redaction!): the water of purification (*niddâ*; 3:4,9; 4:21; compare CD 10:10-13; 11:4; Ezk. 36:25) is like the spirit of truth for the sectaries, while outsiders and those unwilling to repent are not permitted to enter it (*bô'*; cf. 1QS 3:4,5; 5:13). This terminology indicates that the reference is to ritual bathing.¹²⁵ Purification by water alone, however, is not enough; it must be complemented by repentance;¹²⁶ the reverse is also true.¹²⁷ Both the water of purification and the well rich in water, the latter as a metaphor for the Torah (CD 3:16; 19:34), were early integrated into the esoteric mysticism of the Essenes (1QH 8:13-19). Whereas the Temple scroll speaks almost exclusively within the context of laws pertaining to cleanness (11QT 45:16; 49:12-18; 50:2,14; 51:3ff.) and sacrificial regulations (20:1; 32:14; 52:12; 53:5), 1QH applies *mayim* to anthropological contexts: human beings as constructions of loam and water (1:21; 3:24; 13:15); adversaries are compared to the roaring of *mayim rabbîm* (2:16,27); water is a metaphor for danger (3:13-16,26; 6:24; CD 19:16); the heart¹²⁸ of the righteous melts like water (1QH 2:28; 8:32). The image of the righteous person as a tree planted beside "streams of water" (Ps. 1:3) is echoed in 1QH 8:4-9; 10:25. Finally, the rigoristic interpretation of the Sabbath commandment is noteworthy: CD 11:16

124. See IV.1 below.

125. Cf. O. Betz, "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumransekte und die Taufe im NT," *RevQ*, 1 (1958/59), 216-220; J. Gnilka, "Die essenischen Tauchbäder und die Johannestaufe," *RevQ*, 3 (1961/62), 185-207; J. Pryke, "The Sacraments of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion in the Light of the Ritual Washings and Sacred Meals at Qumran," *RevQ*, 5 (1964-66), 543-552; H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung im NT und seinen alttestamentlichen und jüdischen Voraussetzungen*. *FRLANT*, N.S. 78[96] (1970); A. T. Abraham, *The Baptismal Initiation of the Qumran Community* (Princeton, 1973).

126. Cf. H. J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel Šûb in der Qumran-Literatur*. *BBB*, 46 (1975), 297ff.

127. Cf. H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus*. *BHTh*, 24 (1957), 29.

128. → לב *lēb* (VII, 399-437).

stipulates that if a living person should fall into a "water pit" on the Sabbath he shall not be pulled out.¹²⁹

2. *The Mandeans.* The Mandeans developed their own cultic activities involving water, the primary constituents of which were baptism and cleansings. A necessary component was "living water" (in contradistinction with "murky" or "dark" water), i.e., running water with a connection to the world of light. Such water could be personified, and as the "Jordan"¹³⁰ acquires a messianic function. Just as water itself as a cosmic force is associated with the world of light, so is earthly baptism a "reflection of the heavenly baptism and simultaneously a symbol of the soul's belonging to the world of light. Baptism guarantees and grants to the fallen divine soul a real connection with the water that in its own turn comes from the beyond."¹³¹

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129. Cf. further J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism*. *StJLA*, 1 (1973); and J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*. *StJLA*, 24 (1977), 46-51, 88-97.

130. → יַרְדֵּן *yardēn* (VI, 322-330).

131. Cf. K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer II*. *FRLANT*, n.s. 75[93] (1961), 61ff., 93.

מין *mîn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX. II. The Creation Narrative. III. Sirach. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *mîn* is yet unclear. Various attempts derive the root from an Arabic etymon *myn* in the sense of "create; fruitfulness, procreation of living beings of the same species."¹ (Otherwise Arab. *māna[i]* means to "lie, tell a falsehood," though also "split, divide, plow";² cf. Ethiop. *mēna*, "lie."³) References have also been made to Akk. *mīnu*, "portion, number," and *minûtu*, "numbering, figuring"⁴ or "number,

mîn. J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961, repr. Philadelphia, 1991), 76, 104f.; P. Beauchamp, *Création et Separation* (Paris, 1969), 240-47; H. Cazelles, "MYN — espèce, race ou ressemblance," *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire (1914-1964)*, *École des Langues Orientales Anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*. *Coll. Trav. de l'Inst. Cath. de Paris*, 10 (Paris, 1969), 105-8; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift*. *WMANT*, 17 (²1967); O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift*. *FRLANT*, 115 (²1981); C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 126.

1. Cazelles, with additional references to Christian Palestinian.

2. See the lexica and cf. A. M. Honeyman's review of *KBL*, *VT*, 5 (1955), 220.

3. *LexLingAeth*, 213; cf. also Barr.

4. *AHW*, II (1972), 656f.

amount; accounting; shape, figure" (probably from *manû*, "count").⁵ William F. Albright's citation in *KBL*³ (547) is incorrect, and the meaning of Ugar. *mnm* is similarly uncertain.⁶ The only undisputed point is its etymological connection with *t^emûnâ*.⁷

2. *Meaning*. In its meaning as "kind" or "species," *mîn* functions as a classification term used generally with reference to plants or animals, including human beings (cf. Sir. 13:16b, though a different view is taken by 1QS 3:14: *lkl myny rwhwtm* with *twldwt* in context). In CD 4:16, *mîn* acquires the abstract meaning "category." With *l^e* it is distributive, "each kind in turn" or "according to the distinctiveness of the species," or in the singular "after its kind" (Lev. 11:14,19;⁸ cf. CD 12:14: *bmynyhm*, "no matter what kind they are"; Sir. 43:25b, Gk. *poikilía*).

3. *LXX*. The LXX renders *mîn* with *hómoios* (20 times), *génos* (11 times), *homoiótēs*, and *poikilía* (once each).

II. The Creation Narrative. The distinctions between the various species is grounded in the plan of creation. Just as the immutable works are subjected to the principle of separation (*hibdîl*), so also are the mutable ones subjected to the principle of differentiation (*mîn*; 10 occurrences in Gen. 1:11f.,21,24f.).

In their own turn, separation and differentiation are closely related to law: the divine law that puts an end to chaos, the Mosaic law that is to prevent any mixing of species (*kil'ayim*) (Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:9-11). Nonetheless, *kil'ayim* does not encompass the term *mîn*, though a different situation obtains in the list of clean and unclean animals (Lev. 11:14-16,19,22,29; Dt. 14:13-15,18). Thus it cannot be determined with any certainty whether the occurrences of *mîn* in the Creation Narrative of P contain direct references to regulations of the Torah.⁹

The occurrence of *mîn* is more likely an indication of the wisdom presuppositions of Gen. 1:1-2:4a: "In the context of P's careful distinction of the species of plants and animals, one can speak of a scientific interest, provided one distinguishes it from our idea of 'science.'" ¹⁰ As the differentiation between plants and animals in the proverbs of Solomon shows (1 K. 5:13[Eng. 4:33]), wisdom had long been interested in classification or "taxonomy." As far as animals are concerned, important clues to interpretation can be gleaned from the presuppositions evident in the texts.

5. *CAD*, X/2 (1977), 96f.

6. *KTU*, 1.4 I, 39; cf. A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques I. LAPO*, 7 (1974), 196; cf. also the controversy involving M. Dahood, "The Linguistic Position of Ugaritic in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *Sacra Pagina*, I *BETL*, 12f. (1959), 270f., and C. Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," *Studies in the Bible. ScrHier*, 8 (1961), 392f.

7. Cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die sieben Kunstwerke des Schmiedegottes in *KTU* 1.4 I 23-43," *UF*, 10 (1978), 62: "form, kind."

8. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, IV (1966), *in loc.*

9. A different view is taken by Schmidt.

10. Westermann, 126.

The multiplicity of species is a predominating feature of the animal kingdom. The system of the “seven-day schema” juxtaposes animals and human beings: the multiplicity of animals is contrasted with the “unity” of human beings, an opposition also indicated by the consistent absence of *mîn* whenever references are made to human beings. Hence if *mîn* had something to do with the capacity of a living being to reproduce itself in a continuing sequence of generations,¹¹ then the term would indeed be applicable to human beings. Since this is not the case, however, greater attention needs to be directed to the background of this text. There one finds the contrast between the world of humans and that of animals, and the concomitant moral and religious implications. However, the content of this distinction is also of significance: neither the human being in and of itself constitutes a species or kind, nor does the multiplicity of human beings, races, and nations constitute a multiplicity of species or kinds. Yet humans are exhorted to multiply in a place already occupied by the world of animals (Gen. 1:26-28). Thus human “unity” is to exercise dominance over the multiplicity of animals. Both the Flood tradition (7 occurrences of *mîn* in Gen. 6:20; 7:14) and several prophetic texts (Isa. 11:1-9) confirm that humans have what is basically a political mission as regards the world of animals. Because of the relationship *t^emûnâ/mîn*¹² one can specify more precisely that this human mission is based on the similarity between human and divine “unity,” and correspondingly on the dissimilarity between human beings and animals.

The Flood tradition reflects a reversal of this relationship, for now human being devours human being, just as animal devours animal, the human being now consciously setting himself up against his original purpose (Gen. 1:29f.). This is presupposed in any case by the Noahic law (Gen. 9:1-7 [P^c]). This makes it possible to enhance previous insights as well, whereby the allusions to Gen. 1:1-2:4a are rendered comprehensible and are confirmed by the Flood tradition (as they are later by Sirach).

III. Sirach. Sir. 13:15f. (Heb.) offers a commentary to Gen. 1:1-2:4a, perhaps also to Lev. 19:19f. (cf. Sir. 25:8). As in the animal world, human beings are devouring one another, or they group themselves together according to their own *mîn* (Sirach applies this term here to human beings, alluding thereby to the human status *after* the Flood). The sequence of the two commandments in Lev. 19:18f. is perhaps reflected in Sir. 13:15f.: to love one’s kind while not mixing with others. Thus Sirach accommodates the use of *mîn* in Gen. 1:1-2:4a more to that of *kil’ayim* in the law.

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IV. Qumran. In Qumran the term *mîn* occurs only 3 times, in texts from a relatively early stage of the sect. Whereas CD 12:14 clearly picks up the meaning of *mîn* in Gen. 1:1-2:4a in formulating its dietary laws (the *ḥ^agābîm b^emînêhem*, “locusts, according to their various kinds,” are designated unfit to eat), CD 4:16 applies *mîn* to a legal

11. So Gazelles.

12. *Ibid.*

context in designating Belial's "three kinds of [false] righteousness" (*mînê haššedeq*): fornication, riches, and profanation of the sanctuary. This pesher to Isa. 24:17 makes it clear that ultimately one cannot escape this alleged "righteousness," and thus cannot avoid incurring guilt. In what is probably an old *maškîl* law (1QS 3:13ff.),¹³ the term *mîn* is applied to human beings in consonance with later OT development. It is the task of the *maškîl*¹⁴ to evaluate and instruct the individual members of the sect according to *mînê rūhōtām*, "the kind of spirit which they possess" (1QS 3:14). The oldest *maškîl* assignments speak only of *k^erūhō*, "according to his spirit" (1QS 9:14).

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13. Cf. J. L.-Duhaime, "L'instruction sur les deux esprits et les interpolations dualistes à Qumrân (1QS III,13–IV,26)," *RB*, 84 (1977), 566–594.

14. Cf. H.-J. Fabry, "Der altorientalische Hintergrund des urchristlichen Diakonats," *Der Diakon. Festschrift A. Frotz* (Freiburg, ²1981), 15–26, esp. 16f.

מכר *mkr*

Contents: I. The Verb *mkr*. II. The Nouns *môkēr* and *makkār*. III. The Nouns *mekēr*, *mimkar*, *mimkeret*. IV. Conclusions. V. LXX.

I. The Verb *mkr*. The verb *mkr* occurs 56 times in the qal, with a clear concentration in the Pentateuch (7 times in the Joseph narrative [Gen. 37–50]; 5 times in the Covenant Code in laws regarding slaves [Ex. 21]; 7 times in the regulations concerning the Jubilee Year [Lev. 25]) and 5 occurrences in Joel 4; the distribution of the remaining occurrences is unremarkable. The hiphil occurs 19 times, with 7 occurrences in Lev. 25 alone; the hithpael occurs 4 times. The usual translation of the Hebrew verb *mkr* is "to sell." This meaning can be traced back to the fifth century B.C. (Neh. 10:32[Eng. v. 31]; 13:15f.,20; Prov. 31:24) and is attested later in contracts from Wadi Murabba'at which date from A.D. 134 and 135.¹ A scrutiny of the use of *mkr* in older texts shows, however, that this verb does not apply specifically to the semantic field "buy/sell," but designates

mkr. Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms: II," *JSS*, 12 (1967), 241–44; B. Landsberger, "Ak-kadisch-Hebräische Wortgleichungen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. Congress Volume 1967. SVT*, 16 (1967), 176–204, esp. 176ff., 187f., 204; E. Lipiński, "Le mariage de Ruth," *VT*, 26 (1976), 124–27; *idem*, "Sale, Transfer, and Delivery in Ancient Semitic Terminology," *Gesellschaft und Kultur im Alten Vorderasien = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients*, 15 (1982), 173–185; A. L. Oppenheim, "Old Assyrian *magāru* or *makāru*?" *Festschrift H. G. Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), 229–237; W. Plautz, "Die Form der Eheschliessung im AT," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 298–318, esp. 312ff.

1. Mur 29:1,10; 30:1,4,10,20.

a delivery of goods, generally in return for valuables, with or without the intention of passing ownership. As late as talmudic times the verb *mkr* is still used to denote transfer of rights and claims for a predetermined period without actually transferring ownership. For instance, Bab. *B. Meṣ.* 79a-b discusses the case of a man who “*mwkr* his field for sixty years,” on the expiration of which the land returns to its owner. Hence this is not a sale, but only a transfer of the right of usufruct. In other words, *mkr* signifies a transfer of possession which can, but must not necessarily, amount to a sale.

This is made clear by the use of the verb in the first half of the first millennium B.C. Although we have no evidence of its exact meaning in some cases (e.g., Lev. 27:28; Dt. 14:21; 24:7; 32:30; Prov. 23:23), a number of characteristic examples are to be found in other biblical texts. A man in serious financial difficulties “hands himself over” or “is handed over” (*yimmākēr*) to his creditor for six years (Dt. 15:12; Jer. 34:14) or until the next Jubilee Year (Lev. 25:39-42, 47-54). Although a land parcel belonging to the patrimony can “be made over” (*timmākēr*) to the mortgagee or to a usufructuary until the next Jubilee Year (Lev. 25:23-28; 27:20f., 24), this by no means constitutes a sale.

Yahweh “hands over” (*yimk^rrēm*) the Israelites to their enemies for a period of eight (Jgs. 3:8), twenty (Jgs. 4:2f.), or eighteen years (Jgs. 10:7f.). The translation “to sell” suits none of these passages, for the notion of selling implies an absolute transfer of the property, and not merely a usufruct limited to a predetermined number of years.

This is explicitly stated in Lev. 25:13-16, which deals not with the sale and purchase of cultivable land, as would appear from the usual translations, but with the acquisition of the right of holding in usufruct someone else’s property until the next Jubilee Year (cf. esp. v. 16). In vv. 14-15, where *mkr* is used twice, it can only refer to the usufruct that is transferred for a certain price and a predetermined number of years. The same applies in Lev. 25:29-31 to the usufruct of houses, with the exception of the ones within a walled town, the possession of which was transferred by usucaption to the user after one year (redemption period) and which did not have to be returned during the Jubilee Year. Even in a text like Ezk. 7:12f. the *mōkēr* cannot be a seller, for v. 13 states that the time of doom is forthcoming, and then he, the *mōkēr*, will be unable to go back to the property given away. This means that he would do so in normal times and that he did not “sell” his property, but gave it in usufruct or as mortgage. All this finds confirmation also in Ruth 4:3-5, according to which Naomi intended to “make over” the piece of land that belonged to Elimelech, her deceased husband. The use of *mkr* just denotes that she was contemplating a transfer of the usufruct of Elimelech’s land, limited by law to the period of her widowhood. She could not sell that land, since it would transfer by law to the closest relative (cf. Nu. 27:8-11) or to Elimelech’s posthumously born child, which Ruth should bear him according to the custom of levirate marriage (Ruth 4:5). And this is precisely the reason why the closest relative renounced his right of marrying her: were he to beget a male descendant for the deceased, he would deprive himself at the same time of Elimelech’s heritage. In talmudic times, as a matter of fact, the performance of the levirate marriage carried with it the right of inheritance (Bab. *Yebam.* 40a; *Ketub.* 81b, 82a); but this was not

Even in texts like Ex. 21:37(22:1a), which refers to the theft of an ox or a sheep that the robber has slaughtered or otherwise delivered up, the translation of *mākar* by “to sell” is contradicted by the very wide interpretation of *mkr* found in the Tosefta *B. Qam.* vii.14: “If he stole it and bartered it, if he stole it and sanctified it, if he stole it then gave it as a gift, if he stole it and paid a debt with it, if he stole it then sent it as a betrothal present to his father-in-law’s house, he makes the fourfold or fivefold payment.”

A complementary argument is further found in the idiomatic use of the reflexive hithpael of *mākar* in 1 K. 21:20,25; 2 K. 17:17, where the expression *hitmakkerkā la^ašôṭ hāra* must be translated “you let yourself be ‘induced’ to do what is wrong” (cf. also Sir. 47:24); the connotation “to sell” is utterly misleading.⁵

In conclusion, one could also refer to the use of Akk. *makāru*, which occurs primarily in Old Assyrian texts. There it never means “to sell”;⁶ in most cases it clearly refers to the amount of silver or gold which has or has not to be “given away” in order to acquire goods, which have in their turn to be transported and sold with profit.

II. The Nouns *môkēr* and *makkār*. The Heb. ptcp. *môkēr* is used not only in a verbal sense (Lev. 25:16; Nah. 3:4; Neh. 13:16), but also as a noun (Neh. 13:20; Isa. 24:2; Ezk. 7:12,13; Zec. 11:5), the usual translation of which is “trader” or “seller.” This substantival form occurs only in relatively recent texts, the oldest being Ezk. 7:12f. Here, too, the usual translation does not make sense, for the seller is not supposed to go back to the property sold. In this particular case, therefore, the *môkēr* refers to a “releaser” who temporarily gives his property over. Thus the participle *môkēr* used substantively had a wider semantic scope than “seller.”

The noun *makkār* that appears in 2 K. 12:6,8(5,7) has largely been rendered in translations as “acquaintance, friend,” which derive it from the root *nkr* despite the Greek equivalent *prásis*, “sale.” The LXX is certainly correct in relating the term in question to the root *mkr*.⁷ The particular form *makkār* (constructed after the *qaṭṭāl* pattern) is a vocational designation. From the context of 2 K. 12 the *makkārîm* appear to have been business assessors of the temple; they are mentioned in later talmudic texts in what seems to be the same meaning (Jer. *Giṭ.* iii.45a; Bab. *Giṭ.* 30a; Bab. *Hul.* 133a). Even though we cannot determine any more what precise function the *makkārîm* had, it seems clear enough that the function enters the semantic field of the root *mkr* rather than that of *nkr*.

The noun *makkîr* that appears in Mur 30:3,16 is the participle of *nkr*, a form which one finds also in talmudic and midrashic literature. Here it designates the alienee to whom transfer of property is made, and not the “vendor” *môkēr*, as wrongly suggested by former translators of Mur 30. In contrast, the clan name *mākîr* is likely to have

5. Cf. D. W. Thomas, “The Root מכר in Hebrew,” *JTS*, 37 (1936), 388f.; *idem*, “A Further Note on the Root מכר in Hebrew,” *JTS*, n.s. 3 (1952), 214.

6. Cf. CAD, X/1, 126ff.: “to do business, to use (silver etc.) in business transactions.”

7. HAL, II (1995), 582.

מלא *mālē*; מלא *m^{lō}*; מלאה *millu'â*; מלאים *millu'im*; מלאו *millô*

Contents: I. Occurrences: 1. Ancient Near East; 2. OT. II. Meaning. III. Expressions: 1. *mālē* *hayyāmîm*; 2. *mālē* *k^{bôd} YHWH*; 3. *millē* *'ah^arê YHWH*; 4. *millē* *'et-hadd^bārîm*; 5. *millē* *'et-yād*. IV. Derivatives: 1. *m^{lō}*; 2. *millu'im*; 3. *millô*. V. Qumran.

I. Occurrences. 1. *Ancient Near East.* The root *ml'* is common to the Semitic languages. Akkadian attests the verb *malû*, "to be or become full,"¹ the subst. *mîlu*, "flood high water,"² and *tamlû*, "heap, terrace."³ North and South Arabic⁴ as well as Ethiopic attest *ml'*, "to be full" or "to fill."⁵ Both Phoenician and Aramaic offer parallels,⁶ and Biblical Aramaic attests a peal of *mālē* (Dnl. 2:35) and a hithpael, "become filled" (Dnl. 3:19).

2. *OT.* The verb *ml'* occurs altogether 246 times in the OT, 100 of which are qal, 108 piel, 36 niph'al, 1 pual (Cant. 5:14), and 1 hithpael (Job 16:10).

The subst. *m^{lō}* or *m^{lô}* is once written without *aleph* (Ezk. 41:8), the verb twice: *mālû* (Ezk. 28:16), *mālēfî* (Job 32:18). Twice *he* is written instead of *aleph* (Job 8:21; Ezk. 16:30; cf. also 3Q15 2:1; 3:8, 11). The name *yimlâ* (1 K. 22:8), "he will fill or be full," is written *yimlâ* in 2 Ch. 18:7. Isa. 23:2 should be read with 1QIs^a *mal'ākēykā*, "your messengers," instead of *mil'ûk*, "they filled you" (?).

The adj. *mālē* appears twice in somewhat obscure contexts. It is unclear whether these are forms of the verb or the adj. *mālē*. Foregoing textual emendation, this word is interpreted adverbially: a "loud" cry (i.e., a "full" cry, Jer. 12:6); they are "fully" consumed (Nah. 1:10). Lacking parallels, however, this is a questionable solution. Jer. 12:6 is often compared with Jer. 4:5, though this is hardly appropriate.⁷ Perhaps the vocalization should be *m^{lō}* instead of *mālē*: "fullness, entirety, multitude" (Gen. 48:19; Isa. 31:4). The translation would then be: "They too call together a multitude

mālē. R. Borger, "Die Waffenträger des Königs Darius," VT, 22 (1972), 385-398; M. Delcor, "מלא *ml'* voll sein, füllen," THAT, I, 897-900; C. F. D. Moule, "Fulfillment-Words in the NT: Use and Abuse," NTS, 14 (1967), 293-320; M. Noth, "Office and Vocation in the OT," *The Laws in the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1967), 229-249; K. Rupprecht, "Quisquilien zu der Wendung יד פלוני מלא (אט) und zum Terminus מלאים," *Sefer Rendtorff. Festschrift R. Rendtorff. BDBAT*, 1 (1975), 73-93; D. W. Thomas, "מלאו in Jeremiah IV.5: A Military Term," JJS, 3 (1952), 47-52.

1. AHw, II (1972), 597ff.

2. Ibid., 652f.

3. Ibid., III (1981), 1316.

4. ContiRossini, 177.

5. LexLingAeth, 148f.; TigrWB, 108.

6. DISO, 151.

7. For Jer. 4:5, see below.

after you [to pursue you]"; cf. Isa. 31:4: "the whole band of shepherds is called forth against him."

II. Meaning. The *qal* of *mālē'* can be either transitive or intransitive, "to fill" or "to be full." Examples include "she filled her jar" (Gen. 24:16), and "the houses of the Egyptians shall be filled with swarms of flies" (Ex. 8:17[Eng. v. 21]). The text does not always indicate with what something is filled, though the context usually supplies such information: "the jar [with water]" (Gen. 24:16), or "fill the waters in the seas [sc. with yourselves, i.e., animals]" (Gen. 1:22), "his train filled the entire temple [with itself]" (Isa. 6:1); cf. also Isa. 2:6: "they are full [of people, things] from the east."

The substance with which an object is filled functions grammatically as a second accusative, as accusative of material, and is occasionally qualified by *'et*⁸: *watt^emālē'* *'et-hahēmet mayim*, "she filled the skin with water" (Gen. 21:19); and *ûl^emal'ām* *'et-pigrê hā'ādām*, "to fill them [the houses] with dead bodies" (Jer. 33:5).

Usually something empty is filled: a bag with grain (Gen. 42:25), a horn with oil (1 S. 16:1), a house with smoke (Isa. 6:4), the cistern or valley with the slain (Ps. 110:6? read *gē'āyôt*;⁹ Jer. 41:9; Ezk. 32:5f.). The opposite of "being full" is the wasteland, the wilderness, the land with no human beings (Ezk. 26:2: "I shall become full, the wasteland"¹⁰); "so shall the ruined towns be filled with flocks of people" (Ezk. 36:38). Naomi laments: "I went away full [i.e., with my whole family], but Yahweh has brought me back empty (*rêqām*)" (Ruth 1:21).

The word is also used in the sense of "fill up, complete": "Complete the week of this one [bride]" (Gen. 29:27). In Babylon the hour draws near when Israel's time of service is fulfilled, i.e., when the measure of suffering is complete (Isa. 40:2). The Jordan was filled beyond its banks: "it was filled to the top" (Josh. 3:15; cf. 1 Ch. 12:16[15]). David delivered the required foreskins and "filled them up in addition": he made their number full (1 S. 18:27). According to 2 K. 9:24, "Jehu filled his hand [= his strength] through the bow."¹¹

Not only concrete things are used to fill, but immaterial ones as well. In a figurative sense a person is filled with wisdom (Dt. 34:9; 1 K. 7:14),¹² praise (Hab. 3:3), or indignation (Jer. 15:17). Zion is filled with righteousness (Isa. 33:5), a mouth with laughter (Job 8:21; Ps. 126:2), and loins with anguish (Isa. 21:3).

Hunger is like a hole; satisfying it means to fill that hole (Job 38:39; Ps. 107:9). People can be filled with drunkenness (*šikkārôn*) like "jars" with wine (Jer. 13:12f.).

The sense of "becoming filled," "being full," is amplified in certain contexts by the synonymous verb *šāba'*, "satisfy, sate" (Dt. 33:23; Ps. 17:14; 107:9; Ezk. 7:19).

8. GK, §117z.

9. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 344f.

10. Even if W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 27, translates "She who was (once) full is now laid waste," the contrast remains the same.

11. See discussion below.

12. See further V. Sasson, "An Unrecognized Juridical Term in the Yabneh-Yam Lawsuit and in an Unnoticed Biblical Parallel," *BASOR*, 232 (1978), 57-63.

Although Isaiah's vision does not speak of temple consecration (or profanation), the prophet does experience God's presence in a manner similar to such an occasion: he "saw Yahweh sitting on a throne, high and lofty; and his train filled the temple" (Isa. 6:1). Ps. 104:2 suggests a theophany involving light: the Lord's garment is light. Is it perhaps the brilliance of gold and silver that evokes the gleaming presence of the Lord in the assertion that the treasures of the nations fill the sacred house with "splendor" (Hag. 2:7)?

Several texts allude to God's presence in the land, in the world, or outside the temple, though in these cases one speaks differently than in the case of God's presence in the sanctuary. Hab. 2:14 asserts that knowledge (*da'at*) of the *kābôd* will fill the earth, and Hab. 3:3 says that praise (*t^ehillâ*) of the name of Yahweh will fill the earth, the advent of the Lord calling forth this worship. The earth can also "be full" of Yahweh's *hesed* (Ps. 33:5; 119:64), or of the divine beneficence in Israel's history and in mighty natural phenomena (Ps. 136).¹⁶ The only passage directly asserting that God himself is omnipresent in the world is Jer. 23:24: "Do I not fill heaven and earth?" No person can hide before God, for he is not only a God at hand, but also a God that is afar off. Isa. 6:3 takes a different view, where the MT should be maintained contra the old translations that presuppose the reading *māl^e'â*: "The fullness of the whole earth is his *kābôd*." If *mēlô'* is the subject,¹⁷ the assertion is that everything that fills the earth — human beings and other creatures — contributes to and proclaims God's honor (as in Ps. 19:2[1]).¹⁸ Certainly it remains true, however, that the earth is full of violence (Gen. 6:11), idols (Isa. 2:8), and bloody crimes (Ezk. 7:23). Yet this does not cloud the vision of the righteous person to the fact that the world is full of "God's mighty deeds."

Doubtful passages include Ps. 72:19; Nu. 14:21, where the MT attests a niph'al form which is usually altered into an active form. If the MT is maintained, the interpretation is as follows: the *kābôd* of God will be fulfilled (will be full, will become total) with the whole world. The essence of Yahweh's glory consists not only in his presence in the sanctuary, but also in his works in the entire world, works with which Yahweh "fills" his *kābôd*.

3. *millē' 'ah^arê YHWH*. The expression *millē' 'ah^arê YHWH* is usually translated "to render complete obedience, to follow with one's whole heart," or similarly. This interpretation agrees with the rendering of this expression in the LXX (*epakoloutheîn*) and suits the context well. The question remains, however, just how one is to complete the abbreviated expression. The addition of *lāleket*, "in order to go," or *lihyôt*, "to be," is not quite satisfactory. The reference to *lēb*, "heart, will," in various passages offers a third possibility. In Josh. 14, e.g., Caleb is praised for his faithfulness. Whereas his brothers made the people's heart (will) falter, Caleb "filled [its heart] behind the Lord" (v. 8). Reference can also be made to 1 K. 11:4,6 with its assertion that Solomon's heart was not *šālēm*, "whole," with Yahweh. He did what was evil in the sight of

16. → *תִּשְׁבַּח* *hesed*, V, 55.

17. See discussion below.

18. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), *in loc.*

Yahweh, and “did not fill [his heart] behind Yahweh,” since he also worshipped Ashtoreth and Milcom. A person’s heart can also “be full” to do evil (Eccl. 8:11), can “be full of booty” (Ex. 15:9) or filled with the spirit of truth (Dt. 34:9). These examples make the concise expression “fill behind Yahweh” more comprehensible. The heart contains nothing against Yahweh; it is fully, completely for or behind the Lord. As already indicated, the expression is applied several times to Caleb (Nu. 14:24; 32:11f.; Dt. 1:36; Josh. 14:8,14).

4. *millē' 'et-haddēbārîm*. Special attention should also be given those texts that speak of “fulfilling the words” (*millē' 'et-haddēbārîm*). We often hear that one fulfills with one’s hand what has been promised with one’s mouth (1 K. 8:15,24; 2 Ch. 6:4,15; 36:21; Jer. 44:25). The word (prophecy, vow, witness) is strengthened and actualized by an event (which can also consist of words). The “hand”¹⁹ represents might or power, and the words are thus filled with power. In this expression *mālē'* can be replaced by *hēqîm*, “establish,” and *šlm*, “complete, finish”: “Who establishes [actualizes] (*mēqîm*) the word of his servant and carries out (*yašlîm*) the counsel of his messengers” (Isa. 44:26; cf. Nu. 23:19; 1 S. 3:12).

Nothing new occurs in such fulfillment; rather, a word is made full, or is empowered. It then acquires unavoidable validity and will certainly come to pass. Thus Martin Noth does not understand the expression in the sense of “substantively amplify” or “complete,” but rather as “implement fully.”²⁰

Dnl. 4:30(33) shows clearly how closely related are prediction and occurrence: “In the same moment [that the voice sounded from heaven] the word was fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar.” The word was implemented. It is not “empty,” but rather brings about that which Yahweh has willed, and effects that for which he sent it (Isa. 55:11). For the immediate relationship between statement and fulfillment, cf. also 1 K. 2:27.

Finally, in 1 K. 1:14 Nathan says that he will come in to the king after Bathsheba, and while she yet speaks with the king he (Nathan) “will fulfill your words.” His message is the same as that of Bathsheba, his story the same. For just this reason he lends her words power and validity, since through two or three witnesses a word or matter is “sustained” (*yāqûm dābār*, Dt. 19:15). Thus it is hardly correct when C. F. D. Moule denies the meaning “confirmation” and translates “I will tell the whole story,” as if that story contained gaps to be filled.²¹

The LXX usually translates this expression with *plērōō tón lógon*, and once with *synteleíō*, “complete,” “finish” (Dnl. 4:30[33]).

5. *millē' 'et-yād*.

a. The expression *millē' yaḏ hakkōhēn*, “fill the hand of the priest,”²² occurs 16

19. → **יָד** *yād* (V, 393-426).

20. *Könige I-16*, BK, IX/1 (21983), 20.

21. P. 308.

22. → **יָד** *yād*, V, 409f.; → **כֹּהֵן** *kōhēn* IV (70f.).

times in reference to the consecration of priests: Ex. 28:41; 29:9,29,33,35; 32:29; Lev. 4:5 (LXX); 8:33(twice); 16:32; 21:10; Nu. 3:3; Jgs. 17:5,12; 1 K. 13:33; 2 Ch. 13:9; 29:31. The LXX directs our attention toward a certain interpretation by translating *millē* here not with *pímplēmi* (76 times) or *plērōō* (71 times), but rather with *teleiōō*, "to complete, bring to an end." The object is plural: *tás cheíras*. In one case the LXX abbreviates the expression by omitting reference to the hands (Lev. 21:10). This passage prompts us to think of a ritual whereby the priest is made suitable or qualified to exercise his office. Gerhard Delling²³ understands the term to mean "to make free from stain, unblemished."

From Lev. 21:10 it becomes clear that "hands" refer *pars pro toto* to the priest as such, and that the concern is with the cultic purity of the entire person. The Vulg. translates as *consecrare*, "consecrate." Commentators generally refer to the Akkadian expression *mullû qātā*, "to commission a person with something, to empower a person for the priesthood."²⁴ Both Roland de Vaux²⁵ and Noth²⁶ adduce a Mari text²⁷ which refers to the filling of officers' hands with a portion of the spoils of war. *Mutatis mutandi* one might thus take this to refer in the OT to the priests' income. The earliest passage in which the expression *millē* 'et-yādō occurs (Jgs. 17:5,12) speaks of the salary of the Levite who has become priest in the house of Micah: ten pieces of silver a year, a suit of apparel, and his living (v. 10). The later, comprehensive description of the installation of priests (Ex. 29; Lev. 8) draws attention to the priests' portion of the sacrificial offering (Ex. 29:28). Thus it may well be that the distribution of a portion of the offering provides the background to this expression. Noth relates this to the witness in the Mari texts and suggests that the filling of the hand refers to the apportionment of a part of the sacrifices offered in the sanctuary.²⁸

Konrad Rupprecht has objected to this thesis with some success. Although the passages in question do speak of the portions of the sacrifice allotted to the priest, and although this was doubtlessly of considerable importance for the priest, there is nowhere any indication that the pledge of income or any symbolic handing over of flesh, etc. ever constituted an actual celebratory part of the consecration ritual. The term is usually a general designation of priestly consecration and, when the latter is described in some detail (Ex. 29; Lev. 8), is associated with other rites as well; one should not be tempted into understanding the "filling of the hand" as a literal "giving into someone's hand." Various exegetes seek the origin of the expression in this direction,²⁹ pointing out that

23. TDNT, VIII, 82f. and n. 20.

24. AHW, II (1972), 598, *ana qāt X mullû*; cf. A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus. KeHAT*, 12 (Leipzig, 1880), on Lev. 7:37; A. Malamat, "The Ban in Mari and the Bible," *Biblical Essays 1966. OuTWP* (Stellenbosch, 1966), 48, who directs attention to *ana mil qātišunu* as "a certain ritual nuance, referring to the appropriation of such objects."

25. *Anclsr*, 346f.

26. *The Laws in the Pentateuch*, 231-33.

27. C.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses. ARM*, II (1959, repr. 1978), 13.

28. So also F. Michaeli, *Le livre de l'Exode. CAT*, II (1974), 257.

29. So U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1967), 386; J. H. Hertz, *Leviticus* (Oxford, 1936) 66; *Anclsr*, 346f.; Dillmann, *in loc.*

the actual consecration occurred when the priest performed the altar service for the first time, receiving thereupon the allotted portion of the sacrifice. The fact that an explicit distinction is made between consecration (Lev. 8) and the actual taking of office (Lev. 9) militates against this thesis. Furthermore, the word *yād* is used in the singular, whereas the Hebrew in the phrase "to lay into a person's hand" uses *kap* or *hōpen* rather than *yād*. When the priest actually fills his hand in the literal sense upon taking office, the expression is *way'mallē' kappô* (Lev. 9:17; cf. Ex. 29:24; Ps. 129:7; Ezk. 10:2; etc.). Delling³⁰ correctly points out the difference in the LXX between *pímplēmi tás cheíras* (Lev. 9:17; 16:12) and *teleióō tás cheíras* (Ex. 29:9,29,33,35; Lev. 8:33), the latter having absolutely nothing to do with the former. The translator consciously rendered the two expressions differently.

In the regulations for the consecration of priests in Ex. 29; Lev. 8 we notice that in the first part of Ex. 29 the "filling of the hand" summarizes several different acts: the washing with water, the putting on of the sacred garments, the placing of the holy diadem, and the anointing with oil (vv. 4,7,9). In v. 35, too, this expression designates the entire seven-day consecration procedure. The same summarizing reference also occurs in Ex. 32:29; Nu. 3:3; 1 K. 13:33; 2 Ch. 13:9; 29:31. In other passages, however, the anointing and filling of the hand occur as two separate designations for the consecration of priests; Ex. 29:29; 28:41; Lev. 16:32 all mention "the anointed and hand-filled priest" (compare Lev. 21:10 and 4:5 with the LXX). Sir. 45:15 uses the reverse order: hand-filled and anointed. This distinction between anointing and *millē' 'et-yādô* leads to the conclusion that these were two important components of the consecration of priests, each of which alone could serve as a designation of the consecration as such, though they were distinguished in the ceremony itself (in contrast, Ex. 29:9b refers only to the "hand filling," this designation including the act of anointing).

For the interpretation of the notion of "hand filling" it is important to consider what is said about what is called the *millu'îm* ram (Ex. 29:19-35). The pl. *millu'îm*, "filling, ordination," summarizes various parts of the service.³¹ The word seldom occurs alone, but rather usually in connection with *'ayil*, "ram" (Ex. 29:22,26,27,31; Lev. 8:22,29), *bāśār*, "flesh" (Ex. 29:34), *'ôlâ*, "offering" (Lev. 8:28), *sal*, "basket" (Lev. 8:31), and *yāmîm*, "days of hand-filling" (Lev. 8:33). It occurs once independently in a series of offering types (Lev. 7:37). It is not immediately clear just which of the previously mentioned offerings is meant.³² The most likely candidate is suggested by Lev. 6:12-23, which in connection with the cereal offering mentions one tenth of an ephah of fine flour as the priest's cereal offering "on the day when one of them is anointed." Now Ex. 29; Lev. 8, the chapters concerned with the ordination of priests, both mention fine flour used to make cakes (Ex. 29:2,23; Lev. 8:3,26). These cakes were burned with the second ram, the *millu'îm* ram, as a *millu'îm* offering (Lev. 8:28). The cakes were placed

30. Pp. 80f., 82f.

31. GK, §124f.

32. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. HAT, IV (1966), 103, 119.

into a basket and brought to the altar. In one instance this basket is called the “basket of hand-filling (NRSV ‘of ordination offerings’)” (Lev. 8:31). Thus in the above-mentioned passages the expression *milluʾīm* is always associated with the ordination ritual of the priests, and especially with the offering of the second ram.

The offering of the second ram is thus of special significance in connection with the hand-filling of the priest. A distinction is made between the anointing, the ceremony of the bull offering, and the ram of the burnt offering (Ex. 29:10-18). After Aaron and his sons have laid their hands upon the head of the second ram,³³ its blood is put on the candidates’ ear, thumb, and great toe (v. 20). Blood, mixed with oil, is then sprinkled on the priests and their garments (v. 21). Parts of the sacrifice are placed with the bread into their hands, waved back and forth, and then burned on the altar (vv. 22-25). The breast and thigh are given to the priests, to be eaten as a peace offering (vv. 26-28). These specific parts of the sacrifice are to be a perpetual due to the priests from the people of Israel (Lev. 7:34). Ex. 29:33 offers the explanatory remark that this food “fills their hand”; in this respect they are clearly distinguished from other people, who are not permitted to eat of it (v. 33). At the conclusion we find that the ceremony of the hand-filling lasts seven days in this form (v. 35), though the final sentence does not clarify whether the entire ritual extends over one week or whether everything is performed seven times, each day anew. Lev. 8 describes the ordination of priests in the same way.

The conclusion must be that *millē* *ʾet-yād* is either a general designation for the ordination of priests or constitutes an integral part of such ordination, namely, the application of blood, the apportionment of sacrificial flesh, and the meal. The rite of hand-filling refers *pars pro toto* to the consecration of priests. Thus the anointing of the priest is also a part of the ceremony (e.g., distinguished from the hand-filling in Lev. 16:32; Nu. 3:3), and is often the designation for the consecration or the condition as such of having been consecrated (Ex. 40:15; Lev. 4:3; 6:15[22]; Nu. 35:25). The ritual of hand-filling is a ritual of strengthening one’s efficacy as priest, of “full” empowerment, of “filling” the soul, rendering it capable of performing the service at the altar; the word *yād* in this context is thus to be understood in the sense of “efficacy, power”³⁴ (e.g., Lev. 25:35; Dt. 32:27; Jgs. 7:11; 9:24; 1 Ch. 29:24). G. te Stroete³⁵ correctly translates Ex. 29:9 as “you shall anoint them” (i.e., equip them with the power necessary to carry out the office), “give them power and consecrate them.” Dt. 33:11 speaks of the “strength, efficacy” (*hayil*) of the priest.

It comes as no surprise that reference is made to filling the “hand” of the altar (Ezk. 43:26). The sanctuary, too, and especially the altar, possesses a “soul” that can be extinguished and must thus be “charged” anew. It is fortified by the sprinkling of blood and other atonement rites. (The LXX has misunderstood the passage, having not the “hand of the altar,” but rather the “hands of the priest” be completed or filled.)

33. → *סמך* *sāmak*.

34. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, “*יָד* *yād* Hand,” *THAT*, I, 667ff., sub c.

35. *Exodus. BOT*, I/2, (1963), 207.

Thus, too, it is not surprising that Ex. 32:29 exhorts the Levites, who have become unclean through contact with the dead, to renew themselves with efficacy and power, i.e., to fill their hand so as to receive blessing and power for their office.

b. The expression *millē* *'et-yādô* is used in yet another context. In 1 Ch. 29:5, David invites the people to bring gold and silver to build the house of God. He asks: "Who then is willing to fill his hand for Yahweh?" David himself has acted commensurate with his own ability (*kōah*, v. 2) by donating numerous precious things and even a second offering: thousands of talents of gold and silver. Who now also wishes to increase his own "strength" so as to be capable for the service of Yahweh? Who now wishes to "make his heart whole" (*šālēm*) for God (v. 9)? Understood in this way, 1 Ch. 29:5 is also speaking of a kind of "consecration."

A similar train of thought can help us clarify the expression *millē* *yād* in reference to military service. Warriors are in a special way consecrated to the Lord and "sacred." 2 K. 9:24 does not relate that Jehu "took his bow into hand," but rather that he "filled" his hand "with the bow" and shot Joram. This is likely saying that Jehu filled up his *yād*, i.e., his strength or might, complemented with a weapon. Now he is removed from normal life and "consecrated" to a superhuman commission (cf. 2 S. 23:7: the worthless are like thorns which one does not touch with one's hand; rather let one "fill" [add: *yād*, his hand] with iron). The weapon gives him strength and ability; through it he is full of power. Jer. 4:5 can be understood similarly: *qir'û mal'û* means to "call together, fill yourselves (with strength)." The decision must be made. The people should leave behind land and house and gather into the fortified cities in order to resist the enemy. This decision demands strength. Although this interpretation is preferable, one might also complete the phrase with the subst. *qôl*: "voice, sound." Thus the usual translation is "call (together), fill (your voice)," i.e., call with a full voice, with full sound.

Jer. 12:6 is also usually understood in this way. Here, too, the combination "call" and "fill" occurs. This sentence, however, has a different structure, since the subject changes (plural and singular), and the expression *qār'û mālē* is split by the prep. *'ah^areykā*. Hence the translation "to call with a full voice" is unsatisfactory. I would like to read here as follows: "For even your brothers and the house of your father, even they have dealt treacherously with you, they cry after you 'fill yourself' [with strength, *mālē* piel impv., i.e., 'be strong'], but trust them not, though they speak fair words to you." That is, the brothers behave like the prophet's comrades: they encourage him to continue the struggle. Their intention, however, is to bring him down. D. Winton Thomas³⁶ suggests a different meaning for *mālē*, namely, "to gather together, mobilize." He points Jer. 12:6 as *m^elō*, "mass, multitude" (cf. Gen. 48:19; Isa. 31:4) or *mālē* (piel inf. abs.), "mass together, assemble," and translates: "They have raised a hue and cry after him, they have massed together to hunt him down." G. R. Driver³⁷ interprets "help, everyone!" similarly when he suggests that the element "All together" is actualized in the root *ml*. Among other reasons, Winton Thomas cites the LXX

36. Pp. 47ff.

37. "Jeremiah, XII,6," *JJS*, 5 (1954), 178.

rendering *synēchthēsan* in supporting the interpretation of Jer. 4:5 as “assemble, mobilize”: “The phrase *qir’ū mal’ū* means literally proclaim, assemble a *m^{elō}*, i.e. assemble an assembly, a phrase which is equivalent to ‘proclaim mobilisation.’”³⁸ It seems rather peculiar, however, that “assembling” should be mentioned twice in immediate succession (cf. *hē’āsēpū*). Furthermore, Winton Thomas also adds *m^{elō}* to the text (as others add *qôl*). In Jer. 4:5, as well as in many other passages, one can make do equally well with the usual meaning of *mālē* in the sense of “to fill, be full” and add a *yād*, “strength” (compare the *millē* *’et-yād* texts and Ezk. 43:26; 1 Ch. 29:5; 2 S. 23:7; 2 K. 9:24).

Rykle Borger³⁹ has clarified the interpretation of the cry “fill the shields!” (Jer. 51:11). He points out that the word *š^{el}lāṭīm*, which is almost always translated as “shield,” is correctly rendered by the LXX as *pharétra*, “quiver.” In all the biblical passages *šeleṭ* means “quiver,” the only question being whether this refers only to comprehensive quivers for arrows and bow or also simply to the quiver for arrows.⁴⁰ Thus *mil’ū* here exhibits the normal, concrete meaning: something empty is filled. Arrows will thus fill a quiver.

IV. Derivatives.

1. *m^{elō}*. The subst. *m^{elō}*, “fullness,” refers to that which fills something or makes it full, e.g., *m^{elō} kap*, “a handful” (1 K. 17:12; Eccl. 4:6). One especially frequent expression is *hā’āreṣ ūm^{elō}’ā*, “the earth and what fills it” (Dt. 33:16; Ps. 24:1; 50:12; Isa. 34:1; Jer. 8:16; 47:2; Ezk. 19:7; 30:12; cf. Ps. 89:12[11]). It can also mean “the land and its fullness” (Jer. 8:16; Ezk. 12:19; 19:7). Dt. 33:16; Isa. 24:1; Mic. 1:2 suggest that the reference here is to that which grows and lives upon the earth,⁴¹ especially human beings and the various peoples (cf. Jer. 8:16; 47:2). Am. 6:8 speaks of the city and its fullness, i.e., its inhabitants. The opposite of the land with its fullness is the wasteland, the devastated earth (Ezk. 12:19; 30:12; 32:15; 36:38). In the first verse of Ps. 24, we find a parallel between the fullness of the earth and the inhabitants of the world (cf. Ps. 50:12; 89:12[11]; 98:7). It is God’s commission to human beings to multiply and fill the earth (Gen. 1:28; 9:7). God is praised because he filled the land with the vine, i.e., with the people of Israel (Ps. 80:10[9]). Ezk. 36:38 promises “so shall the ruined towns be filled with flocks of people” (*m^{elē}’ôṭ šō’n ’ādām*; cf. Isa. 26:15); the psalmist is referring not only to human beings, but to all living things: “In wisdom you have made them all; the earth is full of your creatures” (Ps. 104:24). The formula *hayyām ūm^{elō}’ô* is similar; the sea shelters the fishes and teams with living creatures: “God made the sea and all that is in it” (Ex. 20:11; Ps. 96:11; Isa. 42:10). This interpretation also closely approximates Gen. 48:19 with its assurance that Ephraim will be a “fullness (NRSV ‘multitude’) of nations,” i.e., a multiplicity of tribes inhabiting the land. (In Rom. 11:12, one should follow the LXX and read *plēthos* rather

38. *Ibid.*, 177.

39. VT, 22 (1972), 385-398.

40. *Ibid.*, 397f.

41. A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua. KEHAT XIII* (21886), 426.

than *plērōma*.) Isa. 31:4 is similar with its reference to the “fullness of shepherds,” i.e., the whole band, the totality of shepherds. And whereas we say “its full length” or “its full breadth,” Hebrew refers to the “fullness of its length” and the “fullness of its breadth” (e.g., of the land; 1 S. 28:20; Isa. 8:8).⁴²

2. *millu'im*.⁴³ The term *millu'im* is also used, like *millu'ā*, to refer to the filling (of precious stones) in the oracular breastpiece of the high priest (Ex. 25:7; 35:9,27; 1 Ch. 29:2; Ex. 28:17,20; 39:13). One might ask whether the “setting” of the breastpiece is referring only to a technical act or perhaps also to spiritual strengthening and “ordination,” a kind of consecration.

3. *millô*. The term *millô*, “filling, solid fill, terrace, rampart” (Akk. *tamlû*) is generally taken to refer in Jgs. 9:6,20; 2 S. 5:9; 1 K. 9:15,24; 11:27; 1 Ch. 11:8; 2 Ch. 32:5 to a building or area in Shechem or Jerusalem. It is best not to translate the word, but rather to render it simply as “Millo.” It refers to the acropolis of the old city of David, and in Solomon’s time to the temple and palace area.⁴⁴ It is advisable here to allow the word’s fundamental meaning to resonate, which suggests an elevation or filling up of a piece of property. As a rule a natural elevation was preferred, though such property often had to be restructured through artificial solid fill to render it more serviceable.⁴⁵ Uncertainty still surrounds the exact location of the Millo in Jerusalem. Kathleen M. Kenyon is inclined to understand the Millo as a terracelike, solid-fill platform on the eastern slope of the Ophel.⁴⁶ Manfred Görg⁴⁷ suggests a “parklike layout . . . in the southern part of the Solomonic temple area,” and refers to the establishment of the “gardens of Aton” in Amarna.

Snijders

V. Qumran. The term *ml'* occurs quite frequently in the writings of Qumran. The verb *mālē* occurs about 40 times, the adj. *mālē* 6 times (almost always spelled with *h* in the Temple scroll), the subst. *m'elô* 5 times (uncertain reading in 4Q493 1:5). The term *millu'im* occurs only in 11QT 15 (4 times), where it is associated with a consecration festival only the rudiments of which are yet identifiable in rabbinic sources⁴⁸ and which is dependent ritually on Lev. 8:14ff.; Ex. 29:1ff. The “hand-filling” was also practiced in Qumran within the framework of the consecration of priests (1QSb 5:17) and was considered a necessary prerequisite for priestly service (11QT 35:6).

42. Cf. also L. Prijs, “Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-hebräischen Wörterbuch,” *ZDMG*, 120 (1970), 19.

43. For *millu'im*, see also III.5 above.

44. K. Gallig, “Jerusalem 3.b,” *BRL*², 160.

45. Cf. K. Gallig, “Akropolis,” *BRL*².

46. Cf. the overview of K. R. Veenhof in “De muren van Jeruzalem,” *Phoenix*, 11 (1965), 214-221.

47. “*kp* und *kp n rdwj*,” *Göttinger Miszellen*, 20 (1976), 29f.

48. Cf. Y. Yadin, ed., *M'gillat hammiqdaš* [The Temple Scroll], I (Jerusalem, 1977), 75ff., 110ff.

Otherwise the term *ml'* occurs with the simple concrete meanings "filled up" (cisterns, 3Q15 2:1; a pot, 3Q15 4:8), and "in full strength, full number" (the military host, 1QM 5:3), with the figurative meaning "pregnant" (cattle, 11QT 52:5), "full of wind" (horses, 1QM 6:12), in the semantic sphere "completion or fulfillment of a specific time period, age, etc." (1QS 7:20,22; 1QSa 1:10,12; 1QM 17:9; CD 10:1), and in connection with statements about the theology of creation (1QH 16:3; 1QS 3:16; 1QM 12:12; 19:4; CD 2:11; 4QEn^e 5).

Fabry

מלאך *mal'āk*

Contents: I. Distribution. II. Etymology. III. Ancient Near East: 1. Ugarit; 2. Aramaic Evidence; 3. Mesopotamia; 4. Phoenicia. IV. Human Envoys: 1. Personal Envoys; 2. Political Envoys; a. *ml'k* (singular); b. *ml'k* (plural). V. Divine Envoys: 1. General; 2. Prophets; 3. Priests; 4. *mal'āk* YHWH / *mal'āk* 'ēlōhīm. VI. Metaphorical Usage. VII. Qumran.

I. Distribution. The word *mal'āk* occurs 213 times in the OT and refers to both human and divine "messengers." The meaning "messenger" is confirmed by the verbs with which *mal'āk* appears: *šlh*, "to send" (56 times), *bw'*, "to come" (16 times), *'mr*, "to say" (29 times), *dbr*, "to speak" (11 times), *hlk*, "to go" (9 times), *šwb*, "to return" (6 times), as well as *qr'*, "to call," *yš'*, "to go out," *yrd*, "to go down," and *ngd* hiphil,

mal'āk. W. Baumgartner, "Zum Problem des 'Jahwe-Engels,'" *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* (Leiden, 1959), 240-46; V. Calvianu, "Sesul expresiei 'trimisul lui Dumnezeu' (Malak-Jahve) in VT," *Studi Teologice București*, 27 (1975), 226-231; J. L. Cunchillos, *Cuando los angeles eran dioses. Bibliotheca Salmanticensis* 14/12 (1976); *idem*, "Étude philologique de *mal'āk*," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT*, 32 (1981), 30-51; R. Ficker, "מלאך *mal'āk* Bote," *THAT*, I, 900-908; B. Graham, *Angels: God's Secret Agents* (New York, 1975); S. M. Grill, "Synonyme Engelnamen im AT," *ThZ*, 18 (1962), 241-46; H. Gross, "Der Engel im AT," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 6 (1959), 28-42; F. Guggisberg, *Die Gestalt des Mal'ak Jahwe im AT* (diss., Neuenburg, 1979); W. G. Heidt, *Angelology of the OT* (Washington, 1949); V. Hirt, *Gottes Boten im AT* (diss., Leipzig, 1971); D. M. Irwin, *The Comparison of Tales from the OT and the Ancient Near East* (diss., Tübingen, 1977); A. Kniazef and V. Moustakis, "Ἄγγελος," *Threskeutike kai ethike enkyklopaideia* I (Athens, 1962), 172-196; J. S. Licht, "מלאך," *EMiqr*, IV (1962), 975-990; J. Michl, "Engel II (jüdisch)," *RAC*, V (1962), 60-97; R. North, "Separated Spiritual Substances in the OT," *CBQ*, 29 (1967), 419-449; M. Paulas, *Ursprung und Geschichte der kirchlichen Engelverehrung* (diss., Vienna, 1971); H. Röttger, *Mal'ak Jahwe — Bote von Gott. Regensburger Studien zur Theologie*, 13 (1978); A. Rofé, *Israelite Belief in Angels in the Pre-Exilic Period as Evidenced by Biblical Traditions* (diss., Jerusalem, 1969); H. Seebass, "Engel II: AT," *TRE*, IX, 583-86; J. Urquiza, *Jahweh und sein Mal'akh* (diss., Vienna, 1972); M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les "messagers" (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes. PCRHP*, 2/6 (1976); A. S. van der Woude, "De *Mal'ak Jahweh*: een Godsode," *NedThT* 18 (Wageningen, 1963), 1-13.

“to bring news, recount.” Here *mal'āk* refers to an individual who is sent to someone for the purpose of conveying a message or of carrying out an order. The *mal'āk* speaks, receives a response, and returns to the one who sent him.

These messengers appear in both the human and divine spheres, though the difference seems to be more spatial than metaphysical; i.e., divine messengers are those sent by God from his heavenly abode, while human messengers are sent by earthly chieftains. The *mal'āk* does not report his own message; his function and message are dependent upon the will of the person who sends him. His significance derives not from who he is, but from who his superior is. This territorial distinction is evidenced by the role of the prophet, a human being who is a divine messenger. The prophet is a witness to what goes on in the heavenly council;¹ although he is to deliver God's message, he generally remains on earth.

The LXX translates *mal'āk* without distinction as *ángelos* in agreement with Classical Greek usage, whereas the Vulg. distinguishes between *nuntius* (a messenger of human beings) and *angelus* (a messenger of God).

II. Etymology. The subst. *mal'āk* derives like the abstract noun *mal'ākūt* (Hag. 1:13) and → מַלְאָכָה *mēlā'kā* from the verbal stem *l'k*, “to depute, minister, send a messenger,”² which, while attested neither in Hebrew nor in Akkadian, is probably attested in Ugarit and in the South Semitic languages.³ The root *hlk* is probably related etymologically.⁴

III. Ancient Near East.

1. *Ugarit*. The Ugaritic evidence⁵ is important for three reasons: First, it contains the only attestations of the verb *l'k*; second, *ml'k* is used in the dual; thus two messengers are always being sent; and third, *ml'k* is used to refer to both political and divine messengers. The verb is used to refer to the sending of messengers⁶ or to the bringing of a message (*spr d lākt*⁷). Based on this evidence *l'k* would be comparable to Heb. *šālah*.

The subst. *ml'k* occurs in the Keret epic, where the exchange between Keret and King Pabil of Udm always takes place through messengers.⁸ The context shows that the ending *-m* is to be taken as a marker of the dual. These messengers are political

1. → סוֹד *sôd*.

2. HAL, II (1995), 585.

3. *Ibid.*, II, 513.

4. On the etymology, cf. further E. L. Greenstein, “Trans-Semitic Idiomatic Equivalency and the Derivation of Hebrew *ml'kh*,” *UF*, 11 (1979), 329-336.

5. *WUS*, no. 1423; *UT*, no. 1344.

6. *KTU*, 1.14 III, 19f.; 1.4 V, 42; 1.2 I, 22; 1.24, 16; in letters, e.g., 2.10, 10; 2.30, 17; this probably also includes *KTU*, 1.4 VII, 45, where *dll* probably means “broker” or something similar rather than “tribute”; see J. Sanmartín, “Zu den ‘ad(d)-Denominierungen im Ugaritischen,” *UF*, 12 (1980), 347.

7. *KTU*, 2.14, 7.

8. *Ibid.*, 1.14 III, 19f.; IV 32f.; VI 35; see also *ANET*, 142-49.

envoys delivering messages. In the Ba'al-'Anat cycle, the *ml'k* appears as the companion of a god, especially of Yamm.⁹

Freedman-Willoughby

J. L. Cunchillos has shown that *l'k* does not mean merely "to send," but rather "to send a messenger/message." The *ml'k* functions as a connecting link between two persons or groups, thus bringing the two separated parties together. His specific functions range from that of a simple messenger or envoy to those of a fully empowered ambassador. Otherwise he does not identify himself with the person who sends him except when he actually carries out his mission. In that situation he speaks "in the name of," though without in any metaphysical sense actually being the person who sent him. Any identification is merely functional, and only in this sense does the *ml'k* "represent" the person who has commissioned him.

It is interesting to note that Akk. *mār šipri* (lit., "son of the message," i.e., messenger) is related to *šipru* with its double meaning "message" and "work" in the same way that *mal'āk* is related to *m'lā'kâ*, "work," though occasionally also "commission, message."¹⁰

Ringgren

2. *Aramaic Evidence.* The term *ml'k* occurs 5 times in the extant Aramaic literature: twice in the eighth-century-B.C. Old Aramaic Sefire inscriptions,¹¹ twice in the Biblical Aramaic of Daniel, and once in a Judean Aramaic inscription.¹² Both occurrences of *ml'k* in the Sefire inscriptions (*ml'ky*, "my ambassador," and *ml'kh*, "his ambassador") are employed with the verb *šlh*, "to send," and refer to political emissaries sent from one king to another to negotiate peace or to report important governmental decisions. The term seems to refer to an officer of the royal court whose responsibility is to bring information from and back to the king.

Biblical Aramaic evidence of *mal'āk* is found in Dnl. 3:28; 6:23[Eng. v. 22]. In both instances the term refers to an angel who rescues the innocent from unjust punishment. Here, too, it is used with *šlh*: God sent his angel to deliver Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego from the fire (3:28) and Daniel from a den of lions (6:23[22]). The pl. const. *ml'ky* appears in Judean Aramaic with the same meaning.¹³

3. *Mesopotamia.* Akkadian evidence for this root is extremely uncertain. A *mālaku* appears in one Old Babylonian text¹⁴ which reads: *PN mālakī aṭṭardakku šipātīm mala tīšû . . . ṭurdam*, with the possible translation, "I am sending you PN, my messenger; send me all the wool which you have." If *mālaku* does indeed refer here to a "messenger," then the reference is to a personal envoy.

9. *KTU*, 1.2 I, 22, 26, 28, 30, 44; see also *ANET*, 129-142.

10. → מלאכה *m'lā'kâ* (VIII, 325-331).

11. *KAI*, 224, 8.

12. *DISO*, 151.

13. *JKF*, I, 203, 4.

14. *CT*, 29, 21, 19.

4. *Phoenicia*. Finally, *ml'k* appears in a Phoenician inscription from Ma'sūb (222 B.C.).¹⁵ The text mentions (l. 2) the *ml'k mlk'srt*, "the messenger of Milk Astarte" (a deity of the Phoenician pantheon). From the context, *ml'k* refers to a priest or prominent citizen who represented the community's relationship with its deity.

IV. Human Envoys.

1. *Personal Envoys*. The OT contains only 4 references to a personal envoy (2 sg., 2 pl.), two of which occur in the Wisdom Literature. Prov. 13:17 reads: *mal'āk rāšā' yippōl b'rā' w'sîr 'mûnîm marpē'*. The reading *yappîl* is recommended on grounds of parallelism, with the translation: "A bad messenger brings trouble, but a faithful envoy [brings] healing." This passage does not seem to deal with the content of the message, only with the character of the messenger. The author presumably has in mind the disruptive consequences of false reporting or failure on the part of the messenger to carry out his assignment.

Since the authority of the sender is bound up in the legate, this passage leaves open the question of how an unfavorable report by a faithful messenger can produce healing. The terms *sîr* and *mal'āk* are in synonymous parallelism here (cf. Isa. 18:2 with its plural forms), though *sîr*, "messenger, envoy," is a far less frequently used term in this sense.

The occurrence in Job 1:14 portrays a messenger in a realistic scene and exemplifies the basic, standard role of the messenger in delivering a message from a sender to a receiver.

Personal envoys (pl.) appear in Gen. 32:4,7(3,6), where Jacob sends *mal'ākîm* to Esau to announce his return home and to inform Esau that Jacob's intentions are peaceful and conciliatory. Such a gesture was in order after the stealing of the blessing of the first-born and the resulting tension between the two.¹⁶

The paucity of examples of personal messengers in the OT is the result of an overt attempt by its authors to write about Israel as a political and social unity from the time of the exodus onward in which the *mal'āk* refers to an envoy of the local or national government. Since the common, everyday occurrences of the average citizen are of little interest, personal envoys rarely appear.

2. *Political Envoys*. The term *mal'āk* is employed in the singular 16 times and in the plural 72 times to refer to a government agent whose basic function is to convey messages either within the land itself or between lands. The abundance of the plural forms attests the common political practice of sending more than one messenger for reasons of security (to increase the possibility that the message would be delivered should the contingent of emissaries come under attack), of accuracy in delivering the message, and to underscore one's own status.

15. KAI, 19.

16. Cf. D. Thompson, *The Genesis Messenger Stories and Their Theological Significance* (diss., Tübingen, 1972).

the king of Assyria sends the Rabshakeh to demand the surrender of Jerusalem), but in response a person of superior status or rank expects a personal appearance from his inferior rather than an envoy.

Finally, according to Ezk. 23:40 it was customary to dispatch envoys into other nations in order to invite dignitaries to visit and to form alliances (cf. Isa. 14:32; 18:2; 30:4; 33:7; Ezk. 17:15; 23:16).

b. *ml'k* (plural). The pl. *mal'ākîm* occurs 89 times in the OT, 72 times in reference to political envoys. These missions were both intrastate (Josh. 7:22; 1 S. 6:21) and international (Jgs. 11:17; 2 S. 5:11; 1 K. 20:2; 2 K. 16:7; 17:4; 19:9). Envoys were employed for communication between citizens (1 S. 6:21), kings (2 S. 5:11), generals (2 S. 3:26), and other administrative and military personnel. Although in fact anyone who was dispatched with a message could be a *mal'āk*, the frequent use of the term in political contexts (from the time of the tribal league onward) points to a conclusion that the term *mal'āk* also designated a government official, a "legate."

Besides delivering messages, the *mal'ākîm* also occasionally gathered intelligence and arrested criminals. The men who were sent to spy out the land of Jericho (*'anāšîm ham'ragg'îlîm*) are also called *mal'ākîm* (Josh. 6:17,25). Both terms reflect the functions these men were to perform: to "foot about" the land and then return with their report.²³ According to Josh. 7:22, Joshua sent *mal'ākîm* to find goods plundered from Jericho and to locate the guilty parties (cf. above Prov. 17:11 and EA 54; 2 K. 6:32; 1 S. 19:14). Josh. 6,7 show that the number of *mal'ākîm* sent depended on the task and the responsibilities involved.

There are only 5 references to political envoys in the Pentateuch (4 of those occur in Numbers). Moses sends *mal'ākîm* to the king of Edom and to Sihon, the king of the Amorites, to obtain safe passage through their land (Nu. 20:14; 21:21; Dt. 2:26). Balak summons Balaam through messengers (Nu. 24:12) to curse Israel (22:5). All 5 occurrences show the *mal'ākîm* to be typical political legates.

In prophetic literature, *mal'ākîm* appear as government officials dispatched for the purpose of initiating political alliances. Isaiah (Isa. 14:28-32) gave an oracle in the year King Ahaz died (715 B.C.) concerning the premature celebration of the Philistines, who were encouraged to rebel against Assyria because of Egyptian resurgence under the Ethiopian King Piankhy (the revolt did indeed take place the next year, led by Ashdod, but was crushed by Sargon). Isaiah's message is clear: Assyria will put down the rebellion. Thus he concluded his oracle with the following statement: *ûmah-yya'aneh mal'a-kê-gôy kî YHWH yissad šîyyôn ûbāh yeh'esû 'aniyyê ammô*, "What will one answer the messengers of the nation? Yahweh has founded Zion, and the needy among his people will find refuge in her," or "What can the messengers of the nation respond, for Yahweh has founded Zion, and the needy among his people will find refuge in her." With the former (traditional) translation, Isaiah's conclusion is that the Philistine envoys who urged Judah to join the rebellion against Assyria will receive the reply: Yahweh himself is the security for Jerusalem and its inhabitants. Verse 32b is the answer in the

23. Cf. EA, 162.

form of indirect discourse (*kî*) to the question posited in v. 32a, and the evidence for such a conclusion is presented in the oracle itself. This analysis takes *mal'ākê* as the direct object of *ya'aneh*, which itself lacks a definite subject.²⁴ In the second translation, *mal'ākê-gôy* is taken as a collective for the Philistine ambassadors. The phrase serves as the subject of *ya'aneh*, while *kî* introduces a causal dependent clause. The effect of this analysis is that there is no reply that the ambassadors of Philistia can produce to counteract the evidence presented in the oracle.

The same historical context is the setting for Isa. 18:1-7, where Cushite envoys (*šîrîm*) have come to enlist Judah in the revolt. Isaiah admonishes these "swift messengers" (*mal'ākîm qallîm*) to depart for Egypt and declare to the Egyptians that Israel is prepared to wait for Yahweh. The function of the *šîrîm* and *mal'ākîm* is the same (cf. Prov. 13:17). Jer. 27:3; Ezk. 17:15; 23:16 also attest such internationally active political *mal'ākîm*.

A difficult passage occurs in Nah. 2:11-14(10-13), where the prophet describes the crimes of Nineveh which brought about its destruction. He speaks metaphorically, referring to Nineveh as a "cave" (*m'ārâ*; MT *mir'eh*, "pasture") from which the lion (the Assyrian army) kills its prey for its lioness and cubs. Although it is not uncommon for a predatory ruler or an aggressive nation to be compared with a lion (cf. Prov. 28:15; Jer. 50:17), Nah. 2:14(13) nonetheless seems out of place. It reads as follows:

*hîn'ni 'ēlayîk n'um YHWH š'bā'ôṭ
w'hib'artî be'āšān rikbāh ûk'pîrayîk tō'kal hāreb
w'hikrattî mē'ereš tarpēk w'lō'-yiššāma' 'ôḏ qôl mal'ākēkēh*

"See, I am against you, says Yahweh of hosts, and I will burn your (MT 'her') chariots in smoke, and the sword shall devour your young lions; I will cut them off from the land of your prey; and the voice of your messengers shall be heard no more."

Three points of analysis can clarify the passage and the interpretation of *qôl mal'ākēkēh*. The peculiar suffix is the result²⁵ of scribal error from *mal'ākayîk* with dittography of the following *h* (Nah. 3:1). Textual emendation according to the LXX²⁶ is now no longer advisable considering the evidence of 4QpNah 2:1. First, the traditional translation of *hikrattî* . . . , "I will cut off your prey from the earth," is in error. The phrase is parallel to *ûk'pîrayîk tō'kal hāreb*. Just as the young lions devour their prey, so the tables will be turned, and the sword of Yahweh will devour the lions and cut them off from their prey. Yahweh will not destroy the prey, but the lions (i.e., the Assyrian army). The sword of Yahweh both devours and cuts, and the object of these actions is the same in both phrases: the young lions. Thus the object of both *tō'kal* and *w'hikrattî* is *k'pîrayîk*. Yahweh "cuts off" with his sword which "devours." The phrase *mē'ereš tarpēk* is a construct chain.

Second, Nah. 2:14(13) is thematically related to 3:15, which reads: *šām tō'k'lēk 'ēš*

24. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27. BK, X/2* (1978), 573ff.

25. So GK, §911.

26. So KBL³; K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, II: Nahum. ATD, XXV* (1982).

tinually sent his word to the people by “his messengers” (*mal'ākāw*, v. 15), but the people mocked the “messengers of God” (*mal'ākê hā'elōhîm*, v. 16), despised his words, and scoffed at “his prophets” (*nēbî'āw*, v. 16). Thus the *mal'āk* as a *nābî* speaks God's word, not his own, and the term *nābî* is the title for the one who functions as a *mal'āk* by proclaiming God's word.

In Isa. 44:24-28, the prophet pronounces God's decree to restore Jerusalem through Cyrus. In v. 26a, in a section proclaiming the glory of Yahweh,²⁸ Yahweh reveals himself as *mēqîm d'bar 'ābādāw* (MT *'abdô*) *wa'asat mal'ākāw yašlîm*, “who confirms the word of his servants (following LXX), and performs the counsel of his messengers.” In contrast to *'ôtôt baddîm*, “omens of soothsayers,” *qôš'mîm*, “diviners,” and *h'kāmîm*, “the wise” (v. 25), *'ābādāw* and *mal'ākāw* clearly refer to prophets. Yahweh confirms the message of the prophets because the prophet speaks what Yahweh orders him to speak. When the *mal'ākîm* say that Yahweh will rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, it will happen because the message comes from Yahweh. The terms *'ābādāw* and *mal'ākāw* are interchangeable, the former referring to status, the latter to function.

Prophets appear as political *mal'ākîm* in Ezk. 30:9 (the situation being similar to that discussed above regarding Isa. 18). They are sent out to pronounce doom upon the Egyptians and those who support them.

The term *mal'ākî* in Mal. 1:1 may be a personal name, the singular form of *mal'āk* with the 1st person singular suffix, “my messenger,” i.e., “my prophet” (cf. Mal. 3:1); or an apocopated form of *mal'āk YHWH*, “messenger of Yahweh” (cf. Hag. 1:13); or, following the LXX versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (Μαλαχίας, *Malachias*), a clausal name *mal'ākîyâ*, “my messenger is Yahweh,”²⁹ or perhaps better “my [guardian] angel is Yahweh”³⁰ or “sent by Yahweh.”³¹ This debate has never been settled.

If the word is a common noun, referring to a prophet, we would expect the 3rd person masculine singular suffix to be used: “the oracle of the word of Yahweh to Israel through his messenger.” This is a superscript, an editorial notation, and grammatical agreement would be appropriate. As an apocopation, *mal'ākî* is suspect because of the lack of parallel occurrences. Therefore it can only be interpreted as the clausal name or personal name “my messenger,” deriving from the appellative.

3. *Priests*. There are 2 instances of *mal'āk* as priest. Mal. 2:6f. reads: “True torah was in his mouth, and no wrong was found on his lips. He walked with me in peace and justice, and he turned many from evil. For from the lips of a priest (*kōhēn*) they guard knowledge, and they seek torah from his mouth, for he is the messenger (*mal'āk*) of Yahweh of hosts.”

This passage not only indicates the use of *mal'āk* for *kōhēn*, but shows in detail the

28. → כבוד *kābôd* (VII, 22-38).

29. Cf. G. J. Botterweck, “Jakob habe ich lieb — Esau hasse ich,” *BiLe*, 1 (1960), 28.

30. H. Junker, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HS*, VIII/3 (1938), *in loc.*

31. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1-8 — Sacharja 9-14 — Maleachi. KAT*, XIII/4 (1976).

of Israel (2 K. 19:35 par. Isa. 37:36). These examples illustrate that in the religious thought of Israel the angel of Yahweh was understood as the agent of Yahweh's assistance to Israel. Although the notion of angels was otherwise very much associated with fear, the angel of Yahweh was understood not as Israel's enemy, but as the benefactor sent to help Israel. The appearance of angels is welcomed (1 S. 29:9), their wisdom extolled (2 S. 14:17,20; 19:27). From the passage in 2 S. 14 it is apparent that one of the highest compliments one can pay the king is to compare him favorably to the angel of Yahweh. According to Zec. 12:8, at the restoration of Israel the house of David will be compared with the angel of Yahweh. Nor was this basically positive estimation of the angel of Yahweh mitigated by the fact that this angel could also assume the role of the *mašhîṭ*, the "destroyer."³⁵

Another concept of the angel of Yahweh is expressed in Israel's blessing of Joseph (Gen. 48:15f.): "The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac walked, the God who has led me throughout my life to this day, the angel, the one who has redeemed me from all evil." The *mal'āk* is the *gō'ēl*;³⁶ he redeems the elect from all evil (Isa. 63:9) and avenges the blood of those who are persecuted (Ps. 35:4-6). This notion also informs the understanding of the *mal'āk* in the Exodus Narrative.

In the narrative of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem (2 K. 19:35 par. Isa. 37:36; 2 Ch. 32:21), Yahweh's agent who destroys the Assyrian army is called the *mal'āk YHWH*: he "goes out" (*yṣ'*) and "smites" (*nkh*, hiphil); Yahweh "sends" (*šlh*) him and he "destroys" (*khd*). The angel of Yahweh is the instrument of Yahweh's favor to Israel, and he acts by redeeming, protecting, and defending them. The Chronicler, by emphasizing particularly the sending (*šlh*), may be discouraging any identification of the angel with Yahweh himself.

The only example of the angel of Yahweh turning against Israel occurs in 2 S. 24 par. 1 Ch. 21, where the angel of God is the agent of God's punishment upon David because of his census. Yahweh sent a plague (*deber*) upon Israel, but when the angel stretched forth his hand to destroy Jerusalem, Yahweh commanded the "destroying angel" (*mal'āk hammašhîṭ*; *mal'āk hammakkeh*) to stop (2 S. 24:15f. par. 1 Ch. 21:14f.).

The parallel in 1 Ch. 21 is important for another reason: it substantiates an earlier perception of the angel of Yahweh as a being of superhuman size and strength. David was able to see the destroying angel (v. 16) "standing between earth and heaven, and in his hand a drawn sword stretched out over Jerusalem."

In earlier passages, angels speak to human beings from the heavens (Gen. 21:17; 22:11,15), from fire (Ex. 3:2), or in dreams (Gen. 28:12; 31:11). They appear to animals as well as to human beings (Nu. 22), often disappear from view (Jgs. 6:21; 13:21), and are often unrecognized as angels by those to whom they are sent (Jgs. 13). They ascend to heaven in fire (Jgs. 13:20), and ascend and descend on a ladder (Gen. 28:12). These passages illustrate that the angel of Yahweh often performs his tasks with abilities beyond those of human beings.

35. See discussion below.

36. → גֹּאֵל *gā'al* (II, 350-55).

In some passages it is no longer possible to distinguish God from his *mal'āk* in interactions with human beings. Gerhard von Rad has disclosed a system in this apparently inconsistent usage: "When the reference is to God apart from man, Yahweh is used; when God enters the apperception of man, the [*mal'āk YHWH*] is introduced."³⁷ Several examples can illustrate this. In Gen. 16:7-14 (J), Yahweh hears the cry of Hagar and sends the *mal'āk YHWH* to communicate with her directly. After the angel has communicated with her, she calls the name of Yahweh: "You are the God who sees me!" She then cries: "I have indeed seen God" (read *'ēlōhîm* contra MT *h'ēlōm*). Yet the actual intercessor with Hagar is the angel of Yahweh, not Yahweh himself. Hagar's comment that she has seen an *'ēlōhîm* may indicate that she is herself clear about having seen "a divine being" rather than God himself. The same relationship appears in the Elohist narrative. According to Gen. 21:15-21, God hears the cry of Ishmael; the angel of God calls to Hagar from heaven; and God himself opens her eyes.

God tested Abraham by asking him to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:1-19), but it is the angel of Yahweh who spoke to Abraham from heaven (vv. 11,15); according to v. 1, however, the initial command was given by *'ēlōhîm*. Since in Gen. 22:1-19 one cannot determine the E source with any certainty,³⁸ *'ēlōhîm* may very well be a generic term here for "a divine being." Be that as it may, the author did not distinguish between God who tested and the angel who spoke the command, though this does not mean that the two are to be identified. In any case, it does not appear that distinctions between various strata and sources can resolve this problem in Gen. 22.³⁹

According to Gen. 31:1-16, Yahweh commanded Jacob to leave Laban and return to his homeland (v. 3). It is Jacob's belief, however, that the command is given by the *mal'āk 'ēlōhîm* (v. 11,13).

It is the *mal'āk YHWH* who speaks to the people concerning their disregard of the covenant stipulations (Jgs. 2:1,4), and who appeared to the wife of Manoah (Jgs. 13:2-25), though after the appearance of the angel she reports that she has seen a "man of God" (*ʾîš 'ēlōhîm*), like the appearance of the angel of God (v. 6). Manoah entreated Yahweh to send the *ʾîš 'ēlōhîm* again (v. 8); God listened, and the *mal'āk hā'ēlōhîm* appeared again (v. 9). After repeated appearances and conversations with Manoah and his wife, the *mal'āk YHWH* ascended in the flame of the altar (v. 20) and appeared no more (v. 21). Manoah's response to his wife was: "We shall surely die, for we have seen *'ēlōhîm*." Either Manoah was mistaken (they did not see God because they did not die), or he had seen "only" a divine being (*'ēlōhîm*). Jgs. 13 shows with marvelous clarity the overlapping terminology, and further examples can be found in Gen. 32:22-32(21-31); 2 S. 24:17; Hos. 12:5(4); Zec. 1:9-6:5.

The question of the relationship between Yahweh and his angel would not be complete without a discussion of Ex. 3. The *mal'āk YHWH* appeared to Moses in a flame of fire from the midst of a bush (Ex. 3:2; cf. Jgs. 13:20). But throughout the

37. TDNT, I, 77.

38. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 354, 360f.

39. Cf. *ibid.*, 354f., contra R. Kilian, *Isaaks Opferung*. SBS, 44 (1970), and Röttger.

subsequent dialogue the voice from the bush is referred to as Yahweh (Ex. 3:4,7) or *'ēlōhîm* (vv. 11,13,15). Moses hides his face from *'ēlōhîm* (v. 6). Thus this is the only place where the *mal'āk* is only at the very beginning of the narrative.

This terminological confusion might be explained in three ways.

(1) Yahweh might have transmitted his message to Moses by his *mal'āk*, but the author used the terms Yahweh and *'ēlōhîm* since in his opinion the message came directly from God. The occurrence of *mal'āk* at the beginning of the narrative qualifies the subsequent use of Yahweh and *'ēlōhîm*.

(2) The importance of the call of Moses, the initiation of God's personal relationship with Israel, and the revealing of God's personal name did not allow the narrative to be dominated by a *mal'āk*. The significance of the narrative itself required the direct intervention of God.

(3) Yahweh himself spoke to Moses, but since Moses was not allowed to see him, the intercession of the *mal'āk* was necessary.

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Recent interpretation does not consider Ex. 3 to be a literary unity,⁴⁰ so an identification of sources should to a large extent resolve the confusion in Ex. 3. Werner H. Schmidt asserts that without argumentation concerning the divine name an identification of sources succinctly shows that the mention of Yahweh does indeed come from J, and the mention of *'ēlōhîm* from E. The issue then focuses on v. 2a, which Schmidt attributes to J. H. Röttger, however, considers the *mal'āk* YHWH to be a secondary insertion resulting quite consistently from the intention of the Elohist. "Here the Elohist redactor establishes an element of continuity between the time of the patriarchs and that of the people of Israel, simultaneously anticipating the role of the *mal'āk* in the events of the exodus."⁴¹ Such longitudinal argumentation, however, is not compelling from the perspective of literary criticism, so that the juxtaposition of *mal'āk* YHWH and *'ēlōhîm* remains unresolved. Peter Weimar⁴² has refined Schmidt's literary critical position, suggesting that the Yahwist is at work in v. 2a anticipating in an interpretive manner the second part of the bush scene as a theophany of Yahweh. Werner Fuss⁴³ presents the same literary critical distinctions, but views the mention of the messenger as a more forceful emphasis on Yahweh's transcendence by the redactor. Although this probably takes the argument in the right direction, it does not contradict Claus Westermann's clear statement⁴⁴ that the shift between Yahweh and *mal'āk* YHWH did not result from any theological reflection, but rather "is much more a case of narrative transmission of actual and varied experience of an encounter in which the messenger pronounced the oracle that changed the course of events."

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40. Cf. the resolute position of W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6*. BK, II/1 (1988), 106–10.

41. P. 89.

42. *Die Berufung des Mose*. OBO, 32 (1980), 233.

43. *Die deuteronomistische Pentateuchredaktion in Exodus 3–17*. BZAW, 126 (1972), 26.

44. *Genesis 12–36*, excursus on "The Messenger of God (הַמַּלְאָךְ יְהוָה) in the OT," 243.

“angel of darkness” (*mal'ak hōšek*, 1QS 3:20) against which a person could effectively protect himself only through obedience to the Torah (CD 16:5). The other realm is that of God with the “Angels of Holiness” (*mal'akê qôdeš*, 1QSa 2:8; 1QSB 3:6; 1QM 7:6), the “Angel of his Truth” (*mal'ak 'amittô*, 1QS 3:24), and the “angels of the luminaries of his glory” (*ml'k m'wrwt kbwdw*, 4Q511 2 I 8; 20 I 2). They function to assist and to rescue (1QM 13:14; 17:6). That they are viewed as preexistent beings is attested by their presence at creation (11QgJob 30:5). They participate in God's plans (1QM 10:11) and glorify his name (1QM 12:1; 4QDibHam 7:6).

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מלאכה *m^lā'kâ*

Contents: I. The Root and Cognates. II. Definition: 1. Skilled Work; 2. Project; 3. Manufacture; 4. Commission or Business. III. Summary. IV. Qumran.

I. The Root and Cognates. The root of *m^lā'kâ* is *l'k*, which, although unattested in Hebrew in its verbal form, is attested in other Semitic languages, e.g., Ugar. *lāak*, “to send,”¹ Arab. *la'aka* and *'alaka*, “to send,” and Ethiop. *la'aka*, “to send (a message).” Nominal derivatives in these languages show the extension of the meaning “to send”: Ugar. *ml'k*, “messenger,”² *ml'kt*, “mission, embassy,”³ Arab. *mal'ak*, “angel, messenger, envoy,” and Ethiop. *mal'ak*, “angel, messenger.” Hebrew derivatives besides *m^lā'kâ* include → מלאך *mal'āk*, “messenger, angel,” and *mal'ākūt*, “mission, commission, message” (Hag. 1:13). In addition to the foregoing derivatives, Phoenician and Punic exhibit *ml'kt* and *mlkt*, “work.”⁴

The word *m^lā'kâ* occurs 166 times in the OT in its various forms. Even its distribution in the OT shows that the word is closely associated with work in the sanctuary or involving sacred objects (62 occurrences in the Pentateuch, 33 of those in Ex. 31ff.; 13 in Lev. 23; 7 in Nu. 8). The Deuteronomistic history uses it 19 times (primarily in the account of the temple construction in 1 K. 6f.), the Chronicler 63 times (primarily

m^lā'kâ. W. F. Albright, “Specimens of Late Ugaritic Prose,” *BASOR*, 150 (1958), 36-38; Z. Ben-Hayyim, “Word Studies II,” *H. Yalon Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem, 1974), 46; E. L. Greenstein, “Trans-Semitic Idiomatic Equivalency and the Derivation of Hebrew *ml'kh*,” *UF*, 11 (1979), 329-336; J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I: The Encroacher and the Levite: The Term 'Abodah*, UCPNES, 14 (1970); A. Silitonga, *The Comprehension of Work (Mela'kah) in the OT* (diss., South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Singapore, 1974).

1. *KTU*, 1.4 V, 41, 42; VII, 45; 1.5 IV, 23, 24; 1.13, 27; 1.14 III, 19, 20; 1.24, 16; 2.10, 10; 2.14, 7; 2.26, 4; 2.31, 43; 2.42, 12; 2.63, 7, 10, 13.

2. E.g., *ibid.*, 1.14 III, 20, 33; VI, 35.

3. *Ibid.*, 2.17, 7; 2.23, 3; 2.31, 49; 2.33, 35.

4. *DISO*, 151.

in the context of the temple construction and renovation in 1 Ch. 22ff.; 2 Ch. 24, 34). The term occurs only sporadically in the prophetic and wisdom literature.

Its meanings can be subdivided into four areas: (1) skilled work, craftsmanship; (2) general work (including physical labor); (3) the result of work, manufacture, movable property; (4) mission, commission, errand, or business.

The association between the verb "to send" and the noun "work" derives from a postulated **ml'kt yd*, analogous to *mišlah yād* (e.g., Dt. 12:7,18), "work of the hands," lit. "the outstretching of one's hand,"⁵ semantically equivalent to Akk. *šipir idim/qāti(m)*, "work of the hands."⁶

Sirach uses *m^lā'kâ* 6 times, generally with the meaning "labor, work" (Sir. 3:17; 4:29f.), "business" (37:11), or with the explicit connotation "toilsome labor," par. agricultural work in the field (7:15).

The LXX translates fairly consistently with *érgon* (127 times) or something similar, although it occasionally interprets it by *latreutós* or *leitourgía*, *ephēmería*, or *kataskeuē* (once each).

II. Definition.

1. *Skilled Work*. The idea expressed by *m^lā'kâ* in the majority of cases in the OT is that of "work entailing skill" as opposed to work entailing physical labor (*'abôdâ*).⁷

a. The types of skills encompassed by *m^lā'kâ* include: working in precious metals (Ex. 38:24), with precious stones (Ezk. 28:13), agricultural skill (1 Ch. 27:26; Prov. 24:27), working in ceramics (Jer. 18:3), navigation (Ps. 107:23), working with ropes (Jgs. 16:11), working in a royal function (Gen. 39:11; Est. 3:9; 9:3; Dnl. 8:27), cultic service (Jer. 48:10), bearing holy objects (Nu. 4:3), functioning as judges and officers (1 Ch. 26:29), executing a work suitable for God (1 Ch. 29:1), an occupation (Jon. 1:8),⁸ planning and execution (1 Ch. 28:19; Ezr. 10:13), and executive prowess (1 K. 11:28).

God's works are skilled works: creation (the planning and skill of execution, Gen. 2:2f.; Ps. 73:28) and punishment of nations (Jer. 50:25).

b. One of the most instructive series of instances which demonstrate the semantic connotations of *m^lā'kâ* is that of the tabernacle and temple construction and the repairs made on the temple. Bezalel was full of "wisdom, understanding, knowledge and all craftsmanship" or "skill" (Ex. 31:3; 35:21,31). Hiram had the ability to perform skillful work with bronze (1 K. 7:14). Men "of wisdom" were those involved in the tent's construction (Ex. 36:4,8). Other skills represented in this series include: skill in working with stone, wood, and metals (Ex. 31:4,5; 35:33; 38:24; 1 K. 7:14,22; 1 Ch. 22:15,16; 29:5), textile work (Ex. 35:35), and making temple vessels (1 K. 7:40). Repairs of buildings also involve skill (2 K. 12:12,15,16[Eng. vv. 11,14,15];

5. So Ben-Hayyim.

6. E.g., CH, §188; D. D. Luckenbill, ed., *The Annals of Sennacherib. OrlP*, 2 (1924), 133; 79f. (Greenstein).

7. Cf. Milgrom, 60-87.

8. See II.4 below.

22:5,9; 2 Ch. 24:13; 34:10,12,13,17; Ezr. 3:8,9; Hag. 1:14). The general activity of building is viewed under the idea of skilled work (Ex. 39:43; 1 K. 7:51; 2 Ch. 4:11; 5:1; 8:16; Neh. 2:16).

c. One aspect of *m^{elā}'kâ* as skilled work is that of cultic tasks, especially well attested in the Chronicler's history (1 Ch. 9:13,19,33; 23:4,24; 26:30; 2 Ch. 13:10; Neh. 10:34[33]; 11:12,16,22; 13:10,30). A prime example of *m^{elā}'kâ* as cultic tasks is found in 2 Ch. 29:34, where the priests were too few to flay all the offerings, so the Levites helped them until *hamm^{elā}'kâ*, "the cultic task," was finished. Some other types of cultic duties were the playing of musical instruments and singing (1 Ch. 9:33; 25:1; Neh. 13:10), guarding the thresholds (1 Ch. 9:19), and performing the most holy tasks (1 Ch. 6:34[49]).

The phrase *m^{ele}'ket 'abôdâ* (1 Ch. 9:13,19) means "cultic service." This is due to the Chronicler's transfer of the meaning of *'abôdâ*, "physical labor," to "cult service, worship." Hence *m^{ele}'ket 'abôdâ* literally says "the skilled work of the cult service."⁹ The understanding of the idiom occurs in this sense only in Chronicles, whereas the original meaning was "construction project"¹⁰ or "occupational work."¹¹

2. *Project.* The term *m^{elā}'kâ* is used in a more general sense to cover the whole spectrum of the idea of "work," from mental activities such as planning together to execution by skill and by physical labor. This general usage seems to be best rendered by the word "project."

a. The episodes of sanctuary construction and repair offer examples of the use of *m^{elā}'kâ* in this sense. Here, too, this signification is elucidated by the use of *m^{elā}'kâ* with *'abôdâ*, "physical labor" or "execution." The phrase *'abôdat m^{elā}'kâ* means the "execution of the work" (Ex. 35:21,24; 36:1,3; 1 Ch. 28:13,20; 2 Ch. 24:12). The construction of the sanctuary is conceived of as the execution of a plan or project (Ex. 36:2,5,7; 40:33); so also the construction of Solomon's temple (1 K. 5:30[16]; 9:23; 1 Ch. 28:19,21; 29:1; 2 Ch. 8:16), the temple renovation of Ezra's time (Ezr. 2:69; cf. Neh. 7:70f.; Ezr. 3:8f.; 6:22), Nehemiah's wall building (Neh. 2:16; 4:5,9,10,11, 13,15,16[11,15,16,17,19,21,22]; 5:16; 6:3,9,16), and the repair work on the temple (2 Ch. 24:12f.; 34:10,12,13,17).

The meaning of "project" is also found in 2 Ch. 16:5, where Baasha stopped the project of building Ramah. Prov. 24:27 also conveys the idea of planning and executing, thus indicating a general work project. 1 S. 8:16 uses *m^{elā}'kâ* to mean the "king's projects" or "official works" (cf. 1 K. 9:23, although here [otherwise only 1 K. 5:30(16)] the "king's [Solomon's] project" might refer to *mas*, "compulsory service"; cf. the Akk. equivalent *šipar šarri*¹²). The work of creation can also be understood as a "project" (Gen. 2:2,3).

Thus in the earliest sources *m^{elā}'kâ* is used as a general term for work or project including both skilled work and planning and the physical labor attending its execution, while *'abôdâ* refers exclusively to physical labor. In postexilic texts *'abôdâ* takes on

9. Cf. Milgrom, §72.

10. Cf. II.2.a below.

11. Cf. II.2.b below.

12. Middle Assyrian laws, A, §§18, 19, 40, cited in Greenstein.

In the case of the Passover Festival, P gives a definition of what *m^{elē}'ket 'abōdâ* (Lev. 23:7; Nu. 28:25) means: “No activity (*kol-m^{elā}'kâ lō*)” should be carried out on them: only (*'ak*) what everyone must eat, that alone may be prepared for you” (Ex. 12:16). This would mean that the only difference between the two prescriptions *m^{elē}'ket 'abōdâ* and *kol-m^{elā}'kâ* is the preparation of food. But this raises questions such as whether the literary sources (Ex. 12 as opposed to Lev. 23; Nu. 28) represent the same ideology, i.e., that all physical labor is forbidden, or whether the Passover Festival is actually more severe than other festivals in that all work except food preparation is forbidden in order to prevent contamination by leaven of food prepared before the festival.

3. *Manufacture*. Not only does *m^{elā}'kâ* represent skilled work (activity), but it also represents the “finished product, that which the skill has wrought.”¹⁵

a. The idea of “manufacture” is borne out in Lev. 13:48, which speaks of the plague of leprosy being “in any manufacture of leather.” In Ex. 36:6, the people were not to produce any more “manufactured goods” for the sanctuary offering. Ex. 39:43 says that Moses saw all the *m^{elā}'kâ* of the holy tent, referring to the finished product. The parable of the vine (Ezk. 15:3-5) poses the question whether or not vine wood can be made into a manufactured “product” (cf. Lev. 7:24; 11:32; 13:51).

Another semantic extension of *m^{elā}'kâ* is found in 2 Ch. 17:13, where Jehoshaphat had great “provisions” or “supplies” in the cities of Judah. The use of *m^{elā}'kâ* in Ex. 36:7 similarly indicates amassed manufactured goods to be used in the construction of the holy tabernacle.

b. A more specific application of *m^{elā}'kâ* as manufactured goods is in reference to “movable property.” Ex. 22:7,10(8,11) utilizes *m^{elā}'kâ* in this sense regarding the oath one takes that he “has not laid hands on the property (or goods) of the other.” In two passages *m^{elā}'kâ* even has the meaning “flocks, herds, cattle.” Saul kept alive the good animals for sacrifices to God and destroyed *kol-hamm^{elā}'kâ n^{emibzâ} w^{nāmēs}*, “all despised and rejected animals” (1 S. 15:9,15). Esau slowly follows the *m^{elā}'kâ*, “cattle” (Gen. 33:14). The meaning “cattle, herd” for *m^{elā}'kâ* conforms to the idea that the herd is the result of skilled labor in breeding and feeding.

4. *Commission or Business*. Many passages yet exhibit a semantic connection to the original meaning of the verb *l'k*, “to send.” A simple extension of the nominal idea “mission” would be “commission, errand, charge,” a further extension being “business, business affair(s).”

a. The idea of errand or commission is seen in Gen. 39:11, where Joseph comes to perform Potiphar’s “commission/business.” Jonah was asked by the sailors what his “errand” or “business” was (Jon. 1:8). Prov. 18:9 mentions that the one who is slack in his “business” or “duty” is a brother to one who destroys. Prov. 22:29 talks of one skillful (*māhîr*) in his “business,” and Ps. 107:23 speaks of those doing “business” on the seas (i.e., perhaps “trading mission, mission abroad”¹⁶).

15. *Ibid.*, §67.

16. Cf. Albright, 38.

to do with work" (*dibrê hamm^elā'kâ*). 11QT 27:7 threatens transgressors with being "cut off from the midst of his people."

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מֶלַח *melah*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Seasoning. III. Symbol of Disaster. IV. 1. Healing Agent; 2. Salt in the Cult; 3. Covenant of Salt.

I. Occurrences. The use of salt is attested in the earliest human civilizations. Its designation by *mlh* is shared by all Semitic languages with Israel.¹ The noun *melah* occurs 22 times in the OT, 7 of those in geographical names. The Aram. *m^elah* occurs 3 times, and the verb *mālah* 4 times. Mention should also be made of the 7 passages in the LXX where salt occurs, and the 4 occurrences of *m^elēhâ*, "salty, barren land."

II. Seasoning. Salt is highly valued as a seasoning. Sir. 39:26 counts it among the "basic necessities of human life." Without salt, foods have no taste (Job 6:6), a view richly attested both in Israel's immediate environs and elsewhere in antiquity.² Because of its white color and grainy texture, salt serves in Sir. 43:19 as a metaphor for hoarfrost. According to Sir. 22:15, it is difficult to bear, and was thus probably transported in bags or blocks. Precisely because it was indispensable and so valuable, the state used the salt trade as a source of taxes (1 Mc. 10:29; 11:35).³

III. Symbol of Disaster. Considering the high estimation of salt it is striking to find it associated with misfortune and destruction as well, an association Anton Jirku actually considers to be the original.⁴ The "symbol of the dead and past" gradually became "an object evoking the feeling of sacred awe."⁵ However, considering the overwhelmingly positive estimation of salt it was more likely the desolate, infertile region around

melah. H. Blümner, "Salz," *PW*, II/2 (1920), 2075-99; G. Dalman, *AuS*, IV (1935), 49-58; E. P. Deatrick, "Salt, Soil, Savior," *BA*, 25 (1962), 41-48; F. C. Fensham, "Salt as Curse in the OT and the Ancient Near East," *BA*, 25 (1962), 48-50; R. J. Forbes, "Salz," *BHHW*, III (1966), 1653f.; F. Hauck, "ἅλας," *TDNT*, I, 228f.; V. Hehn, *Das Salz* (Berlin, ²1901); E. Hertzsch, "Salz," *RGG*³, V (1961), 1347f.; A. M. Honeyman, "The Salting of Shechem," *VT*, 3 (1953), 192-95; A. Jirku, *Materialien zur Volksreligion Israels* (Leipzig, 1914); *HAL*, II (1995), 588; H. Lesêtre, "Sel," *DB*, V (1912), 1568-1572; B. Meissner, *BuA*, I, 415, 425; II, 87, 240, 228f., 309; *St.-B.*, I (1922), 232-36.

1. *HAL*, II, 588.

2. Cf. Hehn, 6f.; *BuA*, 415.

3. Cf. also Blümner, 2096ff.

4. Pp. 13, 15.

5. *Ibid.*, 19f.

Lev. 2:13 prescribes its use with cereal offerings, whereby v. 13b, with its prescription for using salt “with all your offerings,” probably does not go beyond this, since the stipulations concerning other kinds of sacrifices (Lev. 3–7) do not mention salt. Although Ezk. 43:24 does say that the animal used for the burnt offering is to be sprinkled with salt, this is probably a case of subsequent expansion of the custom (attested by Josephus *Ant.* iii.9.1; Jub. 21:11). T. Lev. 9:14 also states that “[you shall] salt with salt every sacrificial offering.” While according to Lev. 24:7 incense was probably sprinkled between the breads of the Presence, but no salt, the LXX mentions salt as well. (Compare also the use of salt with incense in Sir. 49:1.) This, too, probably constitutes a later expansion. In any case, salt must have been used extensively in the temple, since Ezr. 6:9; 7:22 mention stipulations involving its delivery, 7:22 even with the remark “salt without prescribing how much.” The use of salt as a part of sacrifices is attested outside Israel neither in the Egyptian nor in the Assyrian sphere, although it was used later in Greece and Rome (the sacrificial animal is sprinkled with *mola salsa*¹¹).

3. *Covenant of Salt.* The regulations involving the use of salt with cereal offerings in Lev. 2:13 emphatically call this the “salt of the covenant with your God.” Since evidence shows that outside Israel salt was even considered to be a food of the gods, one cannot with Jirku¹² understand this salt of the covenant as a kind of self-imprecation in the case of covenant violation. Since salt is a part of every meal among human beings, and since it is used primarily with cereal offerings, then the sacrifice and sacrificial meal would more likely be the constitutive factors influencing such linguistic usage. What is fundamental is that “the communal partaking of salt is a sign of friendship and a symbol of communality.”¹³ The same was true for the Greeks and Romans;¹⁴ cf. also *synalízomai* in Acts 1:4.

Binding mutual commitments result from the hospitality of table fellowship. Thus the scribes writing to Artaxerxes emphasize that they are bound to watch out for his interests because they “eat the salt of the palace” (Ezr. 4:14). Just as the covenant was enacted through eating and drinking before God and with God (Ex. 24:11), so did God allot to the priests their portion of the sacrifice through a “covenant of salt forever” (Nu. 18:19). In 2 Ch. 13:5, Abijah asserts against Jeroboam that Yahweh had given the kingship over Israel to David and his sons for all time by a “covenant of salt.”

The “covenant of salt” transfers to the divine covenant the notion of hospitality associated with table fellowship, with its subsequent commitment to loyalty and solicitude; Israel is to keep its covenantal obligations, although God, too, is to provide for the election and rights of the covenantal partner.

Eising(†)

11. Lesêtre, 1569; Blümner, 2093f.

12. Pp. 18f.

13. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemiah*. HAT, XX (1949), 43.

14. Blümner, 2089, 2091–93.

I. The Noun.

1. *Root, Meaning, Distribution, Semantic Field.* The noun *milhāmā* (occurring as the segolate *milhemet* only in 1 S. 13:22) is a *miqṭal(at)* form constructed from the root *lhm* I. Such forms often refer to the place, means, or result of the action described by the verbal root in question.¹ Both the root and the noun itself are attested in other Semitic languages,² namely, in Arabic, Christian Palestinian, Syriac, Mandaic, Ethiopic (Tigré), Ugaritic,³ and for Middle Hebrew also the numerous occurrences in the Qumran writings.

The semantic scope of the root and its derivative extends from crowding and shoving to conflict and antagonism (Ps. 120:7; 144:3; Mic. 3:5), to skirmish (2 S. 10:9), battle, and war. In addition, in Ps. 76:4 (Eng. v. 3); Hos. 2:20(18) (less so in Hos. 1:7; Isa. 30:32b), *milhāmā* seems possibly to refer to a specific weapon (a lance or mace?⁴).

Textually uncertain passages include 2 Ch. 35:21; Ps. 27:3;⁵ Isa. 27:4; 30:32 (a verb?); and probably also 1 S. 13:22; 2 S. 1:27.

H. D. Preuss, "Alttestamentliche Aspekte zu Macht und Gewalt," in H. Greifenstein, ed., *Macht und Gewalt* (Hamburg, 1978), 113-134; A. de Pury, "La guerre sainte israélite: Réalité historique ou fiction littéraire?," *La guerre sainte. ETR*, 56/1 (1981), 5-38; P. de Robert, "Arche et guerre sainte," *La guerre sainte. ETR*, 56/1 (1981), 51-53; G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1991) (and other works); W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB*, 18 (²1966), 177-186, 338; M. Rose, "'Entmilitarisierung des Kriegs'?" (Erwägungen zu den Patriarchen-Erzählungen der Genesis), *BZ*, n.s. 20 (1976), 197-211; *idem*, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. AThANT*, 67 (1981); L. Ruppert, *Der leidende Gerechte und seine Feinde* (Würzburg, 1973), 22f., 104f., 156f., 159ff., 177, 221; F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer. I: Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Leipzig, 1901); M. S. Seale, *The Desert Bible* (New York, 1974), 24-52; R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1970); J. A. Soggin, "The Prophets on Holy War as Judgement against Israel," *OT and Oriental Studies. BietOr*, 29 (1975), 67-71; F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. Kriegstheorien und Kriegserfahrungen. AThANT*, 60 (1972); M. E. Tate, "War and Peacemaking in the OT," *RevExp*, 79 (1982), 587-596; R. de Vaux, *Anclsr*, 213-267; *Warfare in the Ancient Near East. Iraq*, 25/2 (1963); P. Weimar, "Die Yahwekriegserzählungen in Exodus 14, Josua 10, Richter 4 und 1 Samuel 7," *Bibl*, 57 (1976), 38-73; *idem* and E. Zenger, *Exodus: Geschichten und Geschichte der Befreiung Israels. SBS*, 75 (1975); M. Weippert, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 460-493 (additional bibliog. 463f.); P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT*, 42 (1973), 79ff., 115ff., 201ff.; A. S. van der Woude, "אָבָה *šābā* 'Heer,'" *THAT*, II, 498-507, esp. 502f.; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (Eng. trans., New York, 1963); W. Zimmerli, *The OT and the World* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1976), 53-66 (cf. also *idem*, *OT Theology in Outline* [Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1978], 59-64).

1. See II below; cf. E. Jenni, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (Basel, 1978), 182.

2. Cf. *HAL*, II (1995), 526, 589; *DISO*, 137, 152; *KAI*, 181 (Mesha inscription); 24, 6 (Zinjirli); then also J. J. Glück, *OuTWP*, 19 (1976), 41-43.

3. Cf. Ugar. *mlhmt*, *UT*, no. 1367.

4. Cf. *HAL*, II, 589. Concerning the (relatively varied) rendering of *milhāmā* in the LXX and its use in the Apocrypha, cf. E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint* (1897; repr. Grand Rapids, 1983), II, 1172f.; also Bauernfeind, *TDNT*, VI, 511f.; VII, 705-7. See further W. Foerster, "ἐχθρός," *TDNT*, II, 811f.; O. Bauernfeind, "μάχομαι," *TDNT*, IV, 527.

5. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 419, who reads "troops."

form, cf. 2 S. 8:10; 1 Ch. 18:10; 28:3³³). Mention is made of the “blood of war” (1 K. 2:5, *dām*), and of those who render services in war (1 Ch. 12:1, *ʾzr*) as vassals;³⁴ even in a festive procession (at a wedding?) “experts in war” make an appearance (Cant. 3:8).³⁵ All these things are involved in battle (2 S. 11:18f.),³⁶ although mere words do not constitute the strength and power necessary for battle (2 K. 18:20; Isa. 36:5).

4. *Yahweh and War*. The discussion to this point has already made it clear that both battle and war in general as well as *milhāmā* (and *lhm*) in particular are associated with Yahweh, his character, and his actions. We can now consider those passages explicitly, emphasizing the connection between Yahweh and *milhāmā*.

a. First of all, mention should be made of “Yahweh’s wars” (1 S. 18:17; 25:28; David is to conduct them, as in the older story of David’s rise to power; cf. Sir. 46:3; 1 Ch. 5:22; 2 Ch. 20:15), and of the alleged “Book of the Wars of Yahweh” (Nu. 21:14). 1 S. 17:47 and (in the “banner song”?) Ex. 17:16 both assert that “the battle is Yahweh’s.” Yahweh is a “man of war” (Ex. 15:3; cf. Isa. 42:13), a mighty hero in battle (Ps. 24:8; cf. Jgs. 5:23; Isa. 42:13). Several key passages assert that he alone fights, and not the people itself,³⁷ for as Israel’s God he fights for Israel (Josh. 10:42). The usual opinion is that the people participate actively in Yahweh’s war, a divine oracle before the battle (Jgs. 1:1; 20:18,23,28; 1 K. 22:6,15; cf. 1 K. 20:14)³⁸ answering the question whether and precisely who is to mobilize for battle. One girds oneself for war³⁹ before Yahweh (Nu. 32:20,27,29), and Yahweh himself prepares his people for battle (Zec. 10:3-5: a conscious shift of emphasis? cf. Chronicles). He bestows victory (Prov. 21:31) to the steeds being prepared for the day of battle (cf. Ps. 20:8[7]). Yahweh instructs in the art of war and provides the strength for it (2 S. 22:35,40 par. Ps. 18:35,40[34,39]; cf. Ps. 144:1; Isa. 28:6), and according to Jgs. 3:1f. he left Canaanites in the land so that the Israelites, who knew nothing of the wars in Canaan, might later experience war. Yahweh provides succor in war (1 S. 14:23; cf., however, Eccl. 9:11) and is able to preserve against its negative consequences (Ps. 27:3). Yahweh as the leader of hosts and Yahweh as an individual warrior belong together,⁴⁰ since (according to Deuteronomistic theology as explicated in Ex. 14/15) Yahweh took his people through war (Dt. 4:34; *lqh*), and both in and through battle will insure their cause⁴¹ (1 K. 8:44f. as a Deuteronomistic prayer; cf. 2 Ch. 6:34). Yahweh conducts “our battles” (2 Ch. 32:8) and in that way is “with us”;⁴² many are

33. On the combination of attributes, cf. also Welten, 119, n. 20.

34. Cf. M. Dahood, “Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs,” *RSP*, II, 74f., 105.

35. → לָמַד *lāmad* (VIII, 4-10).

36. → דָּבָר *dābār* (*dābhar*) (III, 84-125).

37. See II below.

38. → שָׂאֵל *šāʾal*.

39. → חָלַץ *hālaṣ* (*chālats*) (IV, 436-441).

40. Cf. Fredriksson.

41. → מִשְׁפָּט *mišpaṭ*.

42. → אִתָּנוּ *ʾet* (I, 449-463).

2 S. 11:7 and also Jgs. 8:9; 1 K. 2:5, however, show that → שָׁלוֹם *šālôm* does not always mean simply the “absence of war.”

It is then especially postexilic texts (or additions from this period) that speak of peace and hope (often as eschatological promises) that Yahweh will destroy all weapons (Jer. 49:35; Hos. 1:5; 2:20[18]; Mic. 5:9f.[10f.]; Zec. 9:10).⁵⁹ Originally this probably meant (only) that he would do this because of and through his intervention in war on Israel’s behalf. However, such statements concerning the war of Yahweh (!) were modified and expanded into positive, general anticipation, developing probably from the basis of Ps. 46:10(9) (cf. 76:4[3]). Isa. 41:12 foretells an end to the (Babylonian) men of war, and the promise in 28:5f. (secondary) probably also referred initially only to one quite specific enemy before receiving a more expanded interpretation. According to Hos. 1:7 (addition), Yahweh will no longer deliver through war; yet next to Zec. 4:6 we later have the evidence of 10:3-5 or ch. 14;⁶⁰ and even the beautiful testimony of hope in Isa. 2:4 (= Mic. 4:3) finds not only its antithesis in Ps. 18:35,40(34,39) par., but also its negative counterpart in Joel 4:10(3:10), even if according to the context there those who so speak will come to ruin. The notion of peace among nations was not primarily, and certainly not exclusively, Israelite, nor was such hope able to establish itself as the predominant one within the OT, as shown by the book of Daniel and other texts of early Jewish apocalypticism.⁶¹ At this point one should not be too quick to harmonize, nor to read the OT too one-sidedly in its testimony concerning war and peace. Although as a statement of trust Job 5:20 does indeed occupy a weighty position within its own context, it also finds its direct corrective and counterargument in Eccl. 8:8.

II. The Verb. The preceding discussion of the noun already prompted several references to the verb. The discussion commenced with the noun because of the wider and more comprehensive scope of its usage, to which that of the verb can then be referred (only 4 occurrences in the qal, 164 in the niphal; one should probably also add Dt. 32:24, though not Jgs. 5:8). As far as distribution is concerned,⁶² it occurs primarily in Exodus, Numbers–2 Kings, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, though not, e.g., in Genesis, Leviticus, Deutero-Isaiah, or Ezekiel; among the Minor Prophets only in Deutero-Zechariah; no occurrences in the Wisdom Literature. The verb means “to fight, do battle with,” rarely also “to besiege” (a city: Jer. 32:24,29; 34:1,22), and is often used with the preps. *’ēṭl’im*, *’el*, or *’al* when the sense is “against” and with *l’* in the sense of “for.” The verb and noun often appear together within the same context, a fact underscoring anew their close association (1 S. 8:20; 2 S. 11:17,20; 1 K. 12:21; 2 K. 16:5; 2 Ch. 11:1; 32:8; Zec. 10:5). Subjects of the verb include individuals as warriors (e.g., David against Goliath), kings, who then naturally also represent their people (Saul, then analogously also Gideon or Jephthah), further the people of Israel, a foreign nation, and other nations (usually as Israel’s enemies). One particular textual

59. Cf. Bach, *Festschrift von Rad*.

60. On Deutero-Zechariah, cf. Ellul.

61. Cf. Preuss, 132ff., on the question of Yahweh’s eschatological power.

62. Cf. *THAT*, II, 502.

group includes the statements concerning the belligerent adversaries of the psalmist (Ps. 35:1; 56:2f.[1f.]; 109:3);⁶³ here, too, Yahweh is ultimately invoked as warrior (Ps. 35:3).

Fighting is discussed without any particular emphasis as a human activity (especially of kings) (1 S. 4:10; 13:5; 2 S. 8:10; 2 K. 3:21; 6:8; 8:29; 9:15; 16:5 [cf. Isa. 7:1]; 2 Ch. 26:6; 27:5; Isa. 20:1; Jer. 33:5; 34:7; 41:12; cf. also the summaries of the kings of Israel/Judah in 1 K. 14:19; 22:46; 2 K. 13:12; 14:15,28; also those with specific names, e.g., 2 Ch. 27:7).

A smaller group includes texts concerning the wilderness wanderings. Here adversaries war with Israel as it journeys to the promised land. These narratives are by no means concerned only with the theme of creaturely survival, but rather also with that of deliverance (in war) (Ex. 17:8; Nu. 21:1,23; 22:11).

Analogous to the usage of the noun, the verb is also used in the narratives of Israel's conquest of the land or of its efforts to secure the land against surrounding hostile neighbors (Josh. 9:2; 10:5,29,31,34,36; 11:5; 24:8,9,11; Jgs. 1:1,3,5,8,9; 5:19f.; Josh. 19:47 in reference to Dan and its territory). Here it is especially the Ammonites who fight against Israel (and vice versa): Jgs. 10:9,18; 11:4f.,6,8,9; 11:20,25,27,32; cf. 11:12; 12:1,3,4; i.e., altogether 15 occurrences as a recurring thematic word in the account of Jephthah's wars against the Ammonites, or in retrospect.⁶⁴

Furthermore, the verb is used (like the noun) in the accounts of the wars of Saul and David against the Philistines (1 S. 4:9f.; 13:5; 31:1; 1 Ch. 10:1) and Syrians (2 S. 10:17; 1 Ch. 19:17). Israel wants to have a king go into battle both along with it and on its behalf (1 S. 8:20). Saul is also to fight against the Amalekites and to execute the ban⁶⁵ against them (1 S. 15:18, cited as divine discourse). The verb then quite naturally also occurs in the narrative of the battle between David and Goliath (1 S. 17:9f.,32f. [4 occurrences]; cf. the subst. in v. 47).

Jeremiah twice receives the following salvific promise accompanied by the formula of succor: "They will fight against you; but they shall not prevail against you" (Jer. 1:19; 15:20).⁶⁶ Jer. 21:5 even employs the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic expression "with outstretched hand and mighty arm."⁶⁷

The previously discussed⁶⁸ ideology of war unique to Chronicles also manifests itself there in the use of the verb. Here 9 occurrences come from the hand of the Chronicler independent of the source documents and parallels in Samuel and Kings.

63. See Ruppert.

64. Cf. J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1981), 202-222; W. Richter, "Die Überlieferungen um Jephthah Ri 10,17-12,6," *Bibl.* 47 (1966), 485-556; Stolz, 123ff.; R. M. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist* (New York, 1980), 176-181.

65. → חָרַם *ḥāram* (V, 180-199).

66. For a discussion of the relationship between these two texts, cf. N. Ittmann, *Die Konfessionen Jeremias. WMANT*, 54 (1981), 182ff. On Jer. 21:4 (cf. 34:7; 37:8 and elsewhere), cf. I.4.b above; in addition to Thiel (see n. 48 above), cf. also H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremia-buches. BZAW*, 132 (1973), 67-86, on the identification of textual strata and linguistic features.

67. See H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF*, 164 (1982), 187.

68. See I.3.d.

2 Ch. 26:6; 27:5 are narratives; 2 Ch. 35:20,22 give slightly more emphatic statements; and 2 Ch. 13:12; 20:17; 32:8 are then war orations. Yahweh ultimately always fights with and for Judah, and the mere knowledge of this brings the “fear of Yahweh”⁶⁹ upon the enemies (2 Ch. 17:10; 20:29). Concerning the pointed mention by Chronicles of fighting among brethren (Israel and Judah), cf. also the use of the verb in 1 K. 12:24; 2 Ch. 11:4; Zec. 14:14.⁷⁰

At times, however, Yahweh himself fights (14 occurrences; usually salvific promises: Ex. 14:14,25 [J]; Dt. 1:30; 3:22; 20:4; Josh. 10:14,42; 23:3; cf. v. 10; Neh. 4:8,14[14,20]; Jer. 21:5: in Nebuchadnezzar against Israel!; Zec. 14:3; however, cf. also 2 Ch. 13:12). And according to Jgs. 5:20, the stars fight for Israel from the heavens (all occurrences usually niphal, with no significant difference from the qal; compare Ex. 14:14 and 25). One should also consider the plea in Ps. 35:1; references to Isa. 7:1-9; 30:15f.; 31:1,3 also seem in order (cf. also Isa. 60:10; 30:32). As in Dt. 20:4, statements concerning Yahweh’s own fighting are often combined with the assurance of his accompaniment or active presence⁷¹ (Jer. 1:19; 15:20; Zec. 10:5); Yahweh must be “in the midst of Israel” if Israel is to fight and be victorious (Dt. 1:41f.; cf. 20:4: “goes with you”). Yahweh’s fighting, however, is often closely associated and interwoven with Israel’s own fighting; according to Chronicles (2 Ch. 13:12; 20:17; 32:8), Yahweh directs Judah’s wars (as already in 1 S. 18:17; 25:28; cf. Zec. 10:5; compare also Josh. 10:25,29 in connection with v. 42; Dt. 20:4,10,19; 1 S. 17:47 alongside vv. 9f.,32f.). Although such thinking in and of itself is especially characteristic of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history,⁷² it is precisely there that the verb *lhm* is seldom used, prompting anew the question whether such references to Yahweh’s fighting really are always a result of Deuteronomistic/Deuteronomistic thought.⁷³ The assertion in 1 S. 12:9 (Deuteronomistic) that Yahweh gives Israel into the hands of its enemies, so that they fight against Israel, is a different (clearly Deuteronomistic) interpretive category, since certain prophetic texts represent a similar view (Jer. 21:2,5; 32:24,29; cf. 34:22; 37:8,10: here, too, often with Deuteronomistic redaction; cf. Isa. 63:10), and Yahweh’s own fighting is often the content of prophetic oracles of judgment against Israel/Judah (Isa. 30:32 [textual emendation necessary?]; Jer. 21:1-7; 34:22; 37:8,10; 51:30 [usually with the perf. or perf. consecutive]). Consequently, although the use of both the verb and the noun testify to the understanding and continued hopeful anticipation of Yahweh as a warring God, both events and words showed that Yahweh’s fighting could also direct itself against his own people.

Preuss

69. → פחד *pahad*.

70. On the ideology of war in Chronicles, see Welten; on the “fear of Yahweh,” see Welten, 97.

71. → תא *’ēl* (I, 449-463).

72. Cf. Preuss, *Deuteronomium*, 188f.

73. Cf. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist*.

Akhenaten claims a special position as revealer of the one god: "There is no other who knows you, but your son [Akhenaten]." ²

The king as ruler is responsible for the establishment and maintenance of temples. The procedure of temple establishment as a result of divine command is occasionally narrated in what is known as a royal novella. ³

2. *Mesopotamia*. a. The Sumerian king is called *lù.gal*, "great man." Kingship itself "comes down from heaven," and is thus a divine institution; each individual king also derives his majesty from the gods and is considered to be the son of a god and/or a goddess. Šulgi was "carried in the sacred womb of the goddess Ninsuna." Gudea names the goddess Gatumdug as mother and father and says: "You took my father's seed into your womb. You bore me in the sanctuary." Whereas some expressions seem to suggest physical procreation, others suggest that enthronement was viewed as symbolic rebirth. ⁴ Occasionally the king is called the "god of the land" or something similar, and in certain periods his name is written with the divine determinative. Some evidence suggests that the king's divinity is connected with his role in the celebration of the sacred wedding. ⁵

The king is thought to be extraordinarily wise; he "loves justice and despises wickedness," maintains law and order, protects widows and orphans, and is the shepherd of his people, "like father and mother for his people." He is responsible for the maintenance of the cult and often appears as the founder of temples; Gudea, e.g., constructs a temple according to a heavenly model. ⁶

b. The Akkadian word for king is *šarru*, which is etymologically related to Heb. → שָׂרָא *śar*. In addition, the term *malku* is used.

Royal ideology changes with Hammurabi inasmuch as the name of the king is no longer written with the divine determinative, although the king's sacral duties and functions do remain intact. As before, kingship "comes down from heaven." The gods have chosen the king for his office even before his birth and have predetermined his destiny; he is "sent" by them. He is called the son of a particular god or goddess, referring in this case probably more to divine protection — every person, after all, is (symbolically) the son (daughter) of his own particular god. The king can be called the shadow or representation (*tamšīlu*) of the god. Especially Assyrian kings are often described as being surrounded by divine radiance (*mēlammu*) which prompts terror among enemies. The divine nature of kingship is also attested by the fact that several epithets apply both to kings and to gods, ⁷ although this does not change the fact that the king stands before the gods as a mere human being.

2. Beyerlin, ¶46.

3. Cf. III.6 below.

4. Å. Sjöberg, review of Römer, *Or*, 35 (1966), 288f.; *idem*, *RoB*, 20 (1961), 20, 25.

5. Römer, 57; cf. also M.-J. Seux, "Königtum," *RLA*, VI (1983), 140-173.

6. *ANET*, 268; also *SAHG*, 137ff.

7. Engnell, 178ff.

Through the appropriate titles the king claims world dominion: *šar kiššati*, "king of the totality," *šar kibrāt(im) arba'i(m)/erbetti*, "king of the four corners of the universe."⁸ He rules "from the upper to the lower sea" (or the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf). He is also *šarru dannu*, "mighty king," *šarru rabû*, "great king," etc.⁹

The king represents the divine world to his subjects. He is the *iššakku*, something like the "prefect/governor" of the god. With the god's power he fights against enemies. He is the shepherd of the people, and is to maintain justice and righteousness (*mêšaru, kettu*) throughout the land and preserve the life of the land, i.e., he is to insure growth, fruitfulness, and the welfare of the land, a function occasionally expressed in "messianic" statements.

On the other hand, he is answerable to the gods. In the Babylonian New Year Festival the king must atone in order to renew his kingship. And if through the king's own guilt misfortune threatens, the king can install a substitute king (*šar pūhi*) to accept the gods' punishment.

c. The appellation "king," however, was also a divine epithet designating the god as lord or possessor of something.¹⁰ Enlil is "king of the lands," Ea "king of the waters' depths" (*šar apsi*); Anu, Enlil, Ashur, Marduk, and others are "king of the gods" (*šar ilāni*). Šamaš in particular is the "king of heaven and earth" (*šar šamê u eršeti*).

In the Babylonian creation epic Marduk, before his battle with Tiamat, is proclaimed king by the gods with the words *Marduk šar*; a similar formula is applied to Ashur in what is known as the Assyrian royal ritual (representing perhaps a renewal of kingship).

3. *West Semites*. Within the Ugaritic pantheon El is the only real king (*mlk*); "he is king in the larger sense, indeed, he can be called the 'king of eternity' (*mlk 'lm*)."¹¹ In addition, however, Ba'al also acquires the title of king through his victory over Yam: "Our king is Ba'al, our sovereign second to none."¹² As king he then also receives a house, i.e., a palace or temple.

The Keret and Aqhat epics, although mythologically colored, probably reflect notions associated with earthly kingship. Keret is viewed as the son of El, and his son is nursed by the goddess Aṭirat. He is the mediator of divine power and divine blessing for the community, and when he falls ill, the entire country suffers: no rain falls, and the land bears no fruit.

The figure of Danel in the Aqhat epic, although not specifically designated as king, nonetheless is a just judge and otherwise exercises the usual regnal functions. Among other things, he, like Keret, protects the rights of the poor, of widows, and of orphans. When his son Aqhat dies, the land bears no fruit.

8. Seux, 305f., 308ff.

9. *Ibid.*, 292ff.

10. K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*. *StOr*, 7 (1938, repr. 1974), 232ff.

11. H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*. *RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 97.

12. *KTU*, 1.3 V, 32; also *ANET*, 133.

tion *árchōn basileías Persón*). The singular translation *hēgoúmenoi* occurs 3 times within the context of Ezk. 43:7,9 (the graves of the kings), probably in the sense of an actualization during a period without kings. Twice the term *stratēgós*, and once *boulē* are used for *melek*. The former occurs in Job 15:24 quite consistent with the adaptation of the parable: it is not the king, but rather the field general who prepares for battle. Regarding Dnl. 10:13, see the preceding discussion. In Dnl. 4:24(27) (Theodotion), the term *boulē* is the equivalent of Aram. *m^elak*, “advice, counsel,” which the LXX might also have read in Eccl. 2:12 (MT *melek*).

The derivatives offer a similar picture. Although the verb naturally is variously rendered in its various forms, there is nonetheless little deviation from *basileu* forms, such as *krateín* in Est. 1:1 and naturally Neh. 5:7 (*mlk* niphal = *bouleúein*). Similarly, hardly any significant exceptions occur among the abstract constructions (cf. Est. 1:2; Dnl. 4:23,34[26,37]: circumscriptions with *thrónos*). Of some note are the renderings of *mamlākā* by *archē* in Dt. 17:18,20; Isa. 10:10; Ezk. 29:14 (referring to Egypt, see the above discussion concerning *árchōn*) or by *nómos*, “district, province,” in Isa. 19:2 (adaptation to the internal structure of the Egyptian state: “cities” and “districts,” but no [longer] “kingdoms”).

III. General Usage of the Word Group *mlk*.

1. *Occurrences and Distribution in the OT*. The word group of the root *mlk* occurs more than 3,000 times in the OT.³⁰ After *YHWH*, *’ēlōhīm*, and *bēn*, the term *melek* is the fourth most frequently occurring noun in the OT, more frequent even than *yisrā’ēl* (with *ca.* 2,500 occurrences), attesting its historical and religious significance for biblical themes. Its distribution among literary works, collections, and books corresponds to the various themes. In the Pentateuch (with only *ca.* 120 occurrences), this word group refers with few exceptions (Yahweh: Gen. 48:16[Sam.]; Ex. 15:18; Nu. 23:21; Dt. 33:5; also Gen. 17:6,16; 35:11; Nu. 24:7; Dt. 17:14f.; 28:36) to non-Israelite kings. The Deuteronomistic history offers the most occurrences (more than 1,400), a bit less than half of the total number, statistically attesting this work’s special interests. The high number of occurrences in Esther is striking (more than 250 in ten chapters). Concentrations in lists and enumerations are found, e.g., in Gen. 14,36; Josh. 10,12.

2. *Semantic Field Associations*. The diverse use of *melek* to refer to a wide variety of monarchical forms of rule, from Late Bronze Age municipal kingship to national kingship to vast empires, references occurring both within and outside of the immediate Israelite sphere, suggests that this term encompassed a very broad and comprehensive semantic horizon, and that it was actually a skeleton term that acquired concrete meaning only through its context. Its semantic essence can be described with Jgs. 9:2 approximately as follows: *melek* refers to the “one man” (*’iš ’ehād*) who alone rules (*mšl b^e*) over a specific (larger) group, e.g., over the citizens of a

30. For exact statistics, see Soggin, *THAT*, I, 910.

his throne amid his warriors, again throwing into relief the differing orders of magnitude.³³

The term → שָׂר *śar* also has its own semantic history and its own semantic scope, limited on the whole to lesser circumstances and to organizational forms of a subordinate nature.³⁴ At an early stage *śar* (usually pl.) refers absolutely to a leading class in the clan and tribal organization (often translated not quite adequately by “prince”), e.g., in the Song of the Well (Nu. 21:18: “the well that the nobles dug” par. *nēdībē hā’ām*; cf. the *mēhōqēq*-scepter) in reference to the “Israelites,” although it applies equally to the Moabites (Nu. 22:8-14) and Midianites (Jgs. 7:25; other passages: Jgs. 5:15,29; 8:6,14 next to the “elders”; Ps. 68:28[27]).

The term *śar* is then applied especially in the context of municipal government and military organization to refer to a man authorized to command and direct, authority bestowed upon him by superiors. The *nomen rectum* variously indicates the scope of power: the chief of a band, leader of chariot corps, captain of fifty/a hundred, head of an army, troupe leader, taskmaster, supervisor, foreman, etc. “Who made you *īś śar* and judge over us?” Moses is asked (Ex. 2:14). The competency attributable to a *śar* of this kind (rendered approximately “chief”) is exemplified by the ostrakon found in Yabneh-yam (Mīnet Rūbīn)³⁵ with a petition to the *śar* (perhaps “governor”) as well as by the title *śar-šēbā* (Josh. 5:14) referring the commanding officer of the army. Finally, *śar* can be used as the designation for a royal official and functionary (e.g., Gen. 12:15; 1 K. 4:2; 5:30). Hence the appearance of the two terms *melek* and *śar* together evokes the semantic notion of a courtly system and a royal power apparatus, whereby the subordination of *śar* is presupposed (Jgs. 4:2; Jer. 1:18; 4:9; Hos. 3:4).³⁶ This juxtaposition confirms the constitutive meaning of *melek* as an autocrat, a ruler by one’s own authority, a completely independent potentate who employs subordinated officials in the exercise of power. Thus it is all the more striking when a “king” is refused the *melek* title and instead is given a predication constructed with *śar*: *śar-šālôm* (Isa. 9:5[6]), referring to the future Davidic ruler (cf. also Isa. 10:8; 23:8).

The title → נָגִיד *nāgīd* contributes little to the semantic determination of *melek*. Recent investigation³⁷ has shown that it refers to the designated successor of the king, i.e., to the crown prince (after 1 K. 1:35; cf. v. 20), and probably does not derive from any tribal-historical circumstances.³⁸ The two terms hardly come into substantive contact. Only within the context of royal-theological concepts does the metaphorical use of *nāgīd* — as the designation of the king as ruler over Yahweh’s people, both in northern Israelite and Judean contexts — bestow sacral dignity upon the bearer, although this does not affect the use of *melek* in any discernible fashion.³⁹

33. Regarding the Chronicler’s usage, cf. Müller.

34. J. A. Soggin, “לְשָׂרָם *mšl* herrschen,” *THAT*, I, 932.

35. *KAI*, 200; *ANET*, 568.

36. See also O. Tufnell, *et al.*, *Lachish*, IV (Oxford, 1958), 4.

37. E. Lipiński, “NĀGĪD, der Kronprinz,” *VT*, 24 (1974), 497-99; Mettinger, 151ff.

38. So W. Richter, “Die nāgīd-Formel,” *BZ*, N.S. 9 (1965), 71-84; L. Schmidt, 141ff.

39. Cf. J. W. Flanagan, “Chiefs in Israel,” *JSOT*, 20 (1981), 47-73.

The same is true of the title → מָשִׁיחַ *māšîaḥ*, “anointed,” which, in contrast to *melek*, and except for two late exceptions (Dnl. 9:25,26), is never used absolutely, but rather only in syntagmatic connection with Yahweh, demonstrating thereby its theological function.

The term → שֹׁפֵט *šōpēṭ*⁴⁰ probably refers to a specific office during the premonarchical period (e.g., Jgs. 4:4). As the official title “judge” it first appears during the middle period of the monarchy along with other functionaries, e.g., *šārîm*, *yō^ašîm*, etc. It occasionally appears in connection with *m^{el}lākîm* (only in the pl.), where it draws attention perhaps to the jurisdictional aspect of the office of the king (possibly also intended only as a parallel term: “regents” next to “kings”; Ps. 2:10; Hos. 7:7). The application of the *šōpēṭ*-title probably to the reigning Judean king in Mic. 4:14(5:1) is unique: *šōpēṭ* Israel — a prophetic theologoumenon.⁴¹

The same is true of the relationship between *melek* and *nāšî’*. This official title, probably of early Israelite origin from the time of the tribal confederation,⁴² is used with increasing frequency during the waning years of the monarchy to refer both to Davidic and to foreign kings (especially in Ezekiel), and parallel with that usage also in the Priestly Document as a designation for the “tribal prince.” Both instances are attended by an element of theologically based *melek* criticism resulting in the repression of the *melek* term.⁴³

3. *The Verb.* The meaning of the verb *mlk* is usually given as “become/be king, reign as king, reign, function as king”; it occurs primarily in the qal and hiphil, with 1 occurrence in the hophal (Dnl. 9:1) and 1 in the niphal (Neh. 5:7). Derivation of the verb from the noun is confirmed by primarily nominal use. Nominal forms and forms with a 3rd person singular subject predominate. Combinations with *melek/malkûṭ* are common (e.g., *mlk melek*, “to reign as king”), underscoring the secondary, dependent nature of the verbal meaning. With very few exceptions the subject of the qal passages is the 3rd “person,” best exemplified by *melek*. Of the approximately 300 occurrences, only 7 have a 2nd person subject (Gen. 37:8; 1 S. 23:17; 24:21; 2 S. 3:21; 16:8; 1 K. 11:37; Jer. 22:15), 2 have a 1st person subject (1 K. 1:5: Adonijah; Ezk. 20:33: *YHWH*), and 4 a 3rd person plural subject (Gen. 36:31; 1 K. 11:24; 1 Ch. 1:43; Prov. 8:15). These passages are in any event particularly significant. Among the hiphil passages (with a primary and secondary subject), the agents actually installing the king are of

40. Cf. G. Liedke, “שֹׁפֵט *špṭ* richten,” *THAT*, II, 1003f.

41. Cf. K.-D. Schunck, “Die Richter Israels und ihr Amt,” *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965*. SVT, 15 (1966), 252-262; M. Weinfeld, “Judge and Officer in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East,” *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies 1973* (1977), 73-81 [Eng. summary]; J. A. Soggin, “Das Amt der ‘kleinen Richter’ in Israel,” *VT*, 30 (1980), 245-48.

42. So M. Noth.

43. Cf. O. Calderini, “Evoluzione della funzione del *NĀŠĪ’*: il libro dei numeri,” *BeO*, 20 (1978), 123-133; *idem*, “Considerazioni sul *NĀŠĪ’* ebraico, il *NAŠI biltim* babilonese e il *NĀŠû* assiro,” *BeO*, 21 (1979), 273-281. On the distinction between *melek*, *šallîṭ*, and *mōšēl* during the Hellenistic period, cf. Lohfink.

particular interest: Yahweh (6 times; with Saul in 1 S. 15:11,35; with Solomon in 1 K. 3:7; 2 Ch. 1:8ff.), Samuel, David, the “people of the land,” the king of Babylon, etc., and especially plural agents again (e.g., Jgs. 9:6; 1 S. 11:15; 1 K. 12:20; 16:16; Hos. 8:4). The formulaic use of the verb both with the prepositions *ʿal*, *b^e*, *l^e*, *taḥat* and in stereotypical formulations with the 3rd person and infinitive (*b^emolĕkô*, etc.) suggests the presence of official language. This accords with the fact that the overwhelming majority of occurrences in the books of Samuel and Kings are found in annals.⁴⁴

4. *Fixed Expressions*. As the human subject par excellence in the OT, *melek* naturally occurs in every conceivable syntactical construction, among which several especially significant examples may be singled out.

a. Constructions with the verb *mlk* in the qal emphasize the nominal meaning (1 S. 8:9,11: “the king who shall reign over them [allegedly, just as you want]”; Jer. 23:5: “to reign as [a proper] king”). In the hiphil, the form expressing the installation of the king (e.g., Jgs. 9:6; 1 S. 15:11; Isa. 7:6), the constructions correspond to formulations with *šim*, *qum*, *kun*, and *mšh*.

b. More specific qualifications of kingship are added with the genitive (king of the Philistines, of Babylon, of Edom) or prepositionally (over Israel, in Jerusalem). Conversely, *melek* in the position of the *rectum* qualifies persons and things as royal or as having something to do with the king: *ben melek*, “king’s son”; *mištēh melek*, “king’s meal”; *miqdaš melek*, “royal sanctuary” (Am. 7:13); *ʿeben hammelek*, “royal (official) weight” (2 S. 14:26); *derek hammelek*, “king’s highway” (Nu. 20:17; 21:22). Such examples include the royal impression on vessels, seals, etc.: *lmlk*, whereby the two notions associated with *melek* come to bear the subjective, personal association and the institutional, official association.

c. Apart from specific expressions and official designations, *melek* also occurs in fixed forms of address, titles, and predications, including the “courtly” form of address *ʾādōnī hammelek*, “my lord the king” (2 S. 3:21; 15:21; cf. Gen. 40:1; on *ʾādōn* as a royal title, cf. Ps. 110:1; Jer. 22:18; 34:5). The entire arsenal of courtly forms of address are collected together, e.g., in 2 S. 14:1ff.; 1 K. 1:11ff.). This context includes the acclamatory formulas *yḥī hammelek*, “Long live the king!” (1 S. 10:24; 2 S. 16:16; 1 K. 1:34),⁴⁵ and “May the king live forever” (1 K. 1:31; Neh. 2:3; Dnl. 2:30; 4:14,31[17,34]; 6:21,27[20,26] [Aram.]). Appropriations include the Assyrian royal title “great king” (Isa. 36:4,13 par. 2 K. 18:19,28: *šarru rabû*; cf. Ps. 47:3[2]; Mal. 1:14) and the corresponding Babylonian title “king of kings” (e.g., Ezr. 7:12; Ezk. 26:7; Dnl. 2:37: *šar šarrāni*).

The metaphorical usage of *melek* is semantically revealing: king over the trees (Jgs. 9:8ff.), over all great creatures (= Leviathan, Job 41:26[34]), over locusts (Prov. 30:27; cf. the animal comparisons in vv. 29ff. emended text), and over terrors (= death, Job 18:14).

44. On the theological use of the verb, see IV.7 below.

45. → הָיָא *hāyā* (*chāyāh*), III.6 (IV, 335f.).

e. The feminine form *malkâ* occurs in the OT in the singular only with reference to foreign queens: the queen of Sheba (1 K. 10 par. 2 Ch. 9) and Queen Esther (25 occurrences in Esther), and in the plural only in poetic reference to the sixty wives of the king (Cant. 6:8f.). This form was apparently not commonly used (cf. in contrast *g^ebîrâ*). Not even Athaliah receives this designation, although the only feminine form of the verb *mlk* in the qal refers to her reign (ptcp. in 2 K. 11:3; 2 Ch. 22:12).

5. *Abstract Expressions.* An evaluation of the four abstract constructions with *mlk* can draw on elements of word construction and on characteristic usage, whereby several delimitations emerge militating against the assumption of indiscriminate usage.

a. Throughout its usage, the term *m^elûkâ*, a deverbal adjectival *qāṭûl* form (fem.), remains subordinated to the verbal form insofar as it refers to the function of *mlk*, and that means to the office of the king, the majesty of the king, the “status as king,”⁴⁶ the status of being king, and royal actions associated with reigning in general (usually with the article; the exceptions are influenced by context: 1 K. 21:7; Isa. 34:12; 62:3; Ezk. 16:13). Saul takes (*lkd*) the kingship (1 S. 14:47; cf. 10:16; 11:14; 18:8). According to 1 S. 10:25, certain rights (*mišpāṭ*) attend this office. The office passes to Absalom (2 S. 16:8; 1 K. 2:15,22), as well as to Jeroboam (1 K. 11:35; 12:21). A new reign is proclaimed (Isa. 34:12). Jezebel accuses Ahab of not properly exercising the office of king (*šh*, 1 K. 21:7, lit., “Do what is royal!”). According to Ezk. 16:13, Jerusalem acquired royal status, which included the throne (1 K. 1:46), a royal residence (2 S. 12:26), and the emblems and insignia of kingship (cf. Isa. 62:3). In theological metaphors such royal status can also be attributed to Yahweh (Ps. 22:29[28]; Ob. 21). The adjectival semantic element emerges in the occasionally attested expression “of royal lineage” (*mizzera’ hamm^elûkâ*, e.g., 2 K. 25:25; Ezk. 17:13; Dnl. 1:3). The restricted use of this term, which is probably rooted in the court language of the early monarchy, suggests that it apparently never really acquired definite contours; rather, as the obligatory article shows, it was characterized by a certain element of ambiguity and even vagueness (pertaining to things royal, that which is royal), but to that extent was indeed suited for expressions of a more general nature (“the matter of the kingdom of Saul,” e.g., 1 S. 10:16; cf. Jezebel’s reproach in 1 K. 21:7).

b. The term *mamlākâ*, an *m*-preformative of *mlk*, which can express an action and its results, place, type, and manner of an event, and finally the instrument of action, is thus predisposed to bring to expression the functional system “kingship” in all these aspects: as dominion, residence and reign, power apparatus — in a word, as an institution. And indeed, this term (together with *malkût*) is the most common expression for the monarchical governmental form (“kingdom”). There is almost no need to list examples for the use of this term, which itself was especially widespread during the preexilic period.⁴⁷ The more official forms of usage are especially informative: *bêt*

46. HAL, II, 587.

47. Cf. the entry in HAL, II.

mamlākā, “imperial temple” (Am. 7:13); *bēt^ekā ūmamlakt^ekā*, “your house and your kingdom” (2 S. 7:16; cf. 12:13; Isa. 9:6); “two kingdoms” (Ezk. 37:22; cf. the concentration of occurrences in 1 K. 11); and the juxtaposition with *gōy*, “national people” (1 K. 18:10; Ps. 46:7[6]; Isa. 60:12). The theological expression *mamleket kōh^anīm*, “a kingdom of priests” (Ex. 19:6), is unique; parallel with *gōy qādōš*, “a holy nation,”⁴⁸ its intention is to characterize Israel’s special position in the family of kingdoms and nations with respect to its priestly status as a sacral theocracy. Although this term does appear in later writings such as Chronicles and Psalms, it appears nonetheless to have been displaced by *malkūt* during the (late) postexilic period.

c. The Middle Hebrew term *malkūt*, a denominative construction from *melek* resulting from Aramaic influence (analogous to Akkadian), almost completely displaces *mamlākā* in the later OT writings. Apparently the Aramaic term, with its more sharply accentuated phonetic character, was better suited as a designation for an institution that was largely dominated by foreign influence. Especially, though, it seems to correspond to Official Aramaic usage (cf., e.g., Ezr. 4:5f., 24; 6:15). Although older material does attest a few occurrences (Nu. 24:7; 1 S. 20:31; 1 K. 2:12; Ps. 45:7[6]; Jer. 10:7; 49:34; 52:31), these can be explained either as early Aramaic influences (Nu. 24:7, Balaam), as regional dialects (Ps. 45:7[6]?), or as Masoretic corrections. Its meaning is indistinguishable from that of *mamlākā*: “kingdom” (as a comprehensive term).

d. The term **mamlākūt* (attested 9 times, 5 of those in Josh. 13, and only in the sg. const.) seems to be a hybrid construction involving the two previously discussed nominal forms; it can probably be traced back to the Masoretes, where it may have resulted either from the misreading of a *kethibh* plene form or from scribal error. No semantic distinction is discernible (compare Jer. 26:1 with 49:34; 1 S. 15:28 with 1 K. 11:11).

6. *OT Notions of Kingship.* The repertoire of notions associated with the word group surrounding *melek*, notions fairly sated by usage and experience, was in certain contexts able to crystallize into fixed notions of kingship, dominion, monarchical self-expression, and political value systems, i.e., into forms representing a certain royal ideology or understanding of the state; in its own turn, such ideology exercised influence at the level of consciousness, style, and tradition. The diachronic use of the *melek* group through the course of Israel’s history shows that the simple, fundamental idea of the exercise of power by a single individual over others was also able to establish itself and become accepted in Israel despite all the complications this kind of social system must have presented to traditional faith. This *melek* system of rule, a system whose manifestations one could experience in the model of Late Bronze Age municipal organization, whose roots extended back into the Early Bronze Age, was both simple and effective in its organization of manifold energies, centrally controlled, under a single will, establishing thereby well-ordered power relationships.

48. → גֹּי *gōy*, II.2 (II, 429f.).

wrath" (Hos. 13:11). The Samaritan kingship is handled with what amounts to despotic arbitrariness — doubtlessly the talionic reaction against the despotic nature of these regents — until the "king of Israel" is swept away once and for all "at dawn" (Hos. 10:15?) and perishes "like a chip on the face of the waters" (v. 7, uncertain text). In any event, Hosea viewed kingship as one of the institutions that had become too destructive for Israel and should thus be eliminated, together with the governmental apparatus (*śar*), sacrificial cult, and sacral institutions. The only remedy is to forsake such institutions entirely (Hos. 3:3f.; cf. 10:1-8).

b. Isaiah's criticism of kingship is documented in what are known as the messianic oracles (to the extent they are Isaianic), Isa. 7, 9, and 11. Emphatic use of *mlk* words, however, occurs only in two passages, 7:6; 9:11(12): in 7:6, coalition members in the Syro-Ephraimite war intend "to set up a king (as king)" in Judah (namely, Ben Tabe-el), disregarding the political cosmic order which according to Isaiah Yahweh has sanctioned, an order which foresees a member of the house of David as "head" of Jerusalem rather than some arbitrary *melek*. Isa. 9:6(7) speaks of the future establishment of a kingdom which will again be Davidic in the original sense.

c. Jeremiah's critical attitude expresses itself in the question he puts to the contemporary King Jehoiakim, whether being *melek*, i.e., the first, can exhaust itself merely in one's effort to promote prosperity and fortune (Jer. 22:15; cf. 21:11-14). The anticipated future king, in contrast to Zedekiah, will be a "legitimate branch." He will also do what one hopes such a *melek* will do: *mālak melek*, reign wisely and establish justice and order in the land (23:5f.).

d. Ezekiel's basic criticism of the Davidic kingship, developed in the extended parables in chs. 17 and 19 (cf. also Ezk. 34; 37; 43:7-9) is characterized by his juxtaposition of the venerable title → נָשִׂי' *nāšî'* with the term *melek*, lending expression to his notions of a theocratic state form.

e. Deutero-Isaiah completely unravels the older Judean-Davidic conception of state. His worldview no longer reserves a place for the Jerusalem monarchy.

f. Postexilic prophecy once again develops a royal-messianic image of the future, although quite often the word *melek* is not applied to the coming ruler (but cf. Isa. 32:1; Zec. 9:9), a sign that the Yahweh faith still encounters difficulties with the concept and its inherent notion of rule.

8. *The Problem of an OT Ideology of Kingship.* The question of the uniqueness of the religious component of the ideology of kingship has generated a lively discussion during the past decades, a discussion variously portrayed and documented.⁵⁹ The debate was precipitated primarily by the thesis of English-speaking scholars under the aegis of S. H. Hooke, the assertion being that throughout the entire ancient Near East the ideology of kingship in principle followed a single basic pattern whose structure can

59. C. M. Edsmann, "Zum sakralen Königtum in der Forschung der letzten hundert Jahre," *The Sacral Kingship. SNumen*, 4 (1959), 3-17; Bernhardt; H.-J. Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des ATs* (Neukirchen, ³1982), 460ff.

be traced back to its provenance in myth and cult. This notion of kingship was structured according to a fixed, enduring schema (myth and ritual pattern), and viewed the king in the center of a mythic-cultic drama that was to guarantee the stability of the cosmic order. Thus sacral majesty and even divinity were attributed to the king (sacral, divine kingship).

Although this discussion was conducted on extremely diverse levels, the results relating to the present semantic-theological evaluation of the *mlk* word group pertain primarily to methodology, consisting in my opinion in the need for contextual differentiation. Such differentiation should be made according to (a) the cultural spheres and historical epochs in which the ideology of kingship under discussion developed (e.g., Syro-Canaanite city culture of the Amarna period; the Persian period); (b) politico-historical developments prompting localized versions of these systems of rule (e.g., kingship in Jerusalem, in the northern kingdom, and in the southern kingdom); (c) the different bearers and representatives of the various notions of kingship (e.g., as imperial self-representation, mythic-religious legitimation, or a specific understanding of the state); (d) the linguistic level of the life setting for the various conceptions of royal ideology (catchwords: courtly style,⁶⁰ imperial magic,⁶¹ mythopoetics); (e) the various aspects of both “civil” and “sacral” legitimation;⁶² (f) the experiential horizon and spiritual environment (e.g., kingship hymns, prophetic criticism). Questions concerning the religious connotations inherent in the *mlk* group can be answered, if at all, only on the basis of the situational, literary, and socio-cultural context.

IV. Theological Usage: Yahweh as King — Yahweh *mlk*.

1. *Occurrences.* Yahweh occurs 13 times as the subject of *mlk* (Ex. 15:18; 1 S. 8:7; Ps. 47:9[8]; 93:1; 96:10 par. 1 Ch. 16:31; 97:1; 99:1; 146:10; Isa. 24:23; 52:7; Ezk. 20:33; Mic. 4:7). Several points are noteworthy. Only 1 of these passages is prose (1 S. 8:7). The hymnic genres predominate (8 times with Isa. 52:7; 1 Ch. 16:31, 7 times in what are known as the Yahweh-kingship hymns). The combination *YHWH mlk* often occupies a prominent position (3 times at the beginning of a psalm, twice at the conclusion). And, finally, there is an affinity with the Yahweh-Zion theme (explicitly in Ex. 15:18; Isa. 24:23; 52:7; Mic. 4:7; Ps. 146:10; implicitly in almost all the passages). Yahweh is qualified with the epithet *melek* 41 times (Nu. 23:21; Dt. 33:5; 1 S. 12:12; Ps. 5:3[2]; 10:16; 24:7,8,9,10; 29:10; 44:5[4]; 47:3,7,8[2,6,7]; 48:3[2]; 68:25[24]; 74:12; 84:4[3]; 95:3; 98:6; 99:4; 145:1; 149:2; Isa. 6:5; 33:22; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6; Jer. 8:19; 10:7,10; 46:18; 48:15; 51:57; Dnl. 4:34[37]; Mic. 2:13; Zeph. 3:15 (cf. LXX); Zec. 14:9,16,17; Mal. 1:14). Again, only 1 passage is genuine prose (1 S. 12:12). The strong representation among the Psalms is also noteworthy (20 times), as is what amounts to merely secondary mention in the prophetic tradition (besides Isa. 6:5; Jer. 8:19 and perhaps Mal. 1:4; Zec. 14:9) in fixed formulations resembling titles. The

60. H. Gressmann.

61. V. Maag.

62. Cf. Mettinger.

reference to Zion emerges quite strongly, and again the Yahweh-kingship hymns constitute an inner circle (Pss. 29,47,95,98,99). The abstract constructions derived from *mlk* refer to Yahweh in 9 instances, largely in later passages (1 Ch. 29:11; Ps. 22:29[28]; 103:19; 145:11,12,13; Dnl. 3:33[4:3]; 4:31[34]; Ob. 21). If one also orders chronologically the passages in which references to the throne, etc. occur (e.g., Ps. 9:5,8[4,7]; 47:9[8]; 89:15[14]; 93:2; 103:19; Isa. 6:1; 66:1; Jer. 3:17; 17:12; Ezk. 1:26⁶³), discounting certain questionable premonarchical passages (Nu. 23:21; Dt. 33:5; Ps. 24), there emerges a significant number from the period of the monarchy (Isa. 6:5; Jer. 8:19; Micah? Zephaniah? and several psalms which can be dated: Pss. 29,48,68,89; Ex. 15) and from the exilic period (Deutero-Isaiah); the majority, however, comes from the postexilic period, suggesting a relatively late beginning with constant growth up till the late OT period (Isaiah Apocalypse; Second Zechariah; Daniel). The history of this theologoumenon is reflected in the statistical evidence.

2. *Origin of the Predication "Yahweh as King."* There is reason to believe that the notion of Yahweh as king was not first appropriated during the period of the monarchy itself,⁶⁴ but rather at an earlier date.⁶⁵ First of all, certain individual passages suggest this, such as Dt. 33:5; Nu. 23:21, which, while not completely undisputed, probably do not refer to political kingship, but rather presuppose in Jacob-Israel the notion of Yahweh's kingship "in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people assembled, all the tribes of Israel together" (Dt. 33:5): "Yahweh, his God, with him, and the shout of a king is in him" (Nu. 23:21). Accordingly, Yahweh would be "king" at least over "the people, the tribes of Israel, Jacob," who hail him; and this is the Yahweh of Sinai, of Seir (Dt. 33:2), "the El of Jeshurun" (Dt. 33:26 MT). Apparently, contact with the notions of the kingship of god cultivated by the sedentary Canaanite religion,⁶⁶ and specifically with the notion of the kingship of the highest god El,⁶⁷ led to a similar amplification of the Yahweh faith, which until then had not been so defined. Traces of this appropriation can be found especially in psalm texts from the (early) period of the monarchy (Ps. 24:7-10; 29:10; 68:25[24]; 82), although also in the frequent resonance of certain notions of courtly institutions in the narrative material of older Pentateuchal strata (Gen. 3:22; 6:1ff.; 11:7; 18:1ff.). It is difficult to determine the extent to which the ark as a throne symbol⁶⁸ influenced the evolution of the notion of kingship in the Yahweh faith. The hypothesis that the notion emerged in the temple sanctuary at Shiloh (according to Ps. 24:7-10) must remain an assumption. Judging from the meager evidence, it apparently did not play any significant role in the period before Israel became a state⁶⁹ (1 S. 8:7; 12:12 derive from the later theological discussion surrounding the monarchi-

63. → כִּסֵּי *kissē* (VII, 232-259).

64. So Eissfeldt, von Rad, and others.

65. Alt, Maag, W. H. Schmidt, and others.

66. Maag.

67. W. H. Schmidt.

68. → אֲרוֹן *'arôn* (I, 363-374).

69. A different view is taken by M. Buber, who probably overinterprets Jgs. 6:22f.

cal constitution). This did not change until Israel was involved in establishing its own state and acquired a politically different consciousness in its encounter with the religious forms of the Canaanite world, and until in confrontation and conflict it was forced to expand and interpret anew its traditional ideas of faith.

3. *Use in Theophoric Personal Names.* These findings are confirmed by the OT personal names constructed with *mlk*. Although with *'bymlk*, *'hymlk*, *'lymlk* (*milkâ* does not seem to be theophoric) the OT does indeed exhibit various name constructions attesting the notion of God as king — regardless of how the element *mlk* is interpreted here: as subject (divine name⁷⁰) or as predicate ("father-[God-]is-king," etc.⁷¹ — these constructions nonetheless appear to have been originally pre- and non-Israelite (cf. the examples in EA): *'bymlk*, king of Gerar (Gen. 20:2–26:26); *'hymlk*, priest of Nob (1 S. 21:2[21:1]–23:6); *'limlk* from Bethlehem in Judah (Ruth 1:2ff.). This suggests that the notion (par. *'āb*, *'āḥ*, *'ēl*) derives from the Canaanite religion of El. The name of the priest-king of Salem, *malkîṣedeq* (Gen. 14:18; Ps. 110:4; 1QapGen 22:14) points in this direction: "king(-god)-is-*ṣdq*". Not until the name of Saul's son, *Malkîšûa* ("my-king-is-help" or vice versa, 1 S. 14:49; 31:2), can one date a theophoric *mlk* name in Israel, although the occurrence of individual names naturally leaves many unresolved questions, cf. *Malkî'el* (Gen. 46:17 [P]; Nu. 26:45; 1 Ch. 7:31). Analogous to the earlier occurrences, such personal names become more widespread only toward the end of the monarchy. The *mlk* names containing the element *YHWH* come from the 7th–6th centuries B.C.: *Malkiyyâ* (*Malkiyyāhû*) (Jer. 21:1);⁷² *Yhwmlk* (seal ca. 7th century⁷³); *Malkîrām* (son of King Jeconiah, 1 Ch. 3:18). The shorter forms are more difficult to date: *Melek* (descendant of Saul, 1 Ch. 8:35; 9:41); *Malkām* (1 Ch. 8:9); *Yamlēk* (1 Ch. 4:34); *Mallûk* (Ezra; Nehemiah; 1 Chronicles).

4. *The Preexilic Zion Tradition.* One group of apparently older preexilic passages presents the Yahweh-*mlk* statement in connection with the Zion tradition (Ex. 15; Pss. 24, 29; Isa. 6), whence it evidently derived. The reference and point of departure seem according to Ps. 24; Isa. 6 to have been in a cultic-symbolic sense the ark and throne of the cherubim in the Jerusalem temple. From there evidence leads back possibly to the sanctuary at Shiloh (Ps. 24) and to the Jebusite sanctuary in pre-Davidic Jerusalem (Ps. 29). Use of the theologoumenon in this traditio-historical context is characterized by the following:

(a) The still discernible adaptation of the *melek* predication as expressed, e.g., in the interrogative form of Ps. 24: "Who is this [overly] mighty king?" (*mî zeh melek hakkābôd*, vv. 8, 10). The title *melek hakkābôd* alone obviously does not yet contain

70. E.g., Eissfeldt.

71. E.g., Noth.

72. Y. Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," *Festschrift W. F. Albright. Erlsr*, 9 (1969), 11 [Heb.]; *ANET*, 568f.

73. G. R. Driver, "Brief Notes. (I) A New Israelite Seal," *PEQ*, 77 (1945), 5; F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 376, no. 162.

any definitive answer. Clarity emerges only with the identification as Yahweh *šēbā'ôl*. Other identifications were apparently also possible. The adaptation can be recognized in the presumed Canaanite source document for Ps. 29 and its Ba'al-hadad model, e.g., v. 10a: "Yahweh sits enthroned over the flood," interpreted by v. 10b: "Yahweh sits enthroned as king forever." Ugaritic texts confirm the earlier provenance of the structure of this notion.

(b) The semantic relation of superiority is established by the element *mlk*: the foremost, the mightiest, the highest. This comes to expression in the confession of Yahweh's singularity. What Ps. 24:8,10; Ex. 15:11 formulate interrogatively (who . . .?) and Ps. 29:10 as struggle and conflict (Yahweh among the "sons of gods," *bēnê 'ēlīm*, v. 1), is in the hymnic predications of Isa. 6:3 and especially Ex. 15:11,18 a thetic confession: Yahweh is *the* holy one; his power extends over the *entire* earth; he is *the* lord and *the* king (*hammelek YHWH*, Isa. 6:5; cf. vv. 1,8; the "great king," Ps. 48:3[2]; cf. 47:3[2]). The *mlk* concept reflects polemical-apologetic concerns.

(c) Motivated by its cultic-symbolic substratum and supported by its unique matrix of associations, this notion acquires elective affinity for related and neighboring theologoumena, generating an expandable network of associations expressed in stereotypical terminology (cf. Pss. 24,29; Isa. 6 as well as the Yahweh-kingship hymns⁷⁴). E.g., in Ps. 29 the *mlk* theme is characterized by the Ba'al-hadad topos "storm theophany and struggle with the dragon," in Isa. 6 by the typically Isaianic Judeo-Egyptian figures (seraphim), in Ps. 89:15f.,19(14f.,18) by the idea of the pharaonic royal throne and its foundation (Maat), whereby in each case various theological implications and extensions emerge establishing the specific meaning of each text. At the same time, however, this openness was accompanied by the possibility that notions of divine kingship both similar and alien to Yahweh could be assimilated.⁷⁵

These three aspects apply in equal fashion to the Yahweh-kingship hymns, at least to their older parts.⁷⁶

5. *Other Divine Kings in the OT.* Other divine names constructed with *mlk* occur in the OT analogous to, e.g., Phoen. *Melkart* (< *milk-qart*, "king of the city") or to the Tyrian Ba'al,⁷⁷ including:

a. Milcom (< *mlk-m*, mimation form with determinative, also attested outside the OT, and within the OT itself also pointed as *Malkām*: 2 S. 12:30; Jer. 49:1,3; Zeph. 1:5, "the king[-god]"), the primary national god of the Ammonites. After Solomon introduced his cult (1 K. 11:5,7,33), Milcom apparently did not constitute a syncretistic religious threat until toward the end of the monarchy (parallel expressions being "to worship Yahweh" and "to swear by Milcom," Zeph. 1:5 conj.; 2 K. 23:13).

b. Moloch⁷⁸ (< *mlk*, MT *mōlek*, cacophonously pointed; LXX *Moloch*; originally

74. See IV.7-9 below.

75. See IV.5 below.

76. See IV.7-9 below.

77. Cf. Gese, 194f.; 193 A.109; G. Wallis, "Melkart," *BHHW*, II (1964), 1186f.

78. → מֶלֶךְ *mōlek* (VIII, 375-388).

probably *Melek*; like Milcom usually with the article, e.g., Lev. 20:5; 1 K. 11:7, and possibly still used appellatively as a title: “the king[-god]”). This name, which appears at approximately the same (late preexilic) time, cannot be identified unequivocally.⁷⁹ According to Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5, it seems probably to have been a deity, and not a sacrifice,⁸⁰ associated with Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem, to whom the Israelites probably consecrated children (not burned, as some have concluded from the formula “make go through the fire”; 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35).⁸¹

c. Adrammelech and Anammelech (probably < “Adad-king,” “Anat-king”⁸²). According to 2 K. 17:31, these were deities worshipped (along with Yahweh) by the Syrians from Sepharvaim who were forcefully deported to Samaria.

d. The “queen of heaven” (*m^eleket* [< *malkat*], *haššāmayim*).⁸³ According to Jer. 7:18; 44:17-19,25, she was already worshipped in Israel during the preexilic period, probably as a result of Assyrian-Babylonian influence.⁸⁴

6. *Notions of mlk in Prophecy.* Although the prophets do not employ the kingship theologoumenon very frequently, this does not, as Isa. 6 shows, necessarily constitute rejection. They refer rather to the circumstances of the Zion tradition, and although they develop their call schemata with the aid of the court model (1 K. 22; Isa. 6; Ezk. 1-3; Isa. 40:1-8), use of this terminology occurs in only a few, albeit significant passages. The vision of the Pharaoh-like king *YHWH š^ebā’ôt* in Isa. 6:1ff. is paralleled by Ezekiel’s throne chariot vision (Ezk. 1:15ff.). Both are sated with tradition. The people’s “cry for help” (Jer. 8:19 [8:18-22]) is noteworthy, if not completely clear, since it calls into question the Zion confession: Is Yahweh not in Zion? Is Zion’s king [?] no longer there?” The theologoumenon plays a significant role in Isa. 40-55. The notion of court institutions in Isa. 40:1ff. presupposes the idea of kingship just as does the royal predication in Isa. 42:1ff. The *melek* theologoumenon is used in a completely traditional fashion in the religious polemic of Deutero-Isaiah, as shown by the occurrences in the trial scenes: “King of Jacob” (Isa. 41:21); “Creator of Israel, your King” (43:15); “King of Israel” (44:6). The antithetical usage in connection with the Zion tradition thus can come as no surprise: *mālak* *’elōhāyik*, “your God reigns as king” (Isa. 52:7). And yet this traditional royal predication acquires new actuality with Deutero-Isaiah. The “king” of the heavenly court controls the affairs of the world’s kingdoms (the royal highway in the desert, Isa. 40:3; “all flesh” — all people are your

79. Cf. K.-H. Bernhardt, “Moloch,” *BHHW*, II, 1232; W. Kornfeld, “Moloch,” *BL*, 1163f. with bibliog.

80. So Eissfeldt.

81. On this cultic rite, cf. D. Plataroti, “Zum Gebrauch des Wortes *mlk* im AT,” *VT*, 28 (1978), 286-300.

82. Cf. Gese, 110.

83. Cf. *ibid.*, 191 A.90.

84. Cf. M. Weinfeld, “The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and its Background,” *UF*, 4 (1972), 139; M. Delcor, “Le culte de la ‘Reine du Ciel’ selon Jer 7,18; 44,17-19,25 et ses survivances,” *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. Festschrift J. P. M. van der Ploeg. AOAT*, 211 (1982), 101-122.

Horus rituals, as a “cry of acclamation or proclamation.”⁸⁹ This formula does not automatically allow one to conclude by analogy the existence of an enthronement ritual and enthronement festival.

e. Both the formulaic character and the accentuated position within the psalm texts suggest that the various contexts constitute “explications of the statement *YHWH mālāk*,”⁹⁰ explications developing hymnically and theologically the substance of the short formula, which itself had apparently acquired the status of dogma.

8. *The So-called Enthronement Festival of Yahweh.* In his investigation into the cultic life setting of the *YHWH mālāk* formula, Sigmund Mowinckel⁹¹ took various routes in arriving at a synthesis in reconstructing an ancient Israelite festival focusing on Yahweh’s enthronement. As a cultic drama with liturgical symbolism, this festival creatively actualized Yahweh’s enthronement by portraying it according to the earthly model; it was repeated annually, and during the preexilic period was combined with the autumnal and New Year’s festival. It is within this cultic framework that the *YHWH mālāk* expression originally functions. In the context of Yahweh’s cultic presence, the expression does not mean “Yahweh is king, but rather Yahweh has (now) become king.” The expression thus functions in paying homage to the king Yahweh during the enthronement.⁹² Here, too, the enthronement psalms in both the narrower sense (according to Mowinckel, Pss. 47, 93, 95–100) and wider sense (altogether more than forty psalms) have their original setting and exhibit their original meaning as a reflex to the cultic events within the overall course of these “festival plays,” plays during which all the individual elements and themes of the Jerusalem cultic hymn are presented: creation and struggle with the primeval dragon, conflict with the gods, exodus, battle of the nations, judgment and renewal, deliverance epiphany, etc. This cult-functional interpretation of these psalms constitutes the true alternative to both the historical and the eschatological interpretations.

This hypothesis, which had already been sketched out earlier independently of Mowinckel,⁹³ was well received both directly⁹⁴ and with creative expansion into the “cultic pattern,”⁹⁵ although also with critical modification by other festival theories.⁹⁶ The discussion of this topic has not yet reached a conclusion. Although it is generally

89. Michel.

90. *Ibid.*

91. NTTSup, 1917, 13-79; then in his classic work *Psalmenstudien, II* (1922). In English, see especially *The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1962), ch. 5, “Psalms at the Enthronement Festival of Yahweh.”

92. E.g., p. 6.

93. Volz.

94. Cf. H. Schmidt.

95. Engnell and others.

96. Various a “royal festival of Zion,” H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 56f.; or a “Covenant Festival of Yahweh,” A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 35-52.

recognized that the narrower group of enthronement psalms were indeed associated with the cult, the existence of a central festival of this sort is not beyond dispute.

9. *The Yahweh-Kingship Hymns.* The enthronement psalms, or better, the Yahweh-kingship hymns (viewing the *mlk* predication as the central element), Pss. 47, 93, 95–99, are complex literary constructions. Generally viewed as postexilic, one of their primary characteristics is that the *YHWH mlk* statement occupies a dominant position within a strongly anthological textual structure. The notion of Yahweh as king holds together the collage-like series of individual elements which are in part preformed and appropriated as citations (cf. esp. Ps. 96). This framing function is given to the *YHWH-mlk* expression apparently in its role as a central theological statement which the Jerusalem Zion tradition is attempting to codify. The concomitant psalm statements then develop and establish this confession, whose recognition and acceptance apparently have to be reaffirmed.

Ps. 93 positions this confession thetically at the beginning (“Yahweh reigns as king”) and supports it (1) with a tripartite hymnic textual section dealing with Yahweh’s victory over the waters of chaos (vv. 1aβ–δ, 3, 4, probably preexilic), (2) with a reference to creation cast in the style of a prayer (the earth is Yahweh’s everlasting throne; vv. 1b, 2[v. 1b is a displaced verse; cf. Ps. 96:10]), and (3) with praise of his manner of ruling through his decrees (*‘ēdōt*) and through his presence (the holy temple) (93:5). In this way the various aspects of Yahweh’s rule (creation, cosmic order, and revelation) are encompassed and appended to the confession itself as concrete examples, whereby the polemical fundamental character of the formula comes to expression.

Ps. 97 can be understood in basically the same way. The Yahweh-king formula, positioned at the beginning, is explicated by different elements within the psalm, including various psalm citations (v. 2b par. 89:15[14]; v. 4a par. 77:19b[18b]; v. 6a par. 50:6a; v. 8 par. 48:12[11]; v. 9a par. 83:19[18]; v. 12b par. 30:5b[4b]), introducing the following aspects of Yahweh’s reign as king: the theophany as the lord of the entire world, the reaction of the cosmic elements, and the subjection of all the gods; for Yahweh proves to be the “most high over all the earth,” “exalted far above all gods” (97:1, 2a, 3–6, 7b, 9); justice and righteousness are the signs of his pharaonic throne (v. 2b); next to him, other alleged gods are merely “little gods” (*‘ēlîlîm*, v. 7a); Zion and the daughters of Judah can rejoice in his judgments (*mišpāṭeykā*, v. 8), because under his rule “light shines⁹⁷ for the righteous” (vv. 10–12).

Ps. 99 proclaims Yahweh’s kingship from the perspective of his holy presence on Zion. Mention of the “cherubim throne” (v. 1) is amplified by the predications “great,” “exalted over all the gods [MT people]” (v. 2), and “holy” (vv. 3, 5, 9), whom one can approach only in subjection, yet who — as shown by the classic examples of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel (vv. 6–8) — always remained cultically accessible. The *‘ōz melek* in v. 4 is a *crux interpretum*; in any case, the verse is emphasizing the love of justice and of order exhibited by this king in Israel.

97. All or most versions read thus, instead of “is sown.”

Although Pss. 96,95,98, and 47 do not position the proclamatory *YHWH mālāk* at the beginning, they, too, are guided by this royal theologoumenon, which holds together the various individual parts in a kind of mosaic. Ps. 96 asks for a “new song” for the nations (vv. 1f.) whose content is to be Yahweh’s glory and salvific deeds. It even offers an example of such singing in vv. 4-6 (composed of citations in part from Pss. 29,93,98). Ps. 96:10-13 summarizes what is to be said to the nations: Yahweh is the king of the world and the judge of the nations.

Ps. 95 uses the statement in its traditional function: “For Yahweh is the [a] great God (*’ēl*) and the [a] great King above all gods (*’ēlōhîm*)” (v. 3). The psalm exhorts those who may call themselves the “people of his pasture” (v. 7) to extol him as the “rock of our salvation” (v. 1).

Ps. 98 also calls out for people to join in the worldwide festive rejoicing “before the face of King Yahweh” (v. 6). Here “king” has become the title representing a plethora of notions concerning faith.

Finally, Ps. 47 casts its statement in the style of the hymnic imperative from elements of traditional notions of Yahweh as king; the term *melek* occurs twice in the hymnic section (vv. 3,9[2,8]) and twice in the confessional sections (vv. 7-10[6-9]). The immediate context shows which aspects the psalm is seeking to evoke with the expression: (1) The predication *melek gādōl* evokes by its association with royal titles a universal horizon and categories of world power (“all peoples,” “over all the earth”). (2) The variously cited “vertical” prep. *’al* (3 times; *’ālā*, 2 times; *’elyôn* next to *taḥat*, 2 times) adds the superlative aspect: Yahweh is *the* most high God (cf. Ps. 95:3; 96:4, etc.). (3) The combination of throne and regnal shout (*t’rû’â*) evokes the familiar associations with Zion. This might even be evoking a cultic procession (47:6[5]). (4) The form “our king” (v. 7[6]), together with the urgent tone of the fourfold exhortation to sing, is able to generate especially strong emotional elements when those who are exhorted do indeed surrender to the enthusiastic mood of the psalm and freely appropriate in their own confession (v. 8a[7a]) the royal proclamation of vv. 3,6,9(2,5,8).

10. *Other Psalms.* Use of the *melek* theologoumenon in the other psalms exhibits relationships with the ideas associated with the Yahweh-kingship hymns. The theologoumenon is reflected: (1) in several individual confessions of trust (1st person sg. suf.): “my King and my God” (Ps. 5:3[2]; probably as an addendum in Ps. 84:4[3]); “my God, the King” (Ps. 145:1; cf. vv. 11-13); strikingly, also in collective psalms we read “you are my King, God (Yahweh)” (Ps. 44:5[4]), and par.: “yet God is my King from of old” (Ps. 74:12 MT). A personal *’ebed* relationship probably resonates here as well (cf. also Ps. 149:2: “let the sons of Zion rejoice in their King”; Isa. 33:22: “Yahweh is our king”);⁹⁸ (2) in the confessional statements that temporally (with *’ôlām*: Ps. 29:10b; Ex. 15:18; Ps. 9:5[4]; 146:10; 145:13 pl.; Jer. 10:10; with *qedem* in Ps. 74:12) or spatially (e.g., Ps. 9:8[7]; 10:16; Jer. 10:7) expand Yahweh’s royal dominion — “king of the gods” according to the archaic predication (Ps. 95:3 and the expansion to Ps.

98. On the construction of personal names, see IV.3 above.

135:6 according to 11QPs^a: *mlk 'lwhym*); (3) in hymnic predications with the abstract constructions *malkût/m^{el}lûkâ*, terms which also flirt with this kind of expansion into the universal: Ps. 22:29(28) (cf. vv. 28,30-32[27,29-31]); 103:19 (*bakkōl*); 145:11-13. The doxologies in 1 Ch. 29:11 ("thine is the kingdom") and at the conclusion to the book of Obadiah (Ob. 21: "the kingdom shall be Yahweh's") also belong within the horizon of these hymnic statements.

11. *Late Prophecy and Apocalypticism.* Evidence also occurs in the later parts of several prophetic books and in apocalyptic literature. Zec. 14:16f. announces that at the Feast of Booths "every one that survives of all the nations" will go up to Zion "to worship the King, Yahweh *š^{el}bā'ôl*" and (according to v. 17) to petition for rain. According to Isa. 24:21-23, in the future ("on that day") *YHWH š^{el}bā'ôl* will gather together the heavenly hosts and earthly kings in a pit, will punish them, and will himself take over dominion in Zion (*mālak YHWH*), so that even the moon and sun will be diminished.⁹⁹ These features recall Dnl. 2,7. Finally, in Dnl. 3:33[4:3]; 4:31,34[34,37] Nebuchadnezzar speaks the doxology to "the King of heaven," a doxology which considering 1 Ch. 29:11; Ps. 145:13; Ob. 21 has apparently been taken from the liturgical repertoire: "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his sovereignty endures from generation to generation" (Dnl. 3:33[4:3]; cf. 4:31[34]).¹⁰⁰

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V. Qumran. The root *mlk* is attested more than 50 times in the writings of Qumran. What is surprising, however, is its weak representation in the larger scrolls: no occurrences at all in 1QS (in contrast, 8 in CD), 2 in 1QH; 9 in 1QM (plus 4 occurrences in parallel 4QM fragments); the texts of 3Q, 5Q, and 6Q contain 1 occurrence each, although the fragmentary nature of the texts hardly allows any real conclusions. 4QpNah attests 5, 11QT 7 occurrences.

An evaluation of these occurrences first finds that the institution of the monarchy, while certainly playing a role for the community historically (cf. 1QM 11:3), by no means played any relevant contemporary role. Earthly kings had no place in their eschatologically charged anticipation (CD 20:16; cf. 1:6; also Hos. 3:4; 1QM 12:7). Not surprisingly, however, the Temple scroll deviates from this line.¹⁰¹ God is the "king of glory" (4Q510 1:1; 4Q511:52-59 III 4; 4QFlor 1:3), who is "with" his community (1QM 12:3,8; 19:1); he is the ruler of all creatures (1QH 10:8) and bears the title "great king" (5Q10 1:3) and "king of kings" (4QM^a I 13 par. 1QM 14:16). The "kings of the nations" (1QM 12:14; 19:6) will serve him. CD 8:10; 19:23f. even refer to the "kings of the nations" as serpents spewing poison. Their head is the king of Yawan (Ionia, Greece) (CD 8:11; cf. 4QpNah 1:2f.). The earthly adversaries of the Qumran

99. Cf. Welten.

100. On post-OT literature, cf. H. Kleinknecht, G. von Rad, K. G. Kuhn, K. L. Schmidt, "βασιλεύς," *TDNT*, I, 564-593 (further bibliog. in *TWNT*, X/2, 1008-1014); J. Gray, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God*; J. Coppens and J. Carmignac, "Règne de Dieu," *DBS*, 54, 1-252.

101. See following discussion.

community in the decisive eschatological battle include the king of the Kittim (1QM 15:2) and the kings of the north (1QM 1:4 par. 4Q496 3:3). Some passages contain vague historical allusions (4QpNah 2:9; 4:2), and CD 3:9 even an obvious anachronism in its assertion that because of the murmuring during the wilderness wanderings the “kings” of the Israelites were destroyed. The unclear textual context in the “Song of Michael” seems to suggest that Michael is to be counted among the circle of the gods, to which even the mighty “kings of the east” have no access (4QM^a 11 I:12,18). One ecclesiological surprise is found in CD 7:16f.: the tabernacle of David which in Am. 9:11 is supposed to be rebuilt is now interpreted within the framework of realized eschatology as the books of the Torah, and the congregation understands itself as this king (*hammeklek hû’ haqqāhāl*, “the king is the congregation”). Since 4QFlor 12f. interprets Am. 9:11 messianically, one cannot exclude the possibility that the equation *meklek* = *qāhāl* is a messianic notation.

The regulations concerning kings in the Temple scroll (11QT 56–59) are based on the laws of kingship in Dt. 17:14–20, which have, however, been considerably expanded, perhaps in an anti-Hasmonean spirit. The function of the king seems in many ways to parallel that of the high priest. In the case of a war of aggression the king is subject to high priestly oracular guidance.

Fabry

מֹלֶךְ *mōlek*

Contents: I. *mlk* in Phoenician-Punic: 1. *mlk/molch-/mlkt* “Offering”; 2. The Semantic Field of *mlk*; a. *molchomōr* etc. and *mlk ’mr*; b. *mlk ’dm*; c. *mlk b’l*; d. *nšb mlk(t) (b’l)*; e. *mlk bšr* etc.; f. *’zrm (h)’š’št*. 3. Function of the *mlk* Sacrifice; a. Thanksgiving Ceremony; b. Ceremony of Lament or Petition. II. Related Constructions in the Ancient Near East Outside the Phoenician-Punic Sphere? III. *mōlek* in Hebrew: 1. Linguistic Considerations; a. Form and Meaning; b. The Semantic Field of *mōlek*; 2. Occurrences and Dating; 3. The Function and the Recipient of the *mōlek* Sacrifice.

mōlek. A. Alt, “Zur Talionsformel,” *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 303–5; A. Bea, “Kinderopfer für Moloch oder für Jahwe?” *Bibl*, 18 (1937), 95–107; H. Cazelles, “Molok,” *DBS*, V (1957), 1337–1346; K. Dronkert, *De Molochdienst in het OT* (Leiden, 1953) [Eng. summary]; J. Ebach and U. Rüterswörden, “ADRMLK, ‘Moloch’ und BA’AL ADR,” *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer*, *UF*, 11 (1979), 219–226; O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen, und das Ende des Gottes Moloch*, *BRA*, 3 (1935); J.-G. Février, “Les rites sacrificiels chez les Hébreux et à Carthage,” *REJ*, 123 (1964), 7–18; W. Kornfeld, “Der Moloch: Eine Untersuchung zur Theorie O. Eissfeldts,” *WZKM*, 51 (1948–1952), 287–313; M. J. Mulder, *Kanaänitische Goden in het OT* (Hague, 1965), 57–64; W. Röllig, “Moloch,” *WbMyth*, I (1965), 299f.; M. Weinfeld, “The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and its Background,” *UF*, 4 (1972), 133–154.

I. *mlk* in Phoenician-Punic.

1. *mlk/molch-/mlkt* "Offering." The only Phoenician attestation for *mlk* is in *RÉS* 367, a 3rd/2nd-century-B.C. votive inscription from Nebi Yūnis; although Mark Lidzbarski¹ still considered this to be inauthentic, its reconsideration by Bernard Delavault and André Lemaire has probably established its authenticity. This then constitutes the only example of an offering plate of the kind frequently attested in the Punic sphere, being explicitly associated through its inscription with the *mlk* sacrifice.²

The term *mlk* is profusely attested in Punic on votive stelae from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. till the period following the Roman conquest of Carthage;³ in addition, four stelae from Algerian Ngaus (Nivicibus) attest the 2nd/3rd-century-A.D. Latin transcriptions *morch-*, *moch-*, *molch-*, and *morc-*, among which *molch-* probably best approximates the contemporary pronunciation.⁴ In *CIS* I, 198, 4; 5684, 1, the fem. (pl.?) *mlkt* is used instead of *mlk*.

The Phoenician-Punic term *mlk(t)/molch-* is probably to be explained as a causative nominal *maqtil(at)* form from *ylk* (< *wlk*), suggesting the pronunciation *mōlēk* (< *mawlik*).

I: J. Alquier and P. Alquier, "Stèles votives à Saturne découvertes près de N'gaous [Algérie]," *CRAI*, 1931, 21-26, with an addendum by J.-B. Chabot, 26f.; J. Carcopino, "Survivances par substitution des sacrifices d'enfants dans l'Afrique romaine," *RHR*, 106 (1932), 592-99; J.-B. Chabot, "Punica XI: Les inscriptions néopuniques de Guelma," *JA*, 11/8 (1916), 483-520; *idem*, "Punica XVIII: Stèles puniques de Constantine," *JA*, 11/10 (1917), 38-79; G. Charles-Picard, *Les religions de l'Afrique antique* (Paris, 1954), 42-52; R. Charlier, "La nouvelle série de stèles puniques de Constantine et la question des sacrifices dits 'molchomor,' en relation avec l'expression 'bsrm btm,'" *Karthago*, 4 (1953), 3-49; P. Cintas, "Le sanctuaire punique de Sousse," *Revue africaine*, 91 (1947), 1-80; B. Delavault and A. Lemaire, "Une stèle 'molk' de Palestine dédiée à Eshmoun? *RES* 367 reconsidéré," *RB*, 83 (1976), 569-583; R. Dussaud, "Précisions épigraphiques touchants les sacrifices puniques d'enfants," *CRAI*, 1946, 371-387; J.-G. Février, "Essai de reconstruction du sacrifice molek," *JA*, 248 (1960), 167-187; *idem*, "Molchomor," *RHR*, 143 (1953), 8-18; *idem*, "Le rite de substitution dans les textes de N'Gaous," *JA*, 250 (1962), 1-10; "Le vocabulaire sacrificiel punique," *JA*, 243 (1955), 49-63; G. Garbini, "L'iscrizione cartaginese *CIS* I 5510 e il sacrificio 'molk,'" *RSO*, 42 (1967), 8-13; *idem*, "מֹלֶךְ בַּעַל וְאִמֶּר: A proposito di *CIS* I 123 B," *RSO*, 43 (1968), 5-11; *idem*, "Il sacrificio dei bambini nel mondo punico," *Atti della Settimana di Studio "Sangue e Anthropologia Biblica" Roma, 10-15 marzo 1980*, I (Rome, 1981), 127-134; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du nord*, IV (repr. Paris, 1972), 404-410; J. Guey, "'Moloch' et 'Molchomor': A propos des stèles votives," *MAH*, 54 (1934), 83-102; J. Hoftijzer, "Eine Notiz zum punischen Kinderopfer," *VT*, 8 (1958), 288-292; C. Picard, "Le monument de Nebi-Yunis," *RB*, 83 (1976), 584-89.

III: E. Dhorme, *La religion des Hébreux nomades* (Paris, 1937), 201-219; *idem*, "Le dieu Baal et le dieu Moloch dans la tradition biblique," *AnSt*, 6 (1956), 57-61; A. Jirku, "Gab es im AT einen Gott Molok (Melek)?" *ARW*, 35 (1938), 178f.; O. Kaiser, "Den Erstgeborenen deiner Söhne sollst du mir geben. Erwägungen zum Kinderopfer im AT. Denkender Glaube. FS C. H. Ratschow (Berlin/New York, 1976), 24-48; D. Plataroti, "Zum Gebrauch des Wortes *mlk* im AT," *VT*, 28 (1978), 286-300; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Cardiff, 1964), 73-90.

1. *LidzEph*, I (1902), 285-87.

2. Picard.

3. *DISO*, s.v. *mlk* V; R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*. *SBL Diss*, 32 (1978), s.v. *mlk* IV.

4. Texts in Alquier-Alquier.

The most recently suggested identification¹⁹ of Pun. *mlk* V²⁰ with *mlk* II, “king,” in the fashion of an epithet of the divine recipient of the sacrifice named in the inscription, is unacceptable not least because no divine name occurs before *mlk* to which the epithet might refer;²¹ even in the expression *mtnt’ mlk b’l*,²² the combination *mlk b’l*, used predicatively, would exhibit no satisfactory syntactical connection even if it were the reference to a deity. In most instances, however, an epithet *mlk* would compete with other epithets appended to the name of the god honored by the sacrifice. Furthermore, the feminine construction *mlkt*²³ would not agree in gender with *b’l ḥmn*,²⁴ conversely, the masc. *mlk* would be referring to the feminine divine name *tnt*.²⁵ Finally, assuming that *mlk* is functioning as an epithet, then the *molch-* of the Latin transcriptions would have to be separated from Phoen.-Pun. *mlk*,²⁶ especially since an interpretation of *molch-* as “king” is still impeded by the fact that Phoen.-Pun. *mlk*, “king,” attests the stem vowel *i* or *a*.²⁷

The frequency of Semitic causative constructions from verbs of movement for sacrificial terminology also militates against associating *mlk* in the sense of “royal sacrifice”²⁸ or of “(compelling) power”²⁹ with the root *mlk*, “king.”

2. *The Semantic Field of mlk*. Since *mlk* occurs without more specific attributive qualifications only in a few texts,³⁰ a more exact determination of its meaning can only be attained by analyzing its attendant semantic field.

a. *molchomōr etc. and mlk ’mr*. The construction *molchomōr* in the Ngeus inscriptions corresponds according to J.-B. Chabot³¹ and many others to the expression *mlk ’mr* already attested in the earliest votive stelae from Carthage and Constantine.³² The interpretation of Pun. *’mr* corresponding to Heb. *’immēr*, “lamb,”³³ is supported, despite

19. Charlier, 15-19.

20. *DISO*.

21. *CIS*, I, 307, 4; Berthier-Charlier, 36, 2; 42, 3; *Neupunische Inschriften*, 30, 2.

22. *KAI*, 99, 2.

23. *CIS*, I, 5684, 1.

24. *Ibid.*, lines 3/4.

25. Berthier-Charlier, 37, 2.

26. This is the consistent position of Weinfeld.

27. Friedrich-Röllig, §193b.

28. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London, 1968), 210; *idem* (with a different semantic determination), *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Garden City, 1968), 156-58.

29. R. Dussaud, review of Février, *JA*, 243 (1955), 49-63; and *idem*, “Les découvertes épigraphiques puniques et néopuniques depuis la guerre,” *Studi Orientalistici. Festschrift G. Levi della Vida*, I (Rome, 1956), 274-286, *Syr*, 34 (1957), 394; cf. already Dussaud, *CRAI*, 1946, 372.

30. *RÉS*, 367, I, 1; Berthier-Charlier, 42, 4; 43, 4; *Neupunische Inschriften*, 30, 2; *KAI*, 159 (= *Neupunische Inschriften*, 124), 9.

31. *CRAI*, 1931, 26f.

32. *KAI*, 61 B, 1/2; *CIS*, I, 307, 4/5; Chabot, *JA*, 11/10 (1917), 49f.; Berthier-Charlier, 54, 2/3; 55 (= *KAI*, 109), 1/2.

33. *DISO*, 18; further parallels in Tomback, 24.

seems to mean “instead of an offspring of their [?] flesh” (cf. the use of Heb. *šē’ēr*, “flesh,” in Lev. 18:3; 20:19; and Pun. *š’r*⁷⁵ for “relatives”).

The term *bšrm* also occurs in the following combinations: *bšrm btm*;⁷⁶ *bšrm bntm*;⁷⁷ *mlk ’dm bš(’)rm btm*;⁷⁸ *mlk ’dm bšrm bn’ tm*;⁷⁹ and *mlk ’dm ’zrm ’š . . . bšrñ btñ*.⁸⁰

The problematical element here is the relationship between *bntm* and *btm* (> *btn*). Eissfeldt⁸¹ resolves *btm* into the prep. *b* with the subst. *tm* (“in perfection/completeness”), whereby *tm*, like the Hebrew adj. *tāmîm* (Ex. 12:5; Lev. 1:3; 10:3), evokes the idea of unblemished ritual purity as a prerequisite for sacrifices.⁸² It must be pointed out that in inscriptions⁸³ *btm* corresponds to Lat. *de pecunia sua*,⁸⁴ “at one’s own cost,” which can be transferred to *mlk* as a substitute offering and which James-Germaine Février⁸⁵ also applies to *bntm* as *b + tmm* niphāl; here one can point out also that *RÉS* 367 consists of an enumeration of persons who have made a financial contribution (*’rkt*) to a *mlk* sacrifice. It seems more likely, however, that *bšrm bntm* and *bšrm btm* both should be understood from the perspective of *bšrm bn’ tm*, “instead of his flesh, instead of his unblemished son”;⁸⁶ it is of no consequence that the 3rd person masculine singular suffix is actualized in two sequential words by the allomorphs *-m* and *-’*.⁸⁷ *btm* then arises from *bntm* through assimilation of *n* to *t*; *bntm* and *btm* never occur together.

f. *’zrm (h) ’š/’št*. Special problems are presented by *’zrm (h) ’š*, etc., and *’zrm ’št*, etc. Although the expressions do occur alone,⁸⁸ they are usually found in combinations: as genitive to *mlk*,⁸⁹ to *mlk ’dm*,⁹⁰ and to [*nš*]*b mlk b’l*;⁹¹ the expression *bmlk ’zrm (h) ’š/’št* seems specifically to be characteristic for Guelma (Calama).⁹² The verbs with which *’zrm* is used as an object show that it is a sacrificial designation: *nš’*, “to

75. Tomback, 310.

76. *JA*, 11/10 (1917), 76, 3; *KAI*, 104, 2-6; Slouszch, 228, 2.

77. *CIS*, I, 3746, 6/7 (similarly 4929, 3; 5741, 8); Berthier-Charlier, 38, 3/4; 45, 3/4.

78. *KAI*, 105, 3; 106 (= Berthier and Charlier, 28), 1; Berthier-Charlier, 29, 1/2; 30, 1/2; 32, 2; 34, 3/4; 36, 3.

79. *KAI*, 107 (= Berthier-Charlier, 35), 4.

80. Berthier-Charlier, 37, 2/3.

81. P. 20.

82. Hoftijzer, 291, no. 1.

83. *KAI*, 72, B, 4, and elsewhere.

84. *KAI*, 124; 125; 126.

85. *JA*, 248 (1960), 172.

86. *KAI*, 107, 4.

87. Cf. the corresponding juxtaposition of *-’* and *-’* in Berthier-Charlier, 4, 4; 104, 2/3; cf. Röllig, *KAI*, II, 115.

88. *CIS*, I, 3781, 2; 3783, 2; 5550, 2; 5702, 2/3; 5741, 6/7; Berthier-Charlier, 162, 1/2; *Neupunische Inschriften*, 11, 2.

89. Examples in *DISO*, s.v. *mlk*, V, 3.

90. *Idem*.

91. *KAI*, 98, 2.

92. *Neupunische Inschriften*, 15, 2; 18, 2/3; 21 (= *KAI*, 167), 2/3.

present, offer,"⁹³ *pg'*, "to honor (a vow, etc.),"⁹⁴ and probably also *ndr*, "to pledge, vow."⁹⁵

Since the *'zrm 'š/št* in certain instances⁹⁶ is apparently preceded by a *bšrnl/m* with the same function, the affirmative *-m* might be the 3rd person masculine singular suffix; admittedly, to my knowledge a masculine form without a suffix is nowhere attested for *'zrm*. The singular character of its presumed apposition *'š* militates against taking *-m* as a plural ending, and the absence of such a morpheme in the extant Phoenician-Punic evidence militates against taking it as an adverbial ending. Given its morphological uncertainty, explanations of this semanteme on the basis of Ugar. *izr* (a type of sacrifice)⁹⁷ or Pun. *'zrt*, "family, descendants,"⁹⁸ are still questionable. If, on the other hand, *-m* is not an affirmative, this makes unlikely any connection with Phoenician *'zrm* in *KAI*, 14, 3, 13, not least because this is a verbal form (1st person singular prefixing conjugation *zrm* niphāl, "I was snatched/carried away," corresponding to *ngzlt*, 1st person singular affixing conjugation *gzl* niphāl with the same meaning⁹⁹) which does not fit the Punic passage.

The (appositional?) *'š*, etc., and *'št*, etc., as in *'iš w^e'ištô* (Gen. 7:2), signals the opposition "masculine — feminine," apparently with respect to the sacrificial elements themselves.¹⁰⁰ The sequence *'zrm 'š w'zrm 'št*¹⁰¹ refers to the juxtaposition of a male and a female sacrifice, whereas a pronominal interpretation of *'š/št*¹⁰² in this passage yields no sense; the subjects of the pledging and offering are precisely here probably not coincidentally father and daughter (ll. 3-5).

3. *Function of the mlk Sacrifice*. If in the Phoenician-Punic sphere the *mlk* was thus probably originally a child sacrifice or its later substitution by a lamb or something similar,¹⁰³ we must now inquire regarding the function of this sacrifice.

a. *Thanksgiving Ceremony*. As far as information concerning its *reasons* is concerned, the *mlk* stelae admittedly do not deviate from the other extant votive stones: They mention an answered prayer (e.g., *kšm' ql'*, "because he heard his voice"¹⁰⁴) and refer to the blessing received (*brk'*, "he blessed him"). To that extent the *mlk* sacrifice,

93. *CIS*, I, 3781; 3783; 5550.

94. *Neupunische Inschriften*, 11.

95. *CIS*, 5702; 5741. Cf. now [*lnš*]. *'zr*, J. Hoftijzer, G. van der Kooij, and H. J. Franken, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla*. *DMOA*, 19 (1976), I, 14(12).

96. Berthier-Charlier, 37, 2, and *CIS*, I, 5741, 6-8.

97. R. de Vaux, review of C. Virolleaud, *La Légende phénicienne de Danel* (Paris, 1936), and *idem*, review of C. Virolleaud, *La Légende du roi Keret des Sidonens* (Gembloux, 1936), *RB*, 46 (1937), 442.

98. J.-G. Février, *JA*, 239 (1951), 9f.; cf. *BAR*, (1946/49, 1953), 168.

99. Ll. 2, 12, contra Février, *JA*, 243 (1955), 57-63.

100. On the appositional designation of such elements, cf. Friedrich-Röllig, §309.

101. *CIS*, I, 5702, 2/3.

102. Most recently Tomback, 9.

103. Cf. also K. Jaroš, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion*. *OBO*, 4 (1974), 296ff.

104. This and the following citation, *KAI*, 110, 4; *ANET*, 658.

like most votive offerings, represents a thanksgiving ceremony. The *purpose* of the *mlk* sacrifice resides accordingly in the hope of future blessing (*tbrk*, “may she [the goddess] bless him”¹⁰⁵). Most of the inscriptions also reveal that the offering and the erection of the stela were carried out as the fulfillment of a vow made in a situation of distress, whereby one can compare the expression *ex voto* from Ngaus (1, 5, etc.) with the previously mentioned occurrences of *ndr*, “to vow, pledge.”

The admittedly extremely fragmentary text of *KAI* 162 suggests that the answer to the prayer consisted in the gift of pregnancy, and since the ones making the offering seldom amplify their names with a title,¹⁰⁶ we can assume that the *mlk* sacrifice derives from the familial sphere, a fact consistent perhaps with its atavistic character. In the substitution sacrifice the previously requested child is then returned to the deity as a symbolic gift. Substitute sacrifices probably were not offered when the god — as in *Jgs.* 11:30-40 — provided deliverance from a different kind of distress and danger.

Such future blessing was probably almost always intended to benefit the actual donor. In other instances, the concern may have been for the child delivered by the substitute, as evidenced perhaps by the expressions *pro salute Concess[e]*,¹⁰⁷ *pro Con[ces]se salute*,¹⁰⁸ and *pro salut[e] Donati*,¹⁰⁹ if Concessa and Donatus are the names of the children involved.¹¹⁰

b. *Ceremony of Lament or Petition.* In contrast, the *mlkt bmšrm* in *CIS*, I, 198, 4/5, apparently represent(s) a ceremony of lament and petition, if, that is, *bmšrm* can be understood with Eissfeldt¹¹¹ as the prep. *b* + the noun *mšrm*, “in situations of distress,” after the analogy of Heb. *m^ešārîm* (*Lam.* 1:3) and *min-hammēšar* (*Ps.* 118:5). In the case of *CIS*, I, 198, the reference is to the distress of a person different from the person offering the sacrifice, a person for whom the *mlkt* sacrifice(s) *bmšrm* is/are made. Only the *mlkt* sacrifice(s) *bmšrm*, “in situations of distress,” can be compared with the Phoenician and Punic child sacrifices made in catastrophic situations as attested by Philo Byblius (in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* i.10.44; cf. Porphyry, in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* iv.16.6) and other ancient authors, though both this procedure and that in *2 K.* 3:27 derive from the public-political sphere rather than the private sphere.

Regardless of whether the Punic *mlk* sacrifice actually constitutes a ceremony of thanksgiving or of petition, it was in any case prompted by a specific, given occasion and was never a regularly performed institution.

II. Related Constructions in the Ancient Near East Outside the Phoenician-Punic Sphere? There do not appear to be any institutions outside the Phoenician-Punic sphere corresponding to Heb. *mōlek*.

105. *KAI*, 79, 6.

106. So Berthier-Charlier, 29, 3; 41, 2; 42, 2.

107. Ngaus, 2, 4/5.

108. *Ibid.*, 3, 4.

109. *Ibid.*, 4, 3.

110. Carcopino.

111. Pp. 28-30; cf. the bibliog. in *DISO*, s.v. *mlk* V, 5.

Because of its nonreligious usage, the Late Egyptian term *mrk*, “(royal) gift” (for a king),¹¹² although apparently a Canaanite loanword,¹¹³ is not to be associated in any way with the Phoen.-Pun. or Heb. *mlk* attested at a so much later date; perhaps *mrk*, if it is not a derivation of *mlk*, “king,”¹¹⁴ can be explained as a derivation of a root meaning “dowry” attested in Akkadian (*mulūgu/mulīgu*),¹¹⁵ Ugaritic (*mlg*),¹¹⁶ and Rabbinic Hebrew (*m^{el}lūg*).¹¹⁷

The nouns *mlk* and *mlkt*, which in *UM* (no. 1119) Cyrus H. Gordon still assigns to Ugar. *mlk* II (“a kind of sacrifice”), he in *UT* (no. 1483) assigns to *mlk* I, “king.” The expression [*šlm.mlk.šlm*]*mlkt*, too, involves the opposition “king — queen,” since the following genitive attributes to *šlm* are also actually designations of class standing.¹¹⁸

The *dbḥ.mlk* par. *dbḥ.spn*¹¹⁹ refers to a sacrifice for Il which is here associated with Zaphon;¹²⁰ here *mlk* has become a fixed, independent epithet like Akk. *māliku(m)*, “counselor,” or *mal(i)ku(m)*, “king,” which is applied as an epithet to a whole series of Mesopotamian gods.¹²¹ Similarly, one can compare ^dMA.LIK.MEŠ = *mlkm*¹²² with the *malikū* or *mālikū* of Mari.¹²³

The term *Malik*, attested in Mesopotamia as early as the pre-Sargonic period,¹²⁴ or *Malku(m)*,¹²⁵ is also attested in personal names from Ugarit¹²⁶ and recently also from Ebla.¹²⁷ Neither this term nor the *malikū/mālikū* from Mari, given their association with the netherworld, has anything to do with the Phoen.-Pun. or Heb. *mlk*.¹²⁸ The divine

112. *Wen-amon*, II, 12 (*ANET*, 27); Chester-Beatty, I, vo. B, 31 (*WbÄS*, II, 113.3).

113. M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1909f.), no. 481.

114. W. F. Albright, review of J. B. Pritchard, *ANET* (Princeton, 1950), *JAOS*, 72 (1951), 261.

115. *AHw*, II (1972), 671b; *CAD*, X/2 (1977), 193f.

116. *UT*, no. 1480.

117. Cf. Cazelles, 1343.

118. Contra Cazelles, 1345.

119. *KTU*, 1.91, 2/3.

120. As also in *KTU*, 1.47, 1; cf. also 1.148:1.

121. Contra Eissfeldt, *Neue keilalphabetische Texte aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit*. *SDAW*, 1965/6, 14, and many others; cf. K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*. *StOr*, 7 (1938, repr. 1974), 128f.

122. *Ugaritica*, 5 (1968), 45, 35.

123. Examples in *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 168; cf. J. F. Healy, “*MLKM/RP’UM* and the *KISPUM*,” *UF*, 10 (1979), 89-91; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, “Neue Studien zu den Ritualtexten aus Ugarit (I) Ein Forschungsbericht,” *UF*, 13 (1981), 69-74.

124. J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972), 42f. and *passim*.

125. Examples in *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 168f. (with bibliog.).

126. *Ugaritica*, 5, 60; *PNU*, 79.157f.

127. G. Pettinato, “Testi cuneiformi del 3. millennio in paleo-cananeo rinvenuti nella campagna 1974 a Tell Mardikh = Ebla,” *Or*, 44 (1975), 370f.; *idem*, “The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla,” *BA*, 39 (1976), 50; *idem*, “Aspetti amministrativi e topografici di Ebla nel III millennio av. Cr.,” *RSO*, 50 (1976), 1-14 and elsewhere.

128. Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, 1954), 162-64, 218; Cazelles, 1344f.; de Vaux, 88f., and many others.

name *Muluk*, occurring in the place name *Illum-Muluk*,¹²⁹ in the North Semitic personal name *I-tar-mu-luk*,¹³⁰ and in Ugaritic personal names,¹³¹ is probably merely a phonetic variation of *Malik* belonging to the larger context of the “Canaanite” phonetic shift $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$; the place name *Illum-Muluk* also occurs in the form *I-lu-ma-li-ka-wi^{ki}*.¹³² On the other hand, *Malik/Malku(m)/Muluk* and the *malikū/mālikū* of Mari are ultimately probably identical with the *melek* of Isa. 57:9.

III. *mōlek* in Hebrew.

1. *Linguistic Considerations.* In my opinion, the connection between Heb. *l^emōlek*¹³³ and Phoen.-Pun. *mlk/molch*-¹³⁴ seems even more likely now that the “missing link” between Hebrew and Punic has emerged in the inscriptional casts of *RÉS 367* from *Nēbi Yūnis*, even though this Phoenician inscription is also more recent than the OT occurrences.

a. *Form and Meaning.* In the Hebrew expression *l^emōlek*, “as an offering,” the prep. *l^e* is not a dative particle (e.g., “for *mōlek*”), but rather has the same function as the Punic *b-essentiae* in *bmlk ’zrm (h) ’šf’št*;¹³⁵ Eissfeldt¹³⁶ early compared *l^emōlek* with *l^eôlâ*, “as a burnt offering” (Gen. 22:2), and *l^eāšām*, “as a guilt offering” (Lev. 5:18). In Ezk. 23:37, the *l^e*-essentiae in *l^eoklâ*, “as food,” is accompanied by the dative-*l^e* referring to the divine recipients of the sacrifice (*lāhem*), whereby the two functions of *l^e* can be clearly distinguished. The first misunderstanding of the sacrificial term as the designation of a deity might be the expression *zānâ ’ah^arê hammōlek*, “play the harlot after Molech” (Lev. 20:5), as shown by the parallel use of *zānâ* in v. 6. This misunderstanding of *l^emōlek* as the designation of a deity then manifests itself in the Masoretic vocalization according to *habbōšet*, in the translation *ho Móloch* (*basileús*, 1 K. 11:7; or *árchôn*, Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5) in the later LXX passages (2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35; Am. 5:26), in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and in the construction *Moloch* in the Vulg.

The suggestion that *mōlek* represents an earlier, independent divine designation¹³⁷ seems unlikely not least because *mōlek* does not occur apart from the context of sacrifice in the OT.

The correct pronunciation of Heb. *mlk* might be similar to that disclosed for Phoen.-Pun. *môlêk*, especially since a transition to the Masoretic *mōlek* is easy to imagine from that basis.

b. *The Semantic Field of mōlek.* The Hebrew term *’br* hiphil, “to offer,” corresponds

129. Examples in M. Birot, J. R. Kupper, and O. Rouault, *Répertoire analytique. ARM.T, XVI/1* (1979), 17.

130. *CT*, 33, 29, 15.

131. *PRU*, IV, 215, 27; RS 17.242.

132. G. Dossin, “Signaux lumineux au pays de Mari,” *RA*, 35 (1938), 178, no. 1.

133. On *l^e*, cf. Eissfeldt, 36.

134. After Eissfeldt this connection is postulated esp. by Dussaud, Guey, Carcopino, Charles-Picard, and Cazelles.

135. Cf. I.1, 2.f. above.

136. Pp. 38f.

137. So Bea, Kornfeld, Dronkert, Weinfeld, Plataroti, and many others.

as a morphological-semantic parallel to Phoen.-Pun *ylk* yiphil, “to offer,”¹³⁸ whereby *l^eha^abîr* (Lev. 18:21; Jer. 32:35) is tautologically related to *l^emōlek*. The combination *’br* hiphil with *l^eYHWH* (Ex. 13:12) makes it plausible that *l^emōlek* could also be misunderstood as the dative of a divine name. The expression *nātan l^emōlek* (Lev. 20:2-4; cf. *nātan* + object *b^ekôr* in Ex. 22:28f.[Eng. vv. 29f.]; Mic. 6:7) is apparently an early component of Canaanite sacrificial language;¹³⁹ cf. also *ytn* with the object “sacrificial gifts,”¹⁴⁰ *ytn* with the object *mlk* (*b^l*),¹⁴¹ and the use of the noun *mtnt[’]*, “gift,” with the predicative *mlk b^l*.¹⁴² Then, however, *bā’ēš (l^emōlek)*, “with [RSB ‘through’] fire (as a *mlk* sacrifice)” in connection with *’br* hiphil (Dt. 18:10; 2 K. 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10; 2 Ch. 33:6; Ezk. 20:31) is doubtlessly to be taken just as literally as in combination with *šrp*, “to burn” (Dt. 12:31; 2 K. 17:31; Jer. 7:31; 19:5).¹⁴³ The expression *wayyab[’]ēr bā’ēš* (2 Ch. 28:3) also refers to actual burning of the *mlk* sacrifice. Furthermore, in contrast to the Phoenician-Punic evidence, the idea of substitution for the sacrifice is excluded for Heb. *mōlek* by the mention of “seed” (Lev. 18:21; 20:2-4) and especially of sons and daughters (2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35; cf. Dt. 12:31; Jer. 7:31; 19:5; 2 K. 17:31).

2. *Occurrences and Dating.* The expression *l^emōlek* definitely occurs in Lev. 18:21; 20:2,3,4; 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35; to these we may add *hammōlek* in Lev. 20:5. The expression *lammelek* in the gloss to Isa. 30:33 probably also refers to the *mlk* sacrifice, whereas in 1 K. 11:7 one should probably read *l^emilkōm* instead of *l^emōlek*. Hence all occurrences are found either within the context of the Holiness Code or within that of the Deuteronomistic literature.

Although the formulations in Lev. 20:2-4 contain older linguistic elements, in their present form they also exhibit stylistic features of later literary rhetoric; in fact, the whole of v. 5bβ, with *zānā ’aḥ^arē hammōlek*, may be the work of a glossarist.¹⁴⁴ However, the doubling of the verbs *nātan* and *l^e + ’br* hiphil + *l^emōlek* in Lev. 18:21, where furthermore the placing of the object in the initial position can be explained as literary imitation of vv. 7-19, does not at all give a stronger impression of originality than does Lev. 20:2-4, especially since Lev. 18:21 stands isolated within its own context.¹⁴⁵ Thus Lev. 18:4; 20:2-5 contribute to the dating of the *mlk* sacrifice in Israel only to the extent that the present secondary stratum of the Holiness Code underwent its literary reworking at earliest during the exilic period, and more likely during the postexilic period.

138. KAI, 26, II, 19.

139. Contra Kaiser, 42.

140. KAI, 43, 9; 68, 18; 137, 6; 163, 1.

141. RÉS, 367, I, 1/2; CIS, I, 5685, 2.

142. KAI, 99, 2; see I.1 above.

143. With Kaiser, 33f.; contra Weinfeld, 141, and Plataroti, 292f.

144. Cf. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 147-49; cf., however, also W. Thiel, “Erwägungen zum Alter des Heiligkeitgesetzes,” ZAW, 81 (1969), 53ff.

145. Cf. Kaiser, 43.

Otto Kaiser¹⁴⁶ has interpreted the plerophoric expression *he'ēbîr (bā'ēš) l'mōlek* (2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35) as a secondary literary enhancement of *šārap bā'ēš* (Jer. 7:31). Particularly the (post-Deuteronomistic?) reference to Josiah's defilement of the Topheth (2 K. 23:10) might owe more to the Deuteronomistic ideal of this king than to actual historical events.¹⁴⁷ This terminology derives from the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic criticism of the cult, whereby child sacrifice, on the basis of a (secondary?) combination in Dt. 18:10, also appears together with sorcery and necromancy in Lev. 20:5f.; 2 K. 17:17; 21:6; 2 Ch. 33:6. The offer of sacrifice of the first-born as an atonement rite in Mic. 6:7 must then belong to the exilic period just as do its devaluation (Ezk. 20:25f.) or the denial (Jer. 7:31 > 19:5; 32:35 [Deuteronomistic]) of any corresponding commandment from Yahweh.¹⁴⁸ In contrast, the references to child sacrifice in the secondary passages in Ezekiel (Ezk. 16:20f.; 20:31; 23:37,39; as well as Isa. 57:5; Ps. 106:37) suggest a provenance during the postexilic period.

The cause of the relatively late, episodic emergence of the *mlk* sacrifice in Israel was not only crisis-related religious excesses, but simultaneously the Phoenician influence in Judah during both the exilic and postexilic periods, an influential infiltration manifesting itself in other areas as well.¹⁴⁹ Contemporary influence exerted on Phoenicia itself might also have occasioned the numerous Punic *mlk* sacrifices, which on the basis of *RÉS* 367 and the Hebrew evidence cannot be viewed as indigenous there. Occurrences of comparable sacrifices during earlier periods (Gen. 22; Jgs. 11:30-40; 2 K. 3:27) are rare, and lack any terminologically demonstrated specificity.

3. *The Function and the Recipient of the mōlek Sacrifice.* Only Mic. 6:7 makes what might be a reference to the function of the Israelite *mlk* sacrifice. According to this passage, both it and the action in 2 K. 3:27 — in a manner different from most of the Punic *mlk* sacrifices — functioned as a ceremony of lament and petition pushed to its most extreme limits, as an act of atonement; this also explains why substitutes were unacceptable. Its connection with the Topheth is not sufficient evidence to show that this was a regular institution¹⁵⁰: on the one hand, according to Isa. 57:5, child sacrifice was not bound to the Topheth; on the other hand, according to Isa. 30:33, the Topheth apparently also involved the sacrifice of prisoners, which a gloss here probably incorrectly designates as *mlk*. To that extent the *mlk* sacrifice should thus be differentiated from the regular consecration of the first-born (Ex. 34:19a and *passim*); at the same time, when in cases such as Mic. 6:7 it refers to the killing of the first-born, it might

146. *Ibid.*, 34, 39, 43.

147. *Ibid.*, 33f.; E. Würthwein, "Die Josianische Reform und das Deuteronomium," *ZThK*, 73 (1976), 395-423, esp. 415; H. Hollenstein, "Literarkritische Erwägungen zum Bericht über die Reformmassnahmen Josias 2 Kön. XXIII 4ff.," *VT*, 27 (1977), 334.

148. On the dating of Mic. 6:7, cf. G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 446; O. Kaiser, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1975), 228f.

149. Cf. H.-P. Müller, "Phönizien und Juda in exilisch-nachexilischer Zeit," *WO*, 6 (1971), 189-204.

150. Contra Weinfeld, 133f.

for determining the fundamental meaning is itself uncertain due to the limited word field. Theoretically the roots *mnh*, *mn*, *mwn*, and *myn* might be considered. At least since the 5th century, the Jews (Amoraim) derive the word from *mnh*, "to count, allot." In this sense they see in *mān* an abbreviated form from *māneh* with the meaning "gift," "allotment," "prepared food." Thus in the Babylonian Talmud in the Gemara to the tractate *Sukkah* 39b¹ we read: "How do we know that *vm* means food? From the passage (Dnl. 1:5): 'The king assigned them a daily portion.'"

This derivation might go back as far as the 1st century B.C., as the circumscription of manna as "*hétoimon*" *árton* in Wis. 16:20 suggests, and it might also have inspired Philo (*Leg. all.* iii.166) in the 1st century A.D. to use the *figura etymologica*: *kaí epí tou mánnā oún kaí epí pásēs "dōreás," hén ho theós "dōreítai."* This etymological explanation was also supported in the Middle Ages by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimhi, Bahya, and Arema,² and came by way of Nicholas of Lyra³ to Martin Luther. In his own translation of the OT (1523), Luther renders *mān hū'* in Ex. 16:15 as a nominal clause: "that is Man," and in a marginal gloss says: "*Man* in Hebrew means 'a gift, portion.'" Thenceforward this derivation was accepted by almost all Christian theologians and predominated into the past century. Against this view F. R. Fay⁴ derived *mān* from the uncommon Hebrew root *mn* (cf. the rendering *mannēkā*), whose meaning he gives as "to divide, to part, to measure," comparing it with what in his opinion was the semantically equivalent derivative *mēn*, "part," which is attested only once with a suffix: *minnēhū* (Ps. 68:24[23]). J. G. Murphy⁵ associated the word with the root *myn*, "to split, divide," taking *mān* to refer to a "secretion," namely, the manna which in his opinion was secreted from the tamarisk. Paul Haupt⁶ arrived at the same conclusion by way of the prep. *min*, originally a substantive with the meaning "separation," with which he associated *mīn*, "kind, type," i.e., that through which something "separates or distinguishes" itself, and *mīn*, "heretic, sectarian." Militating against this etymology, however, is the fact that modern science was the first to recognize manna as the secretion from a plant or animal.

There have also been attempts to explain the word as deriving from other Semitic or non-Semitic languages. Thus as early as 1661 Johann Heinrich Hottinger⁷ referred to the Arabic noun *mann*, "gracious bestowal; favor; benefit," interpreting *mān* then as "quasi beneficium, donum, munus Dei" ("like a benefaction, a gift, a favor of God"). A relationship between the two words was still considered a possibility both by Wilhelm Gesenius since the second edition of his Hebrew dictionary⁸ and by Eduard

1. L. Goldschmidt, *Der Babylonische Talmud*, III (Berlin, 1933), 108.

2. Cf. Buxtorf (1659), 338f. = (1747), 590.

3. *Postilla* to Ex. 16:15.

4. *The Book of Joshua* (Edinburgh, 1871), 66.

5. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Edinburgh, 1866), 156.

6. *AJP*, 43 (1922), 248; *PAPS*, 61 (1922), 235.

7. *Etymologicum Orientale* (Frankfurt, 1661), 248.

8. F. H. W. Gesenius, *Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des AT* (Leipzig, 1823), 427; cf. also *idem*, *GesTh*, II (1840), 799.

by the precise description in Ex. 16:31, according to which the manna consisted of white, honey-sweet grains about the size of coriander seeds. Since these tiny fruitbuds are yellowish-brown, the comparison here is with the form rather than with the color, something also attested by Nu. 11:7.

Arab scholars considered manna to be “a kind of dew.” So also according to Nu. 11:7, the honeylike manna fell from heaven with the dew. The tamarisk manna of the Sinai peninsula is indeed nothing other than a kind of honeydew also produced in other regions, primarily during the summer by aphids and shield lice on certain leaf trees (e.g., oaks, linden, willows, maples, cherry, and peach trees) and conifers (silver firs, spruce, Scotch pine, and larch), as well as on other plants. Since these saps are low in nutrients, the insects need extremely large quantities to cover their nutritional needs, quantities they transform into valuable construction materials and excrete as so-called honeydew, which like raindrops or dewdrops adheres to the branches in large quantities or falls to the ground. Although this substance retains its firmness in the coolness of the night and in the early morning, it quickly dissolves in the warmth of the sun because of its soluble composition (cf. Ex. 16:21), covering leaves and branches with a thin layer of glaze. It is this layer that is evoked by the fundamental meaning of the name *mān/mann*. Because this sticky manna is difficult to harvest from trees, it is collected during the early morning in the form of the still firm manna globules. In lower temperatures these globules crystallize over the course of a few days and acquire in their pure form a milky-white color. Hence it is not a contradiction when on the one hand Ex. 16:14 speaks of a “flakelike layer,” and on the other v. 31 speaks of “tiny grains.” Verse 14 offers an etymological explanation in its description of the essential feature of the name *mān*, while in contrast v. 31 offers a botanical explanation in its description of the characteristics of a certain kind of manna, namely, the tamarisk manna.

In the Sinai peninsula the tamarisk manna was found only in a few valleys of the southern mountain range and on the southwestern coast (at *aṭ-Ṭūr*), a peculiar situation resulting from climatological conditions. That is, only in the central mountains does enough rain fall (up to 200 mm. [*ca.* 8 in.] annually) to provide the necessary water to the tamarisks in the form of perennial groundwater streams, including in the more arid regions (along the coast of the Gulf of Suez). If this quantity is not attained during winters with little rain, then the entire manna production can cease even for years at a time, which is why such production is not possible in areas that consistently fall short of this limit (e.g., Kadesh).²¹

The identification of biblical manna with the naturally occurring (tamarisk) manna can be traced back as far as Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* iii.1.6).

IV. Literary-Critical and Theological Considerations. The manna narrative in Ex. 16 is one of the most disputed and difficult chapters in the OT as far as literary-critical considerations are concerned. There is agreement only concerning its lack of unity.

21. Contra H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*. *FRLANT*, N.S. 1 (1913), 137; Guglielmo, 122; E. Auerbach, *Moses* (Eng. trans., Detroit, 1975), 83-86.

מנה mānā; מנת m^enāt; מני m^enî

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. LXX Rendering. II. The Verb *mnh*: 1. Qal and Niphal (Pe'il); 2. Piel (Pael) and Pual. III. *mānā*, *m^enāt*, *m^enî*.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The root *mnw/y* with the basic meaning “to count” is common to the Semitic languages¹ (although it is absent in Ethiopian). Numerous occurrences are attested in Akkadian (*manû*, “to count, figure,” also “to recite [an incantation],”² along with several derivatives, including *mīnu*, “number”). In Northwest Semitic the word group is attested especially in Aramaic (*mny*, “to count”;³ the most important derivatives are *mnh/mnt*, “part, portion,” and *mnyn*, “number”). It is also relatively well attested in Biblical Aramaic (the verb *mnh* 6 times, including once each in the qal and pe'il [Dnl 5:25]⁴, 4 times in the pael; once *minyān*). In contrast, the root recedes in the other representatives of Northwest Semitic. Ugaritic attests the noun *mnt*, “numbering, part,”⁵ only in isolated instances. OT Hebrew also attests only a limited number of occurrences.⁶ The verb occurs 28 times (12 times in the qal, 6 in the niphal, 8 in the piel [discounting Ps. 61:8(Eng. v. 7): *mn* is a textual error or cannot be derived from *mnh*],⁷ and once in the pual). Derivatives include *mānā* (12 occurrences) and *m^enāt* (9 occurrences; cf. also the conj. in Neh. 13:5 [instead of *mšwt*],⁸ as well as the divine name *m^enî* (a hapex legomenon; in addition, **mōneh* occurs twice in the sense of “time, multiple”). The fact that these occurrences derive for the most part from the postexilic period suggests Aramaic influence (*m^enāt* may even constitute an Aramaic loanword⁹; and the piel of *mnh*,

mānā. W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930, Hildesheim, ²1968); O. Eissfeldt, “Eine Einschmelzstelle am Tempel zu Jerusalem,” *FuF*, 13 (1937), 163f. = *KISchr*, II (1963), 107-9; *idem*, “Die Menetekel-Inschrift und ihre Deutung,” *ZAW*, 63 (1951), 105-114 = *KISchr*, III (1966), 210-17; J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*. *BietOr*, 34 (1978); H. Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*. *RdM*, 10/2 (1970); E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968); K. Rupprecht, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*. *BZAW*, 144 (1977); T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie*. *AnAc-ScFen*, B, 193 (1975); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW*, 96 (1966); H. W. Wolff, *Studien zum Jonabuch*. *BSt*, 47 (²1975).

1. See *HAL*, II (1995), 599; P. Fronzaroli, “Studi sul lessico comune semitico,” *AANLR*, N.S. 20 (1965), 260, 266, 269.

2. *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 221-27; *AHw*, II (1972), 603f.

3. Cf. *DISO*, 159; *LexSyr*, 394; *WTM*, III, 156f.; *MdD*, 274a; on the Aramaic texts from Qumran and from the Wilderness of Judah, see Fitzmyer-Harrington, 328.

4. See II.1 below.

5. *WUS*, no. 1600; *UT*, no. 1502.

6. Cf. in contrast *spr*; see II.1 below.

7. Cf. *BHS*; *HAL*, II, 597, 599.

8. Cf. *BHS*; W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia*. *HAT*, XX, 204.

9. Wagner, 78f.

which occurs only in late texts, could also be modeled after the Aramaic pael¹⁰). The word group is attested only sparingly in the extant Hebrew portions of Sirach and in the Hebrew Qumran writings (*mnh* qal, Sir. 40:29; niphal?, 1QSb 4:2¹¹; *mnh* [mānā], Sir. 26:3;¹² 41:21; *mnt* [m^enāt], 1QS 10:8; 11QT 22:10).¹³

The place name *timnā* (e.g., Gen. 38:12; Josh. 15:10; cf. *timnī*, Jgs. 15:6), which also occurs in compounds (Josh. 19:50; 24:30; Jgs. 2:9), probably also derives from *mnh*.¹⁴ It is uncertain whether this also applies to the PN *yimnā*, which occurs in Gen. 46:17; Nu. 26:44 (the second occurrence in this passage should probably read *yimnī*¹⁵); 1 Ch. 7:30; 2 Ch. 31:14. According to *KBL*³, 397, this is a theophoric name: may he (God) bestow (bestowed) dominion to (*mnh* piel); and according to Martin Noth,¹⁶ a derivation of *ymn*: “[child of] happiness.”¹⁷

2. *LXX Rendering*. The term *mnh* in the qal (Aramaic as well) and the niphal is rendered in the LXX overwhelmingly by *arithméō*, although other verbs are used in 1 K. 20:25; Isa. 53:12 (*logízō*; cf. *logismós*, Sir. 40:29); 65:12; Dnl. 5:26 Theodotion; the pe'il in Dnl. 5:25 has no LXX equivalent¹⁸). The piel (pael) and pual are covered by *kathístēmi* or a compound of *tássō* (*diatássō*, *ektássō*, *prostássō*) (other verbs are used in Job 7:3; Dnl. 1:5 LXX; 1:11 LXX). The nouns *mānā* and *m^enāt* are always rendered by *merís*. The DN *m^enī* is rendered by *týchē*.

II. The Verb *mnh*. 1. *Qal and Niphal (Pe'il)*. All forms in the qal and niphal (including the qal and pe'il of Biblical Aramaic) presuppose the basic meaning “to count,” although this implies consciously directed counting in the sense of “to calculate, order,” rather than neutral enumeration. In this sense collected silver is counted to be paid out again as wages for workers (2 K. 12:11f.[10f.]).¹⁹ The shepherd counts his animals to check the size of the flocks (Jer. 33:13). The king of Syria is encouraged to “count out” a new army so as to have access again to an effective instrument of power in battle against Israel (1 K. 20:25). David conducts a census in order to learn the precise number of men capable of being mustered for military purposes (2 S. 24:1; 1 Ch. 21:1; cf. 2 S. 24:9, and the discussion below). The Suffering Servant was “numbered” with the *pōš^eim* and thus given over to death (Isa. 53:12).²⁰

Conversely, the impossibility of so numbering or counting means that every calculation or controlled accessibility is excluded. Where nothing is present, nothing can be

10. *Idem*.

11. Cf. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I. DJD*, I (1955), 125f.

12. See III below.

13. On the later Hebrew literature, cf. *WTM*, III, 149f., 154-56, 157f., 161f.

14. Borée, 41, 74.

15. See *BHK*, *BHS*.

16. *IPN*, 224.

17. → יָמִין *yāmīn*, VI, 102f.

18. See II.1 below.

19. On the process of counting, see Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, II (1963), 107-9.

20. → פָּשַׁע *pš^e*.

numbered, and nothing can be controlled (Eccl. 1:15). The same holds true for incomprehensibly high numbers. Thus Israel is characterized as an immeasurably large people to emphasize that it is invulnerable to external enemies (Nu. 23:10), and cannot be governed by an inexperienced king (1 K. 3:8). Occasionally the promise of descendants to the patriarchs emphasizes the innumerability of those descendants, whereby in Gen. 13:16 the verb *mnh* occurs twice (qal and niphal). This passage, too, wants to express that the future descendants, i.e., the Israelites, will acquire an unanticipated significance and that no power in the world will be able to call that significance into question. Finally, the mention of the sacrifice of innumerable animals in connection with the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:5; 2 Ch. 5:6; cf. 1 K. 8:62-64) intends to portray this as an event whose dimensions transcend the capacity of normal human perception and comprehension.

Such limitations do not apply to Yahweh. His emergence as the subject of the various forms of *mnh* brings to expression his unlimited sovereignty. He decides concerning the number of stars and determines their names (Ps. 147:4), i.e., he exercises the power of control and accessibility over them.²¹ He “counts out” the apostates for the sword, giving them over thus to destruction (Isa. 65:12).²² He “numbers” the days of the rule of Belshazzar (Dnl. 5:26), i.e., he has calculated it like a sum of money and now draws the bottom line. Dnl. 5:25b is probably also to be understood as such a reckoning. The first *m^cnē*’ (secondarily eliminated in the LXX [Theodotion]; cf. also the summary before 5:1 LXX) might be a participle *pe’il* preceding the three following weight or money values “as a kind of check or verification notice in the sense of ‘counted’ ”²³ (the logical subject of the participle is again Yahweh; it is in fact questionable whether v. 25b is referring to Belshazzar alone; it was probably originally a statement addressing the declining value of Neo-Babylonian kings, which in the present context, especially through vv. 26-28, acquired a new interpretation²⁴). Even the previously mentioned assertions concerning the immeasurable greatness of Israel (Gen. 13:16; Nu. 23:10; 1 K. 3:8) ultimately serve to demonstrate Yahweh’s limitless sovereignty. For they all presuppose that this people is his work and that he never loses control of it; i.e., his powers of control and accessibility transcend the possibilities of human reckoning and decision.

A human being can, of course, become culpable in appropriating for himself such divine power of control. David’s autocratically undertaken census (2 S. 24; 1 Ch. 21; see discussion above) is considered a grievous offense prompting an appropriate punishment (2 S. 24:1; 1 Ch. 21:1,17; 27:24; cf. 2 S. 24:10; 1 Ch. 21:3²⁵). The offense may consist precisely in the fact that such a counting of the people illegitimately subjects to human control the divine authority over Israel.²⁶

21. → קרא *qārā*; → שם *šēm*.

22. → חרב *hereb* (V, 155-165).

23. Eissfeldt, *KISchr*, III (1966), 213f.

24. *Ibid.*, 210-17, and the comms.

25. → דבר *deber* (*debher*) (III, 125-27).

26. On this notion, one also attested outside Israel, → פקד *pqd*; cf. also W. Schottroff, “פקד *pqd* heimsuchen,” *THAT*, II, 472f.; G. André, *Determining the Destiny: PQD in the OT. CB*, 16 (1980).

2 S. 24, upon which 1 Ch. 21 depends, is admittedly not a unified whole. Verse 1 might derive from later redaction through which the original text of the census (vv. 2,4b-9) is subjected to theological interpretation.²⁷ The fact, however, that precisely here the verb *mnh* appears (whereas the original text used *pqd*) makes it especially clear that this verb is firmly associated with the notion of calculation and control. Verse 10, in which *spr* is used, possibly derives from yet further redactional activity.²⁸

On the other hand, Yahweh can prompt a person to undertake a self-examination transcending normal human capacity. According to Ps. 90 (postexilic), he can teach those who trust him to “number” their days (v. 12a), i.e., to settle frankly and straightforwardly with life’s futility and transience (vv. 9-11) in order to become truly wise (v. 12b). Here wisdom concepts are appropriated and revised.²⁹ This kind of frank, direct settling is the prerequisite for wisdom commensurate with that of God, wisdom which in its own turn issues into trust in Yahweh’s compassion and succor (vv. 1,13-17).

In Hebrew the qal and niph'al of *mnh* are to a large extent semantic equivalents of the corresponding stem forms of → ספר *spr*, and the two verbs can thus also appear in immediate juxtaposition as synonyms (1 K. 3:8; 8:5; cf. also 2 S. 24:1,10 [see also preceding discussion]); of the two, however, the latter is attested in the qal much more frequently, and the customary noun for “number” (*mispār*; cf. in contrast Aram. *minyān*), attested exclusively in Hebrew, derives from it. This is probably a case of Canaanite influence (cf. Ugar. *spr*,³⁰ Phoen.-Pun. *mspr*³¹). In Sir. 40:29, *mnh* in the qal exhibits a meaning comparable to that of the verb *ḥšb* (“to figure as”).³²

2. *Piel (Pael) and Pual*. The piel or pael of *mnh* means “to distribute, allot, commission, install in office” (resultative³³). Accordingly, the pual participle (1 Ch. 9:29) has the meaning “commissioned, appointed.” The characteristic feature of all the occurrences in the piel or pael is that they variously bring to expression the powers of command of a highest authority. Both in the Biblical Aramaic texts and in Dnl. 1, the reference is to the powers of disposal of the Babylonian or Persian kings as the highest human authority (Dnl. 1:5,10; 2:24,49; 3:12) or to derivative authorization or power of authority (Ezr. 7:25; Dnl. 1:11 [different in the LXX]). The remaining occurrences refer to Yahweh’s own powers of disposal, powers transcending all human possibilities and comprehension. According to the book of Jonah, he is able to commission natural forces like servants (Jon. 2:1[1:17]; 4:6-8), his sovereignty impressively underscored by the fourfold occurrence of the form *way^eman*.³⁴ He is

27. Veijola, 108-117; Rupprecht, 6.

28. Veijola, 108-117; on *spr*, see following discussion.

29. → חכם *ḥākam* (*chākham*), V (IV, 379-384).

30. WUS, no. 1947; UT, no. 1793.

31. DISO, 161.

32. → חשב *ḥāšab* (IV, 228-245).

33. Cf. Jenni, 213.

34. Cf. Wolff, 38.

also the logical subject in Job 7:3, as the continuation of the chapter shows (cf. vv. 12ff.); i.e., for Job it is he who assigns a person his destiny and who in so doing incomprehensibly leads him into distress and misery. The PN *yimnâ* can possibly be interpreted in the same sense.³⁵

III. *mānâ*, *m^enāt*, *m^enî*. The nouns *mānâ* and *m^enāt* variously refer to a specific portion allotted or accessible to a person or group of persons (in Ps. 63:11[10] also animals). In the literal sense the reference is always to natural products, whereby both nouns refer primarily to the cultic sphere. In the texts of P, *mānâ* refers to the priests' portion of the (animal) sacrifices (Ex. 29:26; Lev. 7:33;³⁶ 8:29; 11QT 22:10); in texts of the Chronicler, *m^enāt* refers to the portion of the temple contributions allotted to the priests and Levites (Neh. 12:44,47; 13:10; 2 Ch. 31:4; Neh. 13:5 conj.;³⁷ also *mānâ*, 2 Ch. 31:19). In two older texts, *mānâ* refers to the portion of the participants in a sacrificial meal (1 S. 1:4f.; 9:23). The sending of portions of food at the time of a great feast, which occurred primarily as an act of charity, probably also grew out of the notion of participation in a sacrificial meal (*mānâ*: Neh. 8:10,12; Est. 9:19,22 [Feast of Purim]; perhaps Sir. 41:21b also belongs in this context). Purely secular usage is attested only in Est. 2:9 (*mānâ*) and Ps. 63:11(10) (*m^enāt*). In the figurative sense *m^enāt* refers to one's portion in life, i.e., the fate allotted by Yahweh to an individual or a collective. According to Ps. 16:5f., Yahweh himself constitutes that portion, i.e., the vital ground of the individual.³⁸ Here it is especially notions concerning land possession which are appropriated and applied to the fate of the individual.³⁹ Conversely, destruction is the fate apportioned to the wicked (the portion of their cup, *kôs*, Ps. 11:6), while Jerusalem in its harlotry will suffer shameful violation (Jer. 13:25; *m^enāt middayik* should probably be translated "the portion of your measure," i.e., "the portion measured out for you" [the LXX variant is probably secondary⁴⁰]; the parallel here is *gôrāl*). The same figurative meaning is also found in the divine name *m^enî* occurring in Isa. 65:11, a god of destiny or fortune (accordingly rendered as *týchē* in the LXX), apparently a counterpart to the god Gad also mentioned here.⁴¹ He is probably to be associated with the god of destiny *manāt*, a deity widespread in the Arabic sphere during the pre-Islamic period and also attested among the Nabateans (*mnwtw*).⁴²

In Sir. 26:3, *mnh* (*mānâ*) is also used with figurative meaning (the Talmudic variant

35. See I.1 above. On Ps. 61:8[7], see I.1 above.

36. On the delimitation of this term over against *hōq* and *t^erûmâ* in Lev. 7:33, cf. R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender*. BWANT, 83[5/3] (1963), 34f.

37. See I.1 above.

38. → חלק II, *hālaq* (*chālaq*) (IV, 447-451).

39. → גורל *gôrāl* (II, 450-56); → חבל I *hbl* (IV, 172-79); → נחלה *nah^alâ*; cf. also the notion of the drinking cup, → כוס *kôs* (101-4).

40. Cf. here BHK, BHS.

41. On this god and on gods of fate in general, → גַּד *gād* (*gadh*), III.1 (II, 383f.).

42. See HAL, II, 602; cf. also Gese-Höfner-Rudolph, 205, 361f., 370, 377.

I. Meaning, Occurrences. The word *m^enôrâ* is rendered "lampstand" in most English translations. It is a nominal form from the common root *nyr* (*nwr*), from which the noun *nēr*, "lamp," is also derived. The Hebrew root, which probably originally meant "to flame," can be compared with Ugar. *nyr*, "to flame,"¹ and Akk. *nūru*, "light,"² both of which have celestial or light-giving associations. Arabic and Aramaic cognates have similar meanings. Since the *mem*-preformative added to the verbal stem transforms the root into a noun indicating the place or instrument of the verbal action, *m^enôrâ* is thus a generic term for the repository or support of a lamp, a thing that "flames."

The only biblical synonym is *nebraštā'* (Dnl. 5:5), corresponding to Mishnaic *nibrešet*, which is of obscure origin; it derives perhaps from a Persian root meaning "to shine, flame."³

The term *m^enôrâ* occurs 41 times in the Hebrew Bible; the preponderance of these occurrences (26) are in the Priestly writings of the Pentateuch, where it refers to the single golden lampstand of the tabernacle sanctuary,⁴ constructed under the guidance of Moses in the wilderness period. Detailed information about the fabrication of the *m^enôrâ* can be found in the prescriptive (Ex. 25:31-40) and descriptive (Ex. 37:17-24) portions of the tabernacle texts. In addition, references to this lampstand are scattered in other Priestly sections (Ex. 30:27; 31:8; 35:14; 39:37; 40:4,24; Lev. 24:4; Nu. 3:31; 4:9; 8:2,3,4). There are 12 references to the lampstands of the First Temple: in the brief description of 1 K. 7:49; then in 1 Ch. 28:15; 2 Ch. 4:7,20; 13:11, and in the Jeremianic description of the Babylonian spoiling of the Jerusalem temple (Jer. 52:19). One of Zechariah's visions includes a lampstand, which may preserve some memory of the First Temple artifacts, since this vision (Zec. 4) predates the postexilic rebuilding of the temple. Only once does a lampstand appear in a noncultic context; the guestroom prepared for Elisha in Shunem contained a lampstand (2 K. 4:10). Archaeological evidence of lampstands in domestic contexts is rare;⁵ but the fact that Elisha's hostess is a "wealthy woman" may provide the reason for the special kind of furnishing. This lampstand is the only one that is not specifically said to be made of metal (silver or gold). It may thus be a ceramic stand, for which there is some archaeological evidence; or alternatively it may be a wooden stand.

II. Cultic Usage.

1. *Tabernacle.* The extremely precise and elaborate description of the fabrication of the *m^enôrâ* in the texts of Exodus was long considered a projection, to a greater or lesser degree, back into the earliest Israelite cult of cultic circumstances existing during the period of the Second Temple. However, postwar biblical scholarship⁶ has now

1. WUS, no. 1850.

2. AHW, II (1972), 805.

3. F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. PLO, N.S. 5 (1963), §190.

4. → משכן *miškān*.

5. Cf. Smith, 23.

6. E.g., Cross.

The terms *kaptôr ûperaḥ* also constitute a hendiadys and refer to a “floral capital,” a thrice-repeated feature on each of the branches as well as a fourfold repetition on the central stand. Repetition as an artistic motif conveys the idea of continuity and permanence, and finds its specific and prolific expression in the art of the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt. This feature is related to a development, which can be seen in the graphically preserved stands known from wall paintings or seals and in the archaeologically known cylindrical stands of Palestine, that occurs at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The botanical *qāneh* also suggests Egyptian influence. It is a generic term for “reed” and generally specifies the “Persian reed” (*arundo donax*), a gigantic grass common along the Nile and in the Nile Delta. Accordingly, *qāneh* nearly always appears in the OT in Egyptian contexts, or in contexts where it symbolizes Egypt itself (cf. Isa. 36:6 par. 2 K. 18:21).

The “bowls” (*g^ebi[~]im*) of the lampstand are more difficult to identify. In connection with the *m^enôrâ* this term refers perhaps to a somewhat rare kind of double-bowl lamp consisting of a ceramic bowl containing a smaller bowl or cup.¹⁰ This Palestinian vessel of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, with antecedents in Egypt and the Aegean, comes perhaps from tent traditions that presuppose only one lamp, later merged with a conception of seven discrete lamps. Alternatively, it may refer to a wide bowl on which the discrete lamps were placed, the equivalent of the *gullâ* of Zechariah. The Hebrew word *gullâ* is related to Akk. *gullatu*, whereas *g^ebī[~]â* seems to be an Egyptian loanword.

Both the material and the fabrication of the tabernacle lampstand (cf. the expressions “pure gold” [Ex. 25:31,36; 37:17,22] and “one piece of hammered work” [Ex. 25:36; 37:22]) are rooted in ancient metallurgical traditions. The former expression, *zāhāb tāhōr*, as distinct from other words for “gold” in the Bible, reflects a gold-working tradition associated with Egyptian practices. As for the second term, *kullāh . . . ’aḥat*, “of one piece,” seems to refer to the use of sheet gold or gold foil, and implies that a wooden model was utilized for construction of the lampstand. The term *miqšâ* is not clearly understood. The root may signify a rubbing or back-and-forth motion, compatible with the process of rubbing sheet gold over a wooden mold.

b. *Symbolism*. The functional purpose of the *m^enôrâ* was performed by its central stand. Thus the additional six branches and the elaborate, botanically inspired floral capitals must be understood aside from a functional context. The form of the lampstand as a whole, consisting of three pairs of two branches and a central shaft, is to be morphologically identified with a convention found in Near Eastern iconography. This convention, derived from a stylized tree design, expressed the theme of the fertility of nature and/or the sustenance of life. The Near Eastern version of this convention that most closely parallels the form of the branched lampstand of Exodus is found in the Late Bronze Age culture of the eastern Mediterranean. In Palestine in particular, there appeared precisely at this time artistic renderings of the stylized tree design that had no local antecedents and which did not continue much beyond the very beginning of the succeeding Iron Age. These renderings are found in glyptic art and on painted

10. Cf. Smith, 14-17; H. Weippert, “Lampe (3.),” *BRL*², 200.

Temple, the existence therein of this kind of stand with multispouted lamps would be supported. However, it is unlikely that the lampstands constructed in Solomon's reign, probably by Tyrian workmen using *zāhāb sāgūr*, would have survived the Babylonian conquest in 587 B.C. In any case, the symbolic value of the single arboreal-branched *m^enôrâ* of the tabernacle would be obviated by the largely functional (i.e., providing illumination) unbranched Solomonic stands. Perhaps there was also a competitive relationship between the *m^enôrâ* symbolism and that of the temple pillars Jachin and Boaz, assuming these did indeed function for illumination.²⁰ The Jerusalem sanctuary had its own cosmic symbolism within the land of Israel as well as its own tree symbolism in the botanical carvings of its cedar panels (1 K. 6:15,18,29) and the cypress doors (1 K. 6:34,35), perhaps also in a grove (cf. Ps. 52:10[8]), apart from a branched lampstand.

3. *The Second Temple.* The OT gives no indication concerning the existence of a lampstand in the postexilic temple. The single possible exception is Zechariah's vision, which does, however, predate the temple restoration. Yet this vision of a single lampstand may represent the postexilic attention to priestly matters, including their attempt to restore the temple consistent with the Priestly "blueprint" and to replace its sacred furniture. The concern for the continuity of God's presence meant a return to the ancient traditions²¹ and thus the fabrication, as best as could be executed according to late 5th/early 6th-century technology, of a *m^enôrâ* according to the Pentateuchal pattern established in the premonarchic era. At this point, however, the arboreal symbolism of the lampstand seems to have receded after centuries in which the light-giving aspects of the Solomonic lampstands were prominent. In the postexilic temple the light motif represented God's presence. Ultimately, while the actual *m^enôrâ* of the temple was carried off, the idea of the *m^enôrâ* survived the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in A.D. 70. Eventually it became the most prominent symbol of postbiblical Judaism in synagogues and tombs, on oil lamps and glass vessels, on seals and coins.²² These later representations of the *m^enôrâ* provide a direct link with the oldest tabernacle traditions while being given new shapes and meanings.

Meyers

4. *LXX, Qumran.* The LXX translates *m^enôrâ* with *lychnía* (31 times). In rendering the Priestly account of the lampstand's fabrication in the wilderness sanctuary it varies between *lychnía* (Ex. 37:17 [LXX 38:13]) and *lampádion* (Ex. 37:19 [LXX 38:16]). According to LXX 38:16(MT 37:19), *lampádia* can also function as a part of the lampstand when the individual lamps are so referred.

20. W. F. Albright; cf., however, 1 K. 7:41ff. and M. Noth, *Könige 1-16. BK, IX/1* (21983), 154. See also C. Meyers, *CBQ*, 45 (1983), 167-178.

21. Cf. Ackroyd, 66-81.

22. Cf. Goodenough, IV, 77-92; XII, 79-83.

The term *m^enôrâ* occurs only rarely in Qumran. The occurrence in 11QT 3:13 is poorly preserved and stands in the context of instructions concerning the materials for temple construction and furnishing. The term itself is no longer preserved in the candlestick description in 11QT 9.

Fabry

מִנְחָה *minhâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Extrabiblical Occurrences. II. 1. Semantic Field; 2. Syntactic Combinations; 3. LXX. III. Distribution and Linguistic Patterns: 1. Pentateuch; 2. Deuteronomistic History and Chronicler's History; 3. Prophets. IV. Secular Usage: 1. Gift; 2. Tribute. V. Theology: 1. Sacrifice or Offering; 2. Designation of Time. VI. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology*. Scholarship offers contradictory answers to the question concerning the etymology of *minhâ*. Is it a primary noun itself or a deverbal nominal construction? Although *KBL*³ treats *minhâ* as a primary noun, in its discussion of the lexeme *mnḥ* it draws attention to a possible relationship with *minhâ*.¹ Hebrew, however, does not attest any verb *mnḥ*. Since the previously known occurrences of this root are to be dated significantly later (Arab. *manaḥa*, "to give, loan"; cf. also Tigr. and Geez "give someone [e.g., a poor person] a cow on loan" [the cow belongs to the owner, and the

minhâ. P. A. H. de Boer, "An Aspect of Sacrifice," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel*. SVT, 23 (1972), 27-47; J. R. Brown, *Temple and Sacrifice in Rabbinic Judaism* (Evanston, 1963); A. Charbel, "Offerta di prodotti vegetali nei sacrifice š'elāmîm," *Euntes docete*, 26 (1974), 398-403; G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT: Its Theory and Practice* (1925, repr. New York, 1981); R. D. Hecht, *Sacrifice: Comparative Study and Interpretation* (diss., UCLA, 1976); W. Herrmann, "Götterspeise und Göttertrank in Ugarit und Israel," ZAW, 72 (1960), 205-216; J. Hoftijzer, "Das sogenannte Feueropfer," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner*. SVT, 16 (1967), 114-134; B. A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord: A Study of Cult and Some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel*. StJLA, 5 (1974); *idem* and W. W. Hallo, "Offerings to the Temple Gates at Ur," HUCA, 38 (1967), 17-58; A. F. Rainey, "The Order of Sacrifices in OT Ritual Texts," Bibl, 51 (1970), 485-498; M. Rehm, "Das Opfer der Völker nach Mal 1,11," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 193-208; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel*. WMANT, 24 (1967); H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 166-178; L. Rost, *Studien zum Opfer im alten Israel*. BWANT, 113 (1981); H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the OT," BJRL, 33 (1950-51), 74-110 = *From Moses to Qumran* (New York, 1963), 67-107; R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel Outside the Levitical Law* (Leiden, 1963); R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Eng. trans., Cardiff, 1964; cf. *CahRB*, 1 [1964]). → זָבַח *zābah* (*zābhach*) (IV, 8-29); → לִבְנָה *l'ḥōnâ* (VII, 441-47); → עֹלָה *'ôlâ*; → קָטַר *qittēr*.

1. P. 568.

a general sense.²⁶ The Punic Marseilles Tariff²⁷ clearly picks up OT sacrificial terminology when *minḥâ* — together with *bll*, as is frequently the case in P — occurs next to *zebāḥ* (l. 14). The meaning “cereal offering,” however, seems too vague, since a *zbḥ ṣd* (l. 12) already covers this type. Neither is the content of the *minḥâ* specified: Baked goods, milk, fat, and *kl zbḥ* can be included.

Thus outside the OT, too, the meaning of *minḥâ* is fairly broad; cf. also the Neo-Punic inscription of Mactar,²⁸ where *minḥâ* functions as the summary term for the oblations of a cultic gathering.²⁹ In an addendum to the Neo-Punic inscription of Altiburos,³⁰ *minḥâ* and the parallel *’ōlâ* refer to the sacrificial offerings to Ba’al Hammon.³¹

Finally, the root is also attested in Arab. *manaḥa*, “to give, loan,” and *minḥat*, “gift,” as well as in additional South Semitic dialects (see preceding discussion).

Rabbinic literature attests only the noun *minḥâ*, in the Targumim *minḥātā*, with the meanings “gift, sacrificial offering, especially cereal offering,” figuratively “the time of the afternoon sacrifice” (cf. 1 K. 18:29,36; 2 K. 3:20; 16:13,15; Ezr. 9:4f.; Isa. 43:23; Mal. 1:10,11) and the “prayer at the afternoon sacrifice.”³²

II. 1. Semantic Field. The semantic field of *minḥâ* emerges from the many parallels and series of sacrificial terms accompanying it (Ex. 30:9; Lev. 7:37; 9:4; 23:13,18,37; Nu. 4:16; 6:15; 7:87; 15:24; 29:39).

The classification of the individual sacrificial terms is difficult to evaluate and probably assumed various forms during various periods. In early texts *minḥâ* is of equal value with *’ōlâ*, *ḥattā’t*, *’āšām*, and *zebāḥ*, while in P^s and R^p it, like *nesek*, is demoted by means of suffixes into a complementary offering accompanying these greater sacrifices. The term *minḥâ* never occurs as a generic term like *qorbān*, *kālîl*, and *’iššeh*, and since its content is frequently explained, the concrete realization of that content must have been variable within certain parameters.

2. Syntactic Combinations. Syntactically, *minḥâ* exhibits a certain awkwardness. In half of its occurrences it appears undeclined in the singular absolute state with (40 times) or without (73 times) the article. Here it governs the following construct chains: *qorban minḥâ* (Lev. 2:1); *tōrat hamminḥâ* (Lev. 6:7[14]); *sōlet hamminḥâ* (Lev. 6:8[15]), and *nōš’ē minḥâ* (Jgs. 3:18). It occurs 23 times in the singular construct state, including the following occurrences in the Pentateuch: *minḥat habbōqer* (Ex. 29:41); *minḥat marḥešet* (Lev. 2:7); *minḥat bikkûrîm* (Lev. 2:14); *minḥat pittîm* (Lev. 6:14); *minḥat kōhēn* (Lev. 6:16[23]); *minḥat hattāmîd* (Nu. 4:16); *minḥat q^enā’ōt* (Nu. 5:15);

26. KAI, 43, 13.

27. KAI, 69; cf. the Carthaginian “duplicate,” KAI, 74; see also ANET³, 656f.

28. KAI, 145, 13.

29. → מרזח *marzēah*.

30. KAI, 159, 8.

31. For further discussion of Punic sacrificial terminology cf. J.-G. Février, “Le vocabulaire sacrificiel punique,” JAs, 243 (1955), 49-63.

32. Cf. WTM, III, 153.

and *minḥat zikkārôn* (Nu. 5:15); and outside the Pentateuch additionally: *minḥat hā'āreb* (2 K. 16:15; Ps. 141:2); *minḥat šāw'* (Isa. 1:13); *minḥat y^hūdā* (Mal. 3:4); *minḥat yiśrā'el* (1 S. 2:29); and only once *minḥat YHWH* (1 S. 2:17). This latter expression probably corresponds to the customary formulation *minḥā l^eYHWH* (Nu. 28:26; Isa. 66:20; Joel 2:14; Mal. 2:12; 3:3), which indicates the target object by means of a dative particle (cf. also the king in Hos. 10:6; Jehoshaphat in 2 Ch. 17:5; Uzziah in 2 Ch. 26:8).

minḥā is seldom used with adjectives. Occurrences include: *minḥā ḥ^adāšā* (Lev. 23:16); *minḥā ḥ^arēbā* (Lev. 7:10); and *minḥā ṭ^ehōrā* (Mal. 1:11).

3. LXX. The LXX renders *minḥā* 142 times with *thysía*, twice with *thysíasma*, and once each with *holokaútōma* and *prosphorá*. In language related to sacrifice and offering it does not differentiate between *minḥā* and *zebāḥ*, rendering both terms with *thysía*; neither is *'iššeh* clearly set off, since it is rendered 8 times by *thysía* in addition to *kárpōma*. Apparently the semantic shifts between *minḥā* and *qorbān* within the Priestly traditions are also noted by the LXX, since *qorbān* — rendered by the general term *dōron* — is set apart from the specification *minḥā* = *thysía*. The extreme proximity of these two terms, however, also manifests itself in the fact that *minḥā* is also rendered 30 times by *dōron*, although primarily outside of sacrificial texts. The LXX makes clear distinctions between *'ōlā* (*holokaútōma*, *holokaútōsis*, and only 6 times *thysía*), *ḥaṭṭā'ī* (*hamartía*), *'āšām* (*plēmméleia*), *q^eṭōret* (*thymíama*), and *neseḱ* (*spondé*).

What is striking is the frequent rendering by *maná* (once: Dnl. 2:46), *manaá* (16 times), *manach* (once: 2 K. 17:3), *mánna* (12 times; *mánna* otherwise refers 10 times to → מָן *mān*), and *mannaeím* (once: Neh. 13:9). Rather than marking distinctions in content, these different forms more likely represent linguistic variants in the LXX versions and recensions. The question is unavoidable, however, just how *mánna* can be used for *minḥā*. We find that this rendering occurs only outside the Pentateuch, especially in Jeremiah, Nehemiah, Daniel, and consistently above all in Ezk. 45ff. (in the Codex Alexandrinus). On the one hand, it may have resulted from a consistent scribal error involving *manaá*, as suggested by Paul Maiberger in the case of Bar. 1:10,³³ an explanation supported by the variants between codices A and B, although the frequency is nonetheless striking. Thus this is probably not a case of scribal error, and this particular translation can be traced back rather to the textual history of the LXX itself: (1) the meaning of *mān* = *mánna* remained undefined for a long period, since *mān* was understood in an indefinite sense as “gift, present”;³⁴ (2) Gk. *mánna*, “frankincense, incense powder, granular sacrificial substance,”³⁵ offers itself as a likely, albeit one-sided, translation, since the *minḥā* is often associated with incense; (3) it must be assumed that the morpheme *minḥā* does not represent the genuine

33. → מָן *mān*, I (VIII, 389-395); cf. also R. Meyer, “Μάννα,” *TDNT*, IV, 462f.

34. Cf. Maiberger.

35. Cf. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *Greek English Lexicon*, II (Oxford, 1940, repr. 1948), 1079.

[kids and unleavened cakes]; 1 Ch. 21:23 [wheat]; 1 Ch. 23:29 [fine flour]); similarly, the meaning "tribute" is only rarely accompanied by more specific references to content (exceptions: 1 K. 10:25 par. 2 Ch. 9:24 [silver and gold vessels, garments, weapons, balsam, horses, and mules]; 2 K. 8:9 [precious things]), so that here, too, one can already ascertain an advanced technical understanding of the term.

In the Deuteronomistic history, *minḥâ* occurs almost exclusively as the object of the verbs *ʾālâ* hiphil, *qārah* hiphil, *šālah*; in isolated instances the verbs *bôʾ* hiphil, *nāsāʾ*, *brʾ* II hiphil, *bʾt*, *qtr* hiphil, and others occur. The Chronicler's history attests clearly altered linguistic usage, since here *nātan* and *bôʾ* hiphil are used, and only 3 times *nāsāʾ* and once *šûb* hiphil.

3. *Prophets*. The term *minḥâ* occurs 8 times in Isaiah (3 times in Proto-Isaiah, once in Deutero-Isaiah, 4 times in Trito-Isaiah); 4 times in Jeremiah (at the earliest in his second proclamation period); 15 times in Ezekiel (exclusively in the draft constitution); twice in Amos (5:22 as an original part of the text; 5:25 as a secondary insertion); once in Hosea; 3 times in Joel; once in Zephaniah; and 7 times in Malachi. The Psalms mention *minḥâ* 6 times, Daniel mentions it twice. Despite the enormous temporal-historical scope encompassed by these writings, it is striking that *minḥâ* here is almost never understood as "tribute" or "gift" (exceptions: Hos. 10:6 [gift (RSV tribute) to the great king]; Isa. 39:1 [to Hezekiah]). In all other cases Yahweh is either explicitly or implicitly the goal of the *minḥâ*. Not only do the prophets rarely use this word (the occurrences in Ezekiel do not belong to the basic stratum of the draft constitution, but rather to the late exilic *nāsîʾ* and Zadokite strata³⁸), but with few exceptions they also always use it in parallel constructions with other sacrificial terms. That is, they view the *minḥâ* basically only in connection with the other sacrifices and offerings. This also means, however, that neither the *minḥâ* nor any other offering is singled out for attention, but rather that the entire sacrificial cult is the focus of their prophetic proclamation. Once again *minḥâ* is used in the absolute state (exceptions: *minḥat ʾāreb* in Ps. 141:2; Dnl. 9:21; *minḥat yʿhūdâ* in Mal. 3:4), suffixes are not common (exceptions: Ps. 20:4[3]; Am. 5:22; Zeph. 3:10), and related verbs do not really reveal any fixed linguistic structures: Trito-Isaiah uses *ʾālâ* hiphil and *bôʾ* hiphil; *ʾāsâ* predominates in Ezekiel's draft constitution, and Malachi adds *nāgaš* hiphil, which is attested only twice previously as the presentation term with *minḥâ* (Am. 5:25 [secondary]; Lev. 2:8 P^G; with *minḥâ* as "tribute" in 1 K. 5:1; with other sacrificial terms cf. Ex. 32:6; Lev. 8:14). Finally, the fundamental association of *minḥâ* and *neseḳ* is noteworthy in Joel.

IV. Secular Usage. In secular usage *minḥâ* appears with the meaning "gift, present," or "tribute," although some passages already exhibit a semantic progression toward the meaning "sacrifice, offering."

1. *Gift*. With the meaning "gift," *minḥâ* occurs with a variety of contexts, and the content of such a *minḥâ* is accordingly quite variable. A *minḥâ* as a gift is never

38. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), *in loc.*

the tribute (cf. Hoshea's suspension of the *minḥâ* to Shalmaneser in 2 K. 17:3f. and its consequences) threatened the *status quo*, prompting a declaration of war which ended with the destruction of the inferior party, one must view this as a significant semantic component of the term *minḥâ*. OT Hebrew does not otherwise attest a term for "tribute." The previously mentioned *'eškār* occurs only in Ezk. 27:15; Ps. 72:10, and in neither of these passages can this meaning be determined exactly. Similarly, *middâ II* suggested by *GesB* more likely refers to a domestically induced tax levy (Neh. 5:4). Either as a designation for "tribute" *minḥâ* is a euphemism, or the semantic perspectives "gift," "tribute," and "cereal offering" reveal a common fundamental perception. This does not seem a superfluous point, since especially in the theological sphere (see discussion below) — although not only there — the appeasing effects of the *minḥâ* are everywhere evident. Does this signal perhaps an etymological relationship with the root → נָח *nwh*, "to settle, rest"? Since foreign payments of tribute reflect the greatness of one's own kingship, one must suspect a tendentious portrayal on the part of the court reporter behind the fantasy payments of tribute by King Mesha to Ahab (2 K. 3:4) and by the Philistines to Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17:11). David obliged the Syrians (2 S. 8:6 par. 1 Ch. 18:6) and the Moabites (2 S. 8:2; 1 Ch. 18:2) to pay tribute, while Solomon brought everything from the Euphrates to the Philistines and the Egyptian border under his control (1 K. 5:1[4:21]). The payments to him constitute tribute, since they are made *šānâ b'ešānâ*, "year by year" (1 K. 10:25; 2 Ch. 9:24). Finally, Uzziah also obliged the Ammonites to pay tribute (2 Ch. 26:8).

In contrast, information is scarce concerning one's own tribute payments using the term *minḥâ*. Jgs. 3:15,17,18 speak of tribute to the Moabites, 2 K. 17:3f. of tribute paid by the northern kingdom to the Assyrians, and Hos. 10:6 shows the failure of the politics of 2 K. 17:3f.: "The calf itself shall be carried to Assyria as *minḥâ* to the great king."

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V. Theology. 1. *Sacrifice or Offering.* The term *minḥâ*, "gift, present," early acquired the specialized meaning of a sacrifice or offering which was to be a "pleasing odor" (*rê[a]ḥ nîḥô[a]ḥ*) to the deity and was to soothe its senses. Thus David says to Saul: "If it is Yahweh who has stirred you up against me, then give him a *minḥâ* to smell (*rwḥ* hiphil)" (1 S. 26:19). This pleasing smell of the sacrifice's fragrance is also implied even if the term *minḥâ* is not explicitly mentioned. Thus it also happens that when Noah makes an offering to Yahweh after the deluge, and Yahweh smells its pleasing fragrance (*wayyārah YHWH 'et-rêaḥ hannîḥōaḥ*), he pledges not to curse the earth a second time (Gen. 8:21); cf. negatively Lev. 26:31: "I will no longer smell the fragrance of your sacrifices"; Amos 5:21: "I take no pleasure in smelling your solemn assemblies."

And indeed, the *minḥâ* constitutes that part of the ritual which creates the fragrance: corn, flour, baked bread, or cakes mixed with oil and frankincense and presented before Yahweh (Lev. 2:14f.). The *minḥâ* constitutes the high point of the sacrificial ritual, since it insures that God is able to smell the pleasing fragrance of the offering.

Although the term *minḥâ* frequently occurs in connection with or parallel to *zeḇaḥ*, *'ôlâ* (see earlier discussion), it usually constitutes a fixed ritual together with the *q'ṭōreṭ*

and the incense offering (*l'ḥônâ*); cf. Isa. 1:13: "It is futile to bring me *minḥâ*; incense (*q'ṭōret*) is an abomination to me." Isa. 43:23: "I have not burdened you with *minḥâ*, or wearied you with frankincense (*l'ḥônâ*)" (cf. also Neh. 13:5-9; Isa. 66:3; Jer. 17:26; 41:5). The tandem *minḥâ* and *l'ḥônâ* also appears in the Elephantine papyri, indeed exclusively in this combination.⁴¹

Ps. 141:2 is of significance regarding the association of *minḥâ* (especially the evening *minḥâ*) with the incense offering: "Let my prayer be counted as incense before thee, and the lifting up of my hands as an evening *minḥâ*" (cf. discussion below).

The *minḥâ*, mixed with oil and frankincense, was blended from flour or meal and could be offered by anyone, independent of animal sacrifice (cf. Lev. 2). Indeed, the *minḥâ* and the incense offering (*q'ṭōret*, *l'ḥônâ*) developed into a kind of universal ritual; cf., e.g., Mal. 1:11: "For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations, and in every place incense (*muqṭār*) is offered to my name, and a pure *minḥâ*."

Reference should be made also to the eighty men who go up to Jerusalem bringing *minḥâ* and *l'ḥônâ* (Jer. 41:5).

Offerings of the *minḥâ* type are attested throughout the ancient Near East. Thus in a Kassite votive inscription we read: "For Adad . . . he libated from seeds and . . . roots, he caused incense to go up in smoke" (*i-na ŠE.NUMUN ù ḥir-ša-ti qut-ri-nam ú-ša-aq-ti-ir*).⁴² In Mesopotamia we also find fragrant offerings whose odor is meant for the deity: "Without you [Šamaš] the great gods of heaven and earth cannot smell the incense offerings" (*ul iṣ-ši-nu qut-rin-nu*).⁴³

In the official cult, however, the *minḥâ* was normally connected with animal sacrifice, something already attested by ancient Israelite sources. Gideon takes for his offering a kid and unleavened bread, baked from an ephah of flour (Jgs. 6:19); Manoah, the father of Samson, takes a kid and a *minḥâ* (Jgs. 13:19; cf. v. 23); Hannah, the mother of Samuel, prepares a thank offering consisting of three bulls (LXX and 4QSam: "a three-year-old bull"), an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine (1 S. 1:24). The Priestly Document provides precise instructions concerning the quantities of grain or flour for such offerings. The *minḥâ* consists of a tenth of an ephah of fine meal (*sōlet*) for a lamb offering, two tenths for a ram offering, and three tenths for a bull offering (cf. Nu. 15:1-15; 28; 29).

It should be pointed out that, in contrast to the usual interpretation, this *sōlet* does not strictly speaking mean "fine flour," but rather "meal," i.e., ground, pulverized grain (cf. Akk. *siltu* and Bab. *Šabb.* 74b: *slt slty*, "cut into pieces, cut evenly"; cf. Akk. *salātu*), which — one assumed — was more finely sifted than flour and contained no husks.⁴⁴

41. Cf. AP, 30.21, 25; 31.21; 32.9; 33.10f.; cf. also Vogt, 107.

42. BM 92699; E. Sollberger, "Two Kassite Votive Inscriptions," JAOS, 88 (1968), 191-95.

43. J. Nougayrol, "Textes Religieux (I)," RA, 65 (1971), 162, 3.

44. See recently J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*. AB 3 (1991), 179.

himself at just this time to Daniel (Dnl. 9:21) or to the priest Zechariah (Lk. 1:9f.). As was the custom, the people prayed “outside the house of God” while the priests presented the incense offering. This is picked up in a regulation in the Mishnah (*Tamid* vi.3; *Kelim* i.9), according to which the people were not permitted to enter the area between the porch and the altar (*byn h'wlm wlmzbh*) while the priest presented the incense offering. The people assembled in the outer court (*'azārâ*) for prayer. Finally, Judith prays in the house of God at the time of the evening *minḥâ* (Jth. 9:1).

It is said that the Hasmonean high priest John Hyrcanus received his revelation at the time of the incense offering (Josephus *Ant.* xiii.282f.).

The Targum understood the various references to incense and offering fragrance in Cant. 4:11-16 as if they were referring to the incense offering in the temple, whereby the priests and people prayed: “May God, my beloved, enter the temple and readily accept the offerings of his people” (Targ. to vv. 11,16). The blessing of Isaac in Gen. 27:27f. (“Ah, the smell of my son is like the smell of a field that Yahweh has blessed”) was similarly interpreted with an eye on the incense offering in the temple (cf. further the apocryphal Life of Adam and Eve 29; *T. Levi* 3:5f.).⁵⁰

All these examples illuminate the rabbinic designation “*minḥâ* prayer” (*t'pillat minḥâ*) as the afternoon prayer. Although the *minḥâ* was also presented in the morning as a cereal offering, the actual time of prayer was associated with the evening offering at which the people were assembled. This *minḥâ* worship took place at the ninth hour (3 p.m.), when the evening offering, the cereal offering, and the incense offering were presented (cf. Mishnah *Pesaḥ.* v.1; Acts 3:1; 10:3,30).

Ezra's penitential prayer (Ezr. 9:5) showed that the time of the *minḥâ* was also the most appropriate time for confession, a custom continued later. On the eve of the Day of Atonement the confession of sin was spoken shortly before darkness (*'m ḥškh*; Tosefta *Kippurim* iv.14). A similar confession over the tithe was spoken at the *minḥâ* offering at the Passover Festival (Mishnah *Ma'aš. Š.* v.10; cf. Lev. 2). The Talmud also sees in *minḥâ* the appropriate time for prayer (*b'y rḥmy*) (cf. Bab. *Ta'an.* 12b and *passim*). Midrash Psalms even views the confession of sin and the *minḥâ* prayer as the continuation of the presentation of the burnt offering in the period without temple and priest.⁵¹

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VI. Qumran. In the writings of Qumran the term *minḥâ* occurs quite frequently. Although the term appears only 4 times in writings concerned with the community rule (twice each in 1QS and CD) and is picked up in a few fragments from 4Q with clear invocation of OT sacrificial terminology (cf. 4QDibHam 4:10; 4QOrd 12:2; 4Q508 (4QPrFêtes^b) 9:1; cf. also 11QPs^a 18:8), the Temple scroll uses it over 40 times. The Aramaic 1QapGen contains 2 occurrences (21:2,20) referring to Abraham's sacrifices. The occurrences within the context of the community rule are characteristic for the

50. → לבונה *l'ḥônâ* (VII, 441-47).

51. Cf. A. Jellinek, *בית המדרש: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der älteren jüdischen Literatur* (Jerusalem, 1967), IV, 104ff. [Heb.; Ger. intro.).

individual aspects are covered by *šāpan*, “to hide,” with the undertone “to lie in wait,” *‘ābar* hiphil, *sûr min* hiphil, and *rāḥaq* hiphil, “keep far away, remove” (primarily in the spatial sense), *nw’* hiphil, “to hinder, prevent,” *šûb* hiphil, and others, “to hold back,”¹⁷ and *nzr* niphil, although only with the semantic implication “to abstain from” (cf. the rabbinic usage of *māna'*). The antonyms of *māna'* derive first from the semantic field “to bring near” (*qārab* hiphil, *bô’* hiphil), then “to give” (*nātan*, *šā'al* hiphil, *pwq* hiphil), “to bestow” (*šim* hiphil, *šāpat*), “to pour out” (*nāsak* hiphil, *rûm* hiphil), “to lead astray” (*t'h* hiphil, *swt* hiphil, *ndh* hiphil, *nś'*, *pth* piel, *šûb* polel), and *dibber*, “to speak readily,” *‘ānā*, “to answer,” as an antonym to “withholding a response” (Jer. 42:4).

3. *Sirach*. Sirach attests *mn'* 9 times, exclusively in the qal. In all instances the subject is a person. The Greek rendering varies enormously.

4. *LXX*. In its own rendering, the LXX uses 23 different verbs: the dominant ones include *apokōlyein* (5 times), *aplan/epéchein* (5 times), *aph/exairein* (3 times), *aphysterein* (twice), as well as *kryptein*, *óknein*, and others.

5. *Qumran*. The root *mn'* has thus far been attested only twice in Qumran. 11QtgJob 18:9 (text?) cites Job 31:16; and in 11QPs^a 24 (a Hebrew version of an apocryphal psalm long familiar in Syriac¹⁸) — an individual lament — the psalmist petitions: “Incline your ear and grant to me what I ask, and that which I am petitioning may you not withhold from me” (v. 5 *wbqšty 'l tmn' mmny*).¹⁹ The Syriac text replaces *mn'* with the synonym *kl'* (cf. Ps. 84:12[11]; Job 31:16).

III. OT Usage. 1. *Secular Sphere*. In the secular sphere *māna'* in the first instance means “to keep someone away from something” or “to withhold something from someone,” whereby the semantic aspect of the etymon fully resonates. This notion of withholding is understood primarily as the non-granting of things to which the addressee in any event has no recognizable legal claims. The king can grant or withhold his daughter from a suitor (2 S. 13:13). The vassal can preempt even greater misfortune for himself and his country by not refusing to pay tribute to the stronger party (1 K. 20:7). Older proverbial wisdom already formulates the phenomenon of ingratitude toward the politically and economically perspicacious person: “The people curse him who holds back (*mn'*) grain, but a blessing is on the head of him who sells it” (Prov. 11:26; a different view is taken by Helmer Ringgren,²⁰ who sees the virtues of generosity and compassion to be the focal point here; the purely mercantile *šāḥar* in v. 26b, however, militates against this view). For the sphere of instruction the axiom is offered that one should not withhold discipline

17. → שׁוּב *šûb*.

18. Cf. M. Noth, “Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen,” ZAW, 48 (1930), 1-23.

19. Cf. J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*. DJD, IV, 70f.

20. *Sprüche*. ATD, XVI/1 (31980), *in loc.*

divine name ("Am I in the place of Elohim, who has withheld from you the fruit of the womb?");³⁶ Claus Westermann,³⁷ however, with good reason sees J at work here as well. Now, since Yahweh has "withheld" the fruit of the womb, Rachel views adoption ("to bear upon the knees") the only possibility of having her "own" children.

Yahweh's withholding especially of the gifts of nature is a component of prophetic proclamation of judgment. Yahweh withholds rain (Am. 4:7; Jer. 3:3) in order to chastise his people. He restrains rivers so that the cosmos mourns (Ezk. 31:15). He also withholds (divine passive) cereal and drink offerings from his temple in order to lead his people to genuine repentance (Joel 1:13). According to Job 38:15, he withholds the morning light from the wicked, which Georg Fohrer³⁸ takes as a reference to a positive outcome to legal proceedings. Finally, Yahweh can indirectly withhold blessing when a person's own sins erect a divisive barrier between himself and God (Jer. 5:25).

Everywhere, however, the believer trusts in Yahweh's succor. The early preexilic³⁹ liturgy of the temple gates⁴⁰ recognizes that God withholds no good thing from those who walk uprightly (Ps. 84:12[11]; cf. 11QPs^a 24). The king, too, could rely on a special measure of certainty that God would indeed answer him, so that Yahweh "has not withheld the request of his lips" (Ps. 21:3[2]). Finally, the people itself confesses in a postexilic atonement service that Yahweh, despite the people's own disobedience during the exodus, did not withhold the manna, but rather granted them food in abundance (Neh. 9:20). The faithful Agur amplifies his petition for honesty and contentedness in life with the following entreaty to Yahweh: *'al-timna' mimmennî b'eterem 'āmût* (Prov. 30:7), "Do not deny them to me before I die."

God sovereignly guides human plans and action. This occurs not only in the form of positive guidance, but also — as the David-Nabal narrative shows — when God deftly restrains him from evil (*māna'*, 1 S. 25:26,34) and keeps him back from blood guilt (v. 39).⁴¹ To show this paradigmatically, the Deuteronomistic historian expands his source in 1 S. 25: Whereas the basic stratum emphasizes the origin and character of Queen Abigail,⁴² the Deuteronomistic historian recasts the story into a paradigm showing how God used Abigail as an instrument to preserve the anointed from blood guilt.⁴³ Even if one follows Hans Joachim Stoebe⁴⁴ and takes issue on the basis of source and transmission-historical considerations with Hans-Ulrich Nübel's (and also

36. E.g., H. Gunkel, *Genesis*. HAT, I (1917); O. Eissfeldt, "Jakob-Lea und Jakob-Rahel (Gen 29, 16-30,24; 35,16-20)," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. Festschrift H. W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 50-55.

37. *Genesis 12-36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 472.

38. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*. KAT, XVI (1963), 504.

39. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 167.

40. H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen*. HAT, I/15 (1934), 160.

41. → חָשַׁק *hāšak*, V, 224-28, esp. 227f.

42. Cf. J. H. Grønbaek, *Die Geschichte von Aufsteig Davids*. *Acta Theol. Danica*, 10 (Ger. trans. 1971), 170-75.

43. → דָּאָם *dām* (III, 234-250); cf. H.-U. Nübel, *Davids Aufstieg in der frühe israelitischen Geschichtsschreibung* (diss., Bonn, 1959), 51ff.

44. *Das erste Buch Samuelis*. KAT, VIII/1 (1973), 454.

Timo Veijola's⁴⁵) literary-critical differentiation, this does not address the real intention of the story: a confession of faith in Yahweh's solicitude for his anointed and the idealization of David.⁴⁶

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45. *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie. AnAcScFen*, B, 198 (1977).

46. Cf. further K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT. SVT*, 8 (1961), 120.

מַס *mas*; סֶבֶל *sēbel*

Contents: I. Etymology; Related Expressions in the Ancient Near East. II. 1. Slavery in Egypt; 2. *mas* 'ōbēd. III. Occurrences and Understanding of *mas* in the OT. IV. Postexilic and Extrabiblical Occurrences. V. Summary.

I. Etymology; Related Expressions in the Ancient Near East. The word *mas* is of unknown origin. According to Martin Noth,¹ it derives "perhaps" from Egyp. *ms*, "to bring." J. A. Montgomery² associates it with OSA *mnš*, "gift, present."³ Although compulsory labor was common in Egypt, it cannot be associated with a particular word.⁴

Akk. *massu*, "person liable for service,"⁵ occurs primarily as a loanword in Alalakh around 1700 B.C.⁶ A later occurrence from Alalakh (ca. 1500) mentions two *LÚ mas*

mas. P. Artzi, "סֶבֶל," *EMiqr*, V (1968), 995f.; *idem*, "Sablum = סֶבֶל," *BIES*, 18 (1954), 66-70; A. M. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt. ASAE Sup.*, 18 (1952), 14-40; A. Biram, "מַס עֹבֵד (Corvée)," *Tarbiz*, 23 (1952), 137-142 [Heb.]; D. G. Evans, "The Incidence of Labour-Service in the Old-Babylonian Period," *JAOS*, 83 (1963), 20-26; Z. Falk, *Hebrew Law in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem, 1964), 117-122; M. Haran, "The Gibeonites, the Nethinim and the Sons of Solomon's Servants," *VT*, 11 (1961), 159-161; M. Held, "The Root ZBL/SBL in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew," *JAOS*, 88 (1968), 90-96; D. Künstlinger, "I. עֲבָדֵי אֲבָד. II. לְמַס עֲבָד," *OLZ*, 34 (1931), 609-612; B. Levine, "The Netînîm," *JBL*, 82 (1963), 207-212; I. Mendelsohn, "State Slavery in Ancient Palestine," *BASOR*, 85 (1942), 14-17; *idem*, "On Corvée Labor in Ancient Canaan and Israel," *BASOR*, 167 (1962), 31-35; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials, CB*, 5 (1971), 128-139; A. Rainey, "מַס עֲבָד," *EMiqr*, V (1968), 55f.; *idem*, "Compulsory Labour Gangs in Ancient Israel," *IEJ*, 20 (1970), 191-202; G. Sauer, "Fronarbeit," *BHWW*, I (1962), 502; M. Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (Eng. trans., New York, 1952), 55, 59, 256.

1. *Könige 1-16. BK*, IX/1 (1983), 212.

2. "Some Hebrew Etymologies," *JQR*, 25 (1934-35), 267.

3. ContiRossini, 191; cf. Ethiop. *mēnšā*, "dues, levy."

4. Bakir.

5. *AHw*, II (1972), 619.

6. Mettinger, 130.

a different procedure is prescribed for “cities far away,” whereby the expression “far” in Dt. 20:15 probably does not refer to expansionist conquests outside Canaan, but is alluding rather to the cunning of the Gibeonites in Josh. 9:6.¹⁹

Since in 1 K. 9:21 *mas-’ōbēd* is followed by the prepositional phrase “to this day,” a longer period of compulsory service might be implied, although it hardly represents, as David Künstlinger believes with reference to Nu. 24:20,24, a variant of *’bd* = Arab. *’abadan*, “for ever.” The parallel 2 Ch. 8:8 has the simple *mas*, as does the comparable passage 1 K. 9:15. The term *’ēbed* is again the key word in the postexilic continuation of this institution.²⁰

III. Occurrences and Understanding of *mas* in the OT.

1. The Israelites despised their own *mas* in Egypt and considered their deliverance from it to be Yahweh’s greatest act in history. The fact that Israel itself was once a slave (*’ēbed*) serves in Deuteronomy as the reason for the humane treatment of the → גֵּר *gēr* (Dt. 15:15; 16:12; 24:18,22). This view stands over against the endorsement of compulsory service in Joshua-Judges. No such endorsement is evident for genuine compulsory labor under David (2 S. 20:24; 1 Ch. 22:2) or Solomon (1 K. 9:20f. par. 2 Ch. 8:8, where peculiarly “Canaanites” are not mentioned among the peoples obligated to service). This *mas* is, however, portrayed as requisite for the completion of the temple.

The *mas* organization carried out by Solomon is reproved beforehand in 1 S. 8:11 (despite Isaac Mendelsohn’s attempt²¹ to interpret this as feudalism operative during the period of Samuel — the reference to Ugar. *msm* is based on a misreading [*msm* for *mdm*]). The negative estimation of Solomon is doubtlessly based to a large extent on the fact that he did not pay the workers for constructing his palace (Jer. 22:13 alludes to this). However, no biblical author rejects *mas* for good and necessary purposes, and for this reason J. A. Wainwright²² believes one should not associate the character of “forced labor” with *mas*, and should refer instead to the work of unskilled laborers to which one can assign a neutral ethical character.

Probably, however, Solomon’s *mas* stands opposed to the divine will insofar as it also — or even primarily — affected the Israelites themselves (1 K. 5:27[13] = LXX 5:27 with *phóros*²³). This is not obviated by the remark that Solomon never used Israelites as slaves (*’ēbed*, 1 K. 9:22), if one does not insert *mas* here with *BHK*³ — not *BHS*; nor by 2 Ch. 8:9, if one does not eliminate *’āšer* with *BHK*³ and *BHS*. It was probably only in Deuteronomistic wishful thinking that the Israelites were exempted from *mas*.²⁴

19. Cf. A. Rofé, “The Laws of War in Deuteronomy,” *Zion*, 39 (1974), 143-156 [Heb.], XXII [Eng. summary].

20. See IV.1 below.

21. *BASOR*, 85, 15.

22. “Zoser’s Pyramid and Solomon’s Temple,” *ExpT*, 91 (1979/1980), 137-140.

23. See IV.2 below.

24. R. de Vaux, *Anclsr*, 141f.

מסכה *massēkâ*

Contents: I. Vocabulary Associated with Idols: Delimitation, Etymology, and Meaning. 1. *massēkâ*; 2. *neseḱ*; 3. ^a*šabbîm*; 4. *pesel*; 5. *šelem*; 6. *semel*. II. Modes of Production. III. OT. 1. Occurrences and Distribution; 2. Expressions; 3. Theological Meaning; 4. LXX.

I. Vocabulary Associated with Idols: Delimitation, Etymology, and Meaning.

1. *massēkâ*. The noun *massēkâ* is usually taken as the *maqṭil* form of the verb *nsk*, "to pour out"¹ (or, in Isa. 25:7; 28:20, *massēkâ* II, "covering" from *nsk* II, "to weave"²), with the meaning "molten image (of a deity)"³ or "cast [poured] image."⁴ This derivation implies that the underlying verb *nsk* means "to pour metal," a meaning not attested with certainty in the OT; in the passages in question (Isa. 40:19; 44:10) the general expression *nsk pesel* might be circumscribing a different method of working metal. Furthermore, these translations of the term *massēkâ*, which occurs primarily in fixed expressions,⁵ frequently present considerable problems not completely ameliorated by the additional rendering suggested by *KBL*³, namely, "metal-casting." That *massēkâ* derives from the vocabulary of metallurgy is demonstrated by the passages which describe the production materials and methods (cf., e.g., Ex. 32:2; Isa. 30:22; 40:19; 44:9-17; Hos. 13:2) and by parallel formulations such as ^e*lōhê massēkâ* (Ex. 34:17) — ^e*lōhê zāhāb* (Ex. 32:31), so that José Faur's hypotheses⁶ that the *massēkâ* is related to *neseḱ*, "libation," or to *swk* II, "to anoint," suggesting a consecrated image, are unpersuasive. The root *nsk*, attested in numerous Semitic languages, does not exhibit a unified semantic field. Two separate semantic aspects do, however, emerge more

massēkâ. K.-H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild. ThArb*, 2 (1956); J. Boese and U. Rüss, "Goldschmiedetechniken," *RLA*, III (1957-1971), 519-531; O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und Götzen im AT," *ThStKr*, 103 (1931), 151-160 = *KISchr*, I (1962), 266-273; E. Feucht, "Goldschmiedearbeiten," *LexÄg*, II (1977), 751-54; K. Gallig, "Götterbild, weibliches," *BRL*², 111-19; W. Helck, "Kultstatue," *LexÄg*, III (1980), 859-863; H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. AThANT*, 66 (1980); C. R. North, "The Essence of Idolatry," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW*, 77 (1961), 151-160; H. D. Preuss, *Die Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 92[5/12] (1971); J. Renger and U. Seidl, "Kultbild," *RLA*, VI (1981), 307-319; M. Weippert, "Gott und Stier," *ZDPV*, 77 (1961), 93-117; P. Welten, "Götterbild, männliches," *BRL*², 99-111; *idem*, "Göttergruppe," *BRL*², 119-122; W. Zimmerli, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des alten Israel," *Schalom. Festschrift A. Jepsen. ArbT*, 1/46 (1971), 86-96 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 2. *ThB*, 51 (1974), 247-260; → *נסק* *nsk*; *פסל* *psl*; → *צלם* *šelem*.

1. *BLe*, §492t.

2. *HAL*, II (1995), 605.

3. *GesB*, 440.

4. *HAL*, II, 605.

5. See III.2 below.

6. "The Biblical Idea of Idolatry," *JQR*, 69 (1978), 1-15.

in Syria and Palestine medallion-like plates of precious metal which hung as pendants.³³

III. OT. 1. Occurrences and Distribution. The noun *massēkâ* occurs 28 times in the MT of the OT, although only 25 of these occurrences are to be classified as terms for idols, since in Isa. 25:7; 28:20 a derivation of *nsk* II, "to weave," is evident, and in 2 Ch. 28:2 the Peshitta reads *mdbh'* = *mizb^ehôt* instead of *massēkôt*; this reading is supported by the following *labb^eālîm* along with the *l^e* + suffix of the acting person, attested exclusively with idols, as well as by the substantive context of vv. 1-4. Isa. 30:1, where *massēkâ* is frequently rendered by "alliance" or similar terms, contains in the variously explained *figura etymologica nsk massēkâ*³⁴ an allusion to two acts attested during the preexilic period designating a connection with foreign gods. The linguistic form *nsk massēkâ* recalls *nsk nesk*, "present a drink offering," as a sign of veneration toward foreign gods (cf. Jer. 7:18; 19:13; 32:29; 44:17, and elsewhere); by replacing *nesek* with *massēkâ*, which derives from the same root, the author additionally establishes an association with the production of an idol. A synoptic evaluation of different interpretations of 'śh 'śh shows that the preceding portion of the verse also contains such a wordplay.³⁵

No particular pattern in the distribution of *massēkâ* occurrences can be discerned, since small concentrations such as Jgs. 17; 18 are based on narrative pieces. If one considers, however, that in several instances *massēkâ* in its present positions stands in secondary textual material (e.g., Nu. 33:52; Isa. 30:22), one focal point in its usage does emerge in Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic passages. Of even greater significance is the observation that the noun occurs primarily in the unaltered form *massēkâ* — the plural occurs only 4 times (*massēkôt*: Nu. 33:52; 1 K. 14:9; 2 Ch. 34:3,4) and the construct form only once (*massēkat*: Isa. 30:22) — and in fixed expressions.

2. Expressions. In addition to the variously attested pair *pesel ûmassēkâ*, *massēkâ* occurs as a *nomen rectum* in construct chains: 'ēgel *massēkâ* (Ex. 32:4,8; Dt. 9:12[?]³⁶,16; Neh. 9:18); 'ēlōhē *massēkâ* (Ex. 34:17; Lev. 19:4); *šalmē massēkôtām* (Nu. 33:52). The expression 'ēlōhîm 'āhērîm *ûmassēkôt* (1 K. 14:9, its only occurrence) seems to correspond formally to *pesel ûmassēkâ*. Both types of expressions, the construct chain and that with *w*, can be divided in the same way, their component parts then being juxtaposed in parallelism (Isa. 30:22; 42:17; Hab. 2:18[?]; Ps. 106:19). Only in 2 K. 17:16; Hos. 13:2 does *massēkâ* stand alone. In both passages, however, *massēkâ* is explicated further, in 2 K. 17:16 by *š^enê(m) 'āgālîm*.³⁷ In addition to the expressions

33. Cf. K. Gallig, "Götterbild, weibliches," *BRL*², 116; on the corresponding archaeological evidence cf. in addition to the lexica already cited also Elliger, esp. 76f.

34. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*. BK, X/3 (1982), 1147f.

35. M. Dahood, "Accusative 'ēšāh, 'Wood,' in Isaiah 30,1b," *Bibl.* 50 (1969), 57f.; Wildberger, BK, X/3, 1151f.

36. Cf. BHS.

37. On Hos. 13:2, see I.3 above.

mentioned above, several parallel formulations also occur which make it clear that *massēkâ* has to do with goldsmithing. In Ex. 32:31, the formulation *ʿlōhê zāhāb* occurs in place of *ʿēgel massēkâ*, and in 1 K. 12:28; 2 K. 10:29; 2 Ch. 13:8 Jeroboam's calf images are referred as *ʿeglê (haz)zāhāb*.

3. *Theological Meaning.* Like most of the terms used in the OT in reference to idols, the term *massēkâ* originally referred to a product created and shaped by human hands. A synoptic consideration of both etymology and OT usage reveals that *massēkâ* refers to the goldsmithing on an idol, and primarily not to the image itself. Considering the magical and mythical notions associated with gold, which in the ancient Near East were especially widespread in connection with idols,³⁸ it is easy to see why this particular aspect of the image was specifically singled out or subjected to polemic. This is also shown by Hos. 10:5, where the golden brilliance of the image of the calf, called its *kābôd*, is the object of the priests' cultic exultation.³⁹

Even though archaeological evidence for these valuable precious metal components of idols is understandably meager,⁴⁰ neither their quantity nor their significance throughout the ancient Near East should be underestimated. One particularly good example of confrontation with these notions is Isa. 30:22.⁴¹ The parallelism of v. 22a emphasizes that the idol's *šippûy* and *ʿēpôd* are to be discarded because of their cultic uselessness (*ʾtm'*), leaving open the question whether this parallelism is synonymous ("silver-covered graven images — gold-plated molten images") or synthetic ("the covering of the silver graven images — the *ʿēpôd* of the gold plating").

In the first case the term *pesel ûmassēkâ* (comparable to Ps. 109:19) would be divided, and then the other members of the parallelism also would correspond to one another;⁴² in the other case one would have a silver core covered with gold bearing a precious garment (*ʿēpôd*).⁴³

Despite these difficulties, the intention of this verse emerges quite clearly. By drawing attention to the accumulation of such precious metals, it specifically criticizes the notions associated with them. It is also of significance that in the case of such idols the *massēkâ* reference evokes not only official cultic images such as Jeroboam's bull symbols, but also the smaller, amulet-like representations used privately, something also alluded to, e.g., by the context of the *ʾārûr* series in Dt. 27; the narrative Jgs. 17; 18; and Nah. 1:14.

38. → זָהָב *zāhāb* (*zāhābh*) (IV, 32-40); L. Störck, "Gold," *LexÄg*, II (1977), 725-731; Leemans, *et al.*, *RLA*, III, 504-531; E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, 1982).

39. Wolff, 175.

40. Welten, *BRL*², 110; however, cf. also the Hittite examples in M. Weippert, *ZDPV*, 77 (1961), 100.

41. Cf. L. Laberge, "Is 30,19-26: A Deuteronomic Text?" *Église et Théologie*, 2 (1971), 35-54.

42. Wildberger, *BK*, X/3, *in loc.*

43. Cf. Unger, 414f.

III. OT Usage. 1. In the first instance, *mss* means “to flow,” “to dissolve,” “to melt”: wax melts in the fire (Ps. 68:3[Eng. v. 2]; 97:5; Mic. 1:4; cf. Ps. 22:15[14]); manna melts in the sun (Ex. 16:21); cf. also “turned to water” (Josh. 7:5) and the associations with water in Ezk. 21:12[7];³ Ps. 22:15(14). Mountains flow with blood (Isa. 34:3). Jgs. 15:14 uses the term figuratively: the cords around Samson’s arms become weak and dissolve.

Melting wax serves as an image of the annihilation of God’s enemies in theophany (Ps. 68:3[2]) or of the melting of mountains at his appearance (Ps. 97:5; Mic. 1:4).

2. One group of 8 occurrences associates *mss* niphal with the despairing human heart. The simple expression is used 3 times in Joshua, twice in reference to Israel’s enemies (the Canaanites), with the additional remark that they had no more courage (*rûah*; Josh. 2:11; 5:1), and once in reference to the Israelites themselves after the defeat at Ai, with the additional commentary that their heart became “as water” (7:5). The image of water recurs in Ezk. 21:12(7), where the anticipated reaction of the people to the coming catastrophe is described: All hearts will despair (*mss*), every hand will fall limply down (*rāpâ*), all “spirits” will become faint, and all knees will “run with water.” This concentration of expressions provides a vivid picture of the people’s “utter despair.”⁴ The limp hands recur in Isa. 13:7: all hands will be feeble, and all hearts will melt when the day of Yahweh comes; v. 8 contains additional synonyms: “become dismayed” (*bhl* niphal), pangs and agony (*šîrîm*, *h^abālîm*), “to writhe (*hîl*) like a woman in travail.” Nah. 2:11(10) contains further synonyms: faint hearts, tottering knees, trembling loins; cf. also Isa. 19:1: the idols of Egypt will tremble (*nûa’*), and the hearts of the Egyptians will despair (melt). Finally, in Ps. 22:15(14) the heart melting like wax represents the psalmist’s own sufferings.⁵

Even without *lēb* the term *mss* niphal can refer to a person’s sinking spirits. After Absalom’s defeat even the most valiant man will lose all courage (despair, *mss* niphal; 2 S. 17:10). A warrior can be disheartened by his less courageous brothers (Dt. 20:8; perhaps *hiphil* is to be read); cf. also Dt. 1:28: “Our brethren [the scouts] have made our hearts melt” (*hiphil*). In contrast, Ps. 112:10 speaks of languishing away in a general sense: “The wicked man sees it [the good fortune of the righteous person] and is angry; he gnashes his teeth and ‘melts away.’” Similarly Isa. 10:18: “as when a sick man wastes away.”

IV. Derivatives, Secondary Forms. 1. The noun *massâ* occurs only once, namely, in Job 9:23, which focuses on the mockery of the wicked at the despair of the innocent.⁶ Similarly, the derivative *temes* is used only once; one of the curses in Ps. 58 refers to the slime of the snail, illustrating the destruction of the cursed persons.

3. However, cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 425.

4. *Idem*.

5. On this whole complex, cf. Lauha, 149f.

6. Cf. É. P. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1967), *in loc*.

such a *mā'ôz*. Given the use of *rô's* in geographical descriptions, the passage seems more likely to be suggesting a largely inaccessible mountaintop or a predominantly rocky region which, like a fortress, is virtually impregnable. This might be supported by the *parallelismus membrorum* of *mā'ôz* and *šûr/sela'*, "rock," in many of Israel's religious songs.

IV. Religious Usage. The term *mā'ôz* is used with far greater frequency in religious contexts, the most important of which are the statements referring to Yahweh.

1. *Yahweh as Fortress and Mighty Helper.* A clearly circumscribed vocabulary appears in a series of pertinent passages either parallel to *mā'ôz* or in its immediate context. In the individual lament Ps. 31:3[2], the plea to Yahweh, "be a rock of the bulwark (NRSV 'refuge,' *l'šûr-mā'ôz*) for me," is paralleled by the expression "a mountain fortress" (*l'ḥêṭ m'šûḏôṭ*); and in the individual lament Ps. 71:3 the same plea, "be to me a rock of the 'bulwark,'" issues into the confident confession "for you are my rock (*sal'î*) and my mountain fortress (*m'šûḏâṭî*)." In Ps. 31:5[4], the petitioner's confession is brief: "For you are my citadel." The positioning of → *m'šûḏâ* thus clearly defines our noun as a "citadel," "bulwark." It expresses insuperable strength and, underscored additionally by its association with *šûr* or *sela'*, unchanging stability and solidity. This explains how our noun could be associated with Yahweh in metaphorical speech. It characterizes the believer's rock-like trust in God's omnipotence.

At the same time, however, this knowledge of God's superior power and strength stands behind the believer's plea for succor and deliverance by Yahweh. Thus the root *yš'* hiphil, "to rescue, save," occurs in the context of the two citations from the Psalms (Ps. 31:3[2]; 71:3); in addition, the verb *nsl* hiphil, "to help," also occurs in Ps. 31:3(2). This leads to other passages in which the theme of "divine help" similarly occurs with the metaphor of the "citadel." Isa. 17:10 accuses the northern kingdom Israel of having forgotten God, of not having remained loyal to him, and of having turned to a different god that cannot help.¹⁹ In this context the expressions "the God of your help (NRSV 'salvation,' *'lôhê yiš'ēk*)" and "the rock of your bulwark (NRSV 'refuge,' *šûr mā'uzzēk*)" parallel one another in referring to the reliability of Yahweh's succor. The individual lament Ps. 28:8 proclaims in a confessional formulation: Yahweh is the strength (*'ôz*) of his people, and a "saving bulwark (NRSV 'refuge,' *mā'ôz y'šû'ôṭ*)" for his anointed. This context would also include the reference to Yahweh as the "stronghold of my life" (*mā'ôz-ḥayyay*) from Ps. 27:1 (and Sir. 51:2), since it, too, is found in a confessional statement and has as its parallel the sentence Yahweh is "my light (*'ôrî*) and my salvation (*yiš'î*)."

By way of comparison *KBL*³ refers to the Greek-Phoenician bilingual text from Larnax Lapethos, in which the goddess 'Anat is called *m'z hym*, or her Greek equivalent Athena is called *Sōteíra Níkē*.²⁰ W. W. Graf Baudissin²¹ renders this expression as

19. Cf. W. Schottroff, "Gedenken" im alten Orient und im AT. *WMANT*, 15 (1964), 171.

20. *KAI*, 42, 1.

21. *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911), 18, 457.

“power of life,” or better “power of the living,” meaning that ‘Anat’s power intervenes for the living, that she stands by them and helps them in the fullness of her power.²²

Finally, two further passages can be presented in this context, since they similarly associate *mā'ôz* with assistance, succor, and security for the believer. In Dnl. 11:1, Gabriel tells Daniel that Michael stands by him “as a helper” (*l'mah^azîq*) and “as refuge” (*l'mā'ôz*). And Prov. 10:29 focuses on the experience that he who walks uprightly in Yahweh’s way possesses *mā'ôz*, which v. 9 circumscribes by saying that he can live “securely” (*betah*).

In Ps. 60:9(7) par. 108:9(8), *mā'ôz* is similarly to be understood in the sense of the power with which Yahweh intervenes on behalf of his believers. In the style of an oracle of good news the passage reads: “Gilead is mine; Manasseh is mine; Ephraim is the *mā'ôz* of my head, Judah my scepter.” Yahweh is conceived as a warrior-ruler with the ruler’s scepter in his hand and the helmet on his head. Thus the helmet could figuratively quite well be called “the fortress of the head,” expressing thereby the inviolable association of Ephraim with Yahweh, out of which hope and consolation regarding Yahweh’s succor emerges for the northern kingdom.

This is also the sense of the masculine personal name *ma'azyāhû* (1 Ch. 24:18), *ma'azyā* (Neh. 10:9[8]), or *m'wzyh*, *m'wzy*, and *m'zyh*.²³ This name is composed of the noun *mā'ôz* and the theophoric element Yahweh, with the resultant meaning “Yahweh is my fortress, my succor, my refuge.”²⁴

2. *Yahweh as Refuge and Protective Retreat.* In yet a different group of passages the term *maḥ^aseh*, “place of refuge,” “refuge,”²⁵ occurs as a parallel for our noun. This suggests that *mā'ôz* in these texts conceives of God as the refuge of the hard-pressed believer, as his protection and shelter. Thus the two expressions “a refuge for his people” and “a stronghold for the people of Israel” stand as a parallel apposition to Yahweh (Joel 4:16[3:16]). In the “prophetic song of thanksgiving”²⁶ the two statements that in times of distress Yahweh is a “refuge to the poor” and a “refuge to the needy” are illustrated by the images of “shelter from the rainstorm” (*maḥseh mizzerem*) and “shade from the heat” (*šēl mēḥōreb*) (Isa. 25:4), drawing attention thus to the existential shelter of Yahweh as the true refuge for the believer in times of distress.

The MT of Ps. 91:9, “For you have with your ‘Yahweh is my refuge’ made Elyon your habitation (citadel, *m^e’ōnekā*),”²⁷ is almost always emended to “For you — Yahweh is ‘your’ refuge, you took Elyon for your ‘bulwark’ (*mā’ūzzekā*).”²⁸ Quite aside from the fact that 11QPs^b reads *mḥmdk*, “your bliss,” for *m’wnk*, “your habitation,” the understanding of this psalm as a whole is not at all a matter of unanimous

22. A different view is taken by Donner, *KAI*, II, 59: “refuge of the living.”

23. *AP*, 22, 70; 109.

24. Cf. M. Noth, *IPN*, 157.

25. → *חֹסֶן* *ḥāsā* (V, 64-75).

26. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (1974), 197.

27. According to Eissfeldt, *KISchr*, V, 47.

28. Cf., e.g., H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 220.

agreement. While one usually takes it as a didactic poem, as instruction and guidance, or even as a song of trust, Eissfeldt²⁹ suggests understanding Ps. 91 as a conversion psalm. A believer who so far has experienced protection from Elyon/Shadday now confesses that Yahweh will be his refuge and fortress (vv. 1-2). A third party encourages the believer in this decision, emphasizing by explicitly picking up in v. 9 the expression "my refuge" from v. 2 "that only the confession to Yahweh makes it possible to participate fully in Elyon's complete fullness of power, and that thus only Yahweh represents the complete revelation of Elyon."³⁰

Drawing on familiar expressions from the language of the Psalter, Isaiah criticizes his people's unnatural behavior. Because they set out to go down to Egypt "to take refuge in the protection of Pharaoh (*lā'ôz b'e mā'ôz par'ôh*), and to seek shelter in the shadow of Egypt (*lahsôt b'e šēl mišrāyim*)," that refuge will turn to their shame, and the shelter to their humiliation (Isa. 30:2).

As Bernard Duhm³¹ correctly points out, the infinitive construct associated with *mā'ôz* in Isa. 30:2 does not derive from the root 'zz, but rather from 'wz. This root also occurs in Ps. 52:9(7), where *mā'ôz* is understood as the refuge God represents for the believer, although here actually the opposite is stated insofar as it is characteristic of the godless person that he in fact does not seek refuge in God, but rather in his own wealth.

Jer. 16:19 also uses *mānôz* (→ מָוֶז), "refuge," as an explication for *mā'ôz*. Again, the statement is formulated as a confession: "Yahweh is my strength (*'uzzî*) and my stronghold (*mā'uzzî*) and my refuge in the day of trouble." The acrostic hymn Nah. 1:7 reads similarly: "Yahweh is good, a stronghold in the day of trouble." And Ps. 90:1 confesses with thanksgiving: "Yahweh, thou hast been a 'refuge' to us in all generations."

3. *Merging of the Two Statements.* As clearly distinguishable as these two aspects of the usage of *mā'ôz* are in many passages, there are also indications that a merging occurred in the form of a concentration of all the substantive associations evoked by the expression *mā'ôz*. This is most clearly the case in Ps. 37:39: the righteous person experiences deliverance (*ṭēšû'â*) from Yahweh; he is his refuge (*mā'ôz*) in the time of trouble. While the expectation and assurance of deliverance by Yahweh correspond to the meaning of *mā'ôz* as bulwark and strength discussed earlier, the second statement, along with its reference to the time of trouble, precisely reflects the context of *mā'ôz* just discussed, namely, as refuge. This combination of the two semantic aspects becomes even more evident subsequently in v. 40, since one after another the verbs 'zr hiphil, *plṭ* piel (twice), *yš'* hiphil, and as a concluding justification *hsh* are used. God is the helper, savior, and deliverer, and for that reason the petitioner trusts in the shelter of his refuge. Ps. 43:2 is to be interpreted similarly, since the confession "you are the

29. *KISchr*, III, 441-47.

30. *Ibid.*, 445.

31. *Das Buch Jesaja. HKAT* (1968), 215.

God in whom I take refuge" is the reason for the confident plea in v. 1: "Vindicate me (*špt*), defend my cause (*rîb*), deliver me (*pl* piel)."

A clear distinction is not possible in Neh. 8:10. The exhortation to the people to be carefree and joyful is justified by the statement: "for joy in Yahweh is your *mā'ôz*." This could mean "is your strength,"³² although it could also be understood such that joy is the best aid against the fear of God's wrath.³³

4. *Yahweh's Sanctuary.* In a few instances *mā'ôz* refers to Yahweh's sanctuary, the Jerusalem temple. Ezk. 24:25 foretells the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple itself, whereby "the meaning of God's temple for the house of Israel is described with a threefold predication"³⁴: it is their bulwark, whereby v. 25 varies the statement of v. 21, "my sanctuary, your proud treasure" (*miqdāšî g'ôn 'uzz^ekem*), and understands *mā'ôz* as an impregnable citadel; it is their eminent joy, "the delight of their eyes and their heart's desire." Dnl. 11:31, which foretells the profanation of the Jewish temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, also inserts *hammā'ôz* as an apposition to *hammiqdāš*, although not in reference to the sanctuary and the citadel,³⁵ but rather to the sanctuary as the bulwark and place of refuge for the persecuted Jews.

Isa. 27:5 also refers to the temple as a place of refuge. Here the assertion is made that one can "lay hold" (*h^zq* piel) of Yahweh's refuge and make peace with him. As recent commentaries consistently point out, this presupposes the function of the Jerusalem sanctuary as a place of asylum.³⁶ Adonijah "grasps" (*h^zq* piel) the horns of the altar (1 K. 1:50), just as does Joab (1 K. 2:28).

5. *"The God of Fortresses."* Antiochus' idolatrous behavior also involved his veneration of the "god of fortresses" (*'lōah mā'uzzîm*) instead of the gods of his fathers (Dnl. 11:38). Both the LXX and the Vulg. view this as a proper name; it is probable that Zeus Olympius, Jupiter Capitolinus, is meant.³⁷

6. *Summary.* The majority of *mā'ôz* statements referring to Yahweh are found in laments from the Psalter. They are largely confessional in nature or formulated as supplications, and represent expressions of trust by the petitioners. They express Israel's faith in Yahweh's invincible strength and in his unique power, both of which his people and every individual have experienced and hope to continue experiencing anew as succor, deliverance, and divine assistance. Although no indications or allusions are made, one can nonetheless take as the background to these statements of faith the salvific deeds of Israel's God, deeds which undergird the Yahweh-faith itself, such as the exodus events, the bestowal of the land, or the postexilic revivification; at the same

32. So RSV; also K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia. ATD*, XII (1954), 232.

33. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT*, XX (1949), 149.

34. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 507.

35. N. W. Porteous, *Das Buch Daniel. ATD*, XXIII (1978), 122.

36. Cf. L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967).

37. A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT*, XIX (1952), 83.

time, one must consider that a transformation or reforming of these expressions, which largely concern the people as a whole, has taken place into the realm of individual-personal piety.

That Yahweh represents refuge for the believer in distress, and is able to provide both shelter and protection for him, is doubtlessly an expression of God's abundant goodness; at the same time, it anticipates the concretizing that takes place in the form of an identification between God and his sanctuary, so that the temple, in its function as a place of asylum, probably provides the background for a whole series of statements in the Psalter that confess Yahweh as refuge. Ultimately, however, this notion was itself spiritualized again to the extent that the holy place of refuge became a metaphor for the sheltering protection of the heavenly Lord.

Dieter Eichhorn³⁸ offers the following as a summary: "The horizon for the designation of Yahweh as *mā'ôz* is Yahweh's mighty theophany in its double aspect as salvation for those 'who hope in him' and destruction for those 'who rise up against him.' The petitioners who refer to Yahweh as *mā'uzzî* or entreat Yahweh to step forward as their *mā'ôz* are persons whose existence stands and falls with the mediation of Yahweh's function as *mā'ôz* for the community in his appropriate revelation on Zion." This includes first of all the prophet (Ps. 28), then also the levitical temple singer and preacher (Ps. 31) as well as the wisdom teacher loyal to Yahweh (Ps. 37). Further "democratization" is not discernible.

V. Qumran. The few Qumran occurrences approximately correspond to the biblical statements already discussed. Here, too, *mā'ôz* means "power." The petitioner laments that the strength has left his body, and the strength of his loins has left him (1QH 8:32,33). And in 1QH 8:23f. the reference is probably to a tree or something similar which maintains its strength even during the season of heat.

With equal frequency *m'wz* means "refuge." The petitioner laments that he is forsaken and no longer has any refuge (1QH 8:27). Or in a thanksgiving confession he acknowledges that God has given him "no fleshly refuge" (1QH 10:23) and that his support is "in the refuge on high" (*bm'wz mrwm*), paralleled by the expression "everlasting fountain" (1QH 10:32).

The fragment 1Q35 1:1 contains only the textually problematical reading *lm'wz*, which does not allow any interpretation.

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38. P. 120.

מַעוֹן *mā'ôn*; מַעֲנָה *m^e'ônâ*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Meaning, Semantic Field. II. Usage: 1. Lair of Animals; 2. God's Dwelling Place; 3. God as Refuge; 4. Place Name.

I. Occurrences, Meaning, Semantic Field. The noun *mā'ôn* is a so-called *maqṭal* construction (*mem*-preformative) from the (inferred, although not attested!) root *'ûn/în*.¹ Wolfram von Soden² also assigns *'ônâ*, “dwelling” (not “cohabitation!”), to this root (Ex. 20:10). In addition to the Arabic verb *ġyn*³, evidence within its linguistic field includes Akk. *mā'unnu*, “dwelling,”⁴ and possibly also a Punic equivalent.⁵ Five OT passages use *mā'ôn* with the meaning “lair or habitation/dwelling place for (wild) animals” (Jer. 9:10[Eng. v. 11]; 10:22; 49:33; 51:37; Nah. 2:12[11]; regarding this final passage cf. 1QH 5:13). In the remaining passages *mā'ôn* refers to the temple as the earthly, or to heaven as the celestial dwelling of God⁶ (Dt. 26:15; 2 Ch. 30:27; 36:15; Ps. 26:8; 68:6[5]; Jer. 25:30; Zec. 2:17[13]). Disputed passages include first of all 1 S. 2:29,32;⁷ Jgs. 6:26; Zeph. 3:7 (cf. LXX). Paul Hugger⁸ includes *mā'ôn* as a conjecture in Ps. 84:7[6]; 87:7 as well. Other disputed passages from the Psalms include Ps. 71:3; 90:1; 91:9, so that the total number of occurrences can vary widely⁹ (from 15 [or only 12/13] to 18/19).

mā'ôn. R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia, 1965); L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutz-orakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967); D. M. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht*. *EH*, 23/4 (1972); S. D. Goitein, “‘Mā'ôn’ — A Reminder of Sin,” *JSS*, 10 (1965), 52f.; P. Hugger, *Jahwe, meine Zuflucht*. *Münsterschwarzacher Studien*, 13 (1971), 152-55; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 179-198; *idem* and M. Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel: Ein Handbuch und Studienreiseführer zum Heiligen Land*, II: *Der Süden* (Zurich, 1982); M. Metzger, “Himmliche und irdische Wohnstat Jahwes,” *UF*, 2 (1970), 139-158; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem*. *BZAW*, 118 (1970), 213; G. Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer*. *BZAW*, 15 (1908).

1. Cf. also W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930, Hildesheim, ²1968), 72; see also Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1967, ²1979), 354; cf. L. Kopf, “Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch,” *VT*, 9 (1959), 261f. = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976), 187f.; Arab. *'wn*, “to help.”

2. “Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch,” *UF*, 13 (1981), 159f.

3. Cf. *HAL*, II (1995), 610.

4. *EA*, 116, 11; but cf. *AHw*, II (1972), 637.

5. *DISO*, 161: uncertain text; for a less cautious view see R. S. Tombback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Language*. *SBL Diss.*, 32 (1978), 190.

6. On the distinction and accompanying context, see II.2 below.

7. Cf. A. Guillaume, “Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study, II,” *Abr-Nahrain*, 2 (1960/61), 9.

8. P. 154.

9. Cf. R. Knierim, “עוֹן *'āwōn* Verkehrtheit,” *THAT*, II, 243; F. Stolz, “צִיּוֹן *Ṣijjōn* Zion,” *THAT*, II, 547; S. Amsler, “קוּם *qūm* aufstehen,” *THAT*, II, 639; A. R. Hulst, “שָׁכַן *škn* wohnen,” *THAT*, II, 909.

The noun *m^eōnâ* exhibits a similar semantic scope: lair of wild animals (Job 37:8; 38:40; Ps. 104:22; Cant. 4:8; Am. 3:4; Nah. 2:13[12]); God's dwelling place (Ps. 76:3[2]); place of refuge (Dt. 33:27). The fact that the temple and ultimately also God himself can be a "refuge" at least preserves the possibility of discounting conjectures affecting *mā'ôn* for Ps. 71:3; 90:1;¹⁰ 91:9.¹¹

Since *mā'ôn/m^eōnâ* can refer to the temple as well as to heaven as Yahweh's habitation or dwelling place,¹² its semantic field is correspondingly expansive.¹³

Consequently, the LXX interprets and differentiates more strongly. Thus *hagíasma* (2 Ch. 36:15) occurs along with *kataphygé* (Ps. 90:1; 91:9), then *diatribé* (Jer. 49:33[LXX 30:28]) along with *koítē* (Jer. 10:22); further also *euprépeia* (Ps. 26:8[LXX 25:8]), *tópos* (Ps. 68:6[5][LXX 67:6]; 71:3[LXX 70:3]), *oíkos* (Dt. 26:15), *katoikētérion* (2 Ch. 30:27; Nah. 2:12[11]; Jer. 9:10[11]), and *mouón* (1 S. 2:32[?]).

In the Qumran texts *mā'ôn* occurs 11 times in reference to a den of lions (1QH 5:13; cf. Nah. 2:12[11]), to heaven (as God's dwelling place: 1QS 10:3; 1QM 12:2; 1QSb 4:25; also 1QH 12:2, or is this referring to the temple?), to heaven as the place of light (and of darkness: so with *m^eōnâ*: 1QH 12:5+7), 1QS 10:1; 1QH 12:5; the text of 1QH 12:2 is uncertain; cf. also 1Q36 12:2. With its reference to the congregation (!) as God's temple/dwelling place (1QS 8:8) the Qumran community goes beyond OT usage.¹⁴

II. Usage. 1. *Lair of Animals.* Whenever *mā'ôn* refers to the dwelling place or abode of wild animals, it never does so simply for the sake of neutral portrayal; rather, the context always involves judgment, i.e., a place (Jerusalem, the cities of Judah, Hazor, Nineveh, or Babylon) is warned that wild animals will seek and find their dwelling place there. This is first the case in Nahum's ironic lament¹⁵ (Nah. 2:12[11]); cf. the repetition in 1QH 5:13) over the predicted destruction of Nineveh, which did indeed come to pass, Nineveh becoming a den for lions.¹⁶ The context involving an oracle of judgment and (this time genuine) lament is also found in Jer. 9:10(11), according to which Jerusalem will become the lair of jackals (*tan*), something even expressed in the form of a divine lament (after the model of prophetic discourse? however, cf. the LXX regarding v. 9[10]).¹⁷ Similar proclamations in Jer. 10:22; 49:33; 51:37 (regarding the cities of Judah, Hazor, and Babylon) are secondary, more recent texts constructed analogously to Jer. 9:10(11).

10. See esp. Goitein, Kopf.

11. Cf. II.3.

12. Cf. II.2.

13. → *יָשַׁב* *yāšab* (VI, 420-438); → *מִקּוֹם* *māqôm* (VIII, 531-544); *miqdāš*; *miškān*; *mākôn*; → *קֹדֶשׁ* *qōdeš*; → *שֹׁכֵן* *škn*; cf. also → *כִּסֵּא* *kissē* (VII, 232-259) and → *הֵיכָל* *hēykāl*, III, 386f., as well as → *צִיּוֹן* *šyyôn* and *יְרוּשָׁלַם* *y^erûšālēm* (VI, 347-355).

14. Cf. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the NT*. SNTS Mon, 1 (1965).

15. So K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II: Nahum*. ATD, XXV (⁸1982), in loc.

16. → *אֲרִי* *ārī*, I, 386.

17. On the connection between judgment oracle and lament, cf. F. Ahuis, *Der klagende Gerichtsprophet* (Stuttgart, 1982).

and from the antithesis, the latter indicated in several instances by constructions of the root *rbh*: *rbh* (Ex. 16:17f.; 30:15; Lev. 25:16; Nu. 26:54; 33:54; 35:8; Ps. 107:38; Prov. 13:11; Jer. 29:6; 30:19); *rab* (Nu. 13:18; 26:54,56; 33:54; 35:8; Dt. 26:5; 28:38; 1 S. 14:6; Prov. 15:16); *rōb* (Lev. 25:16; Dt. 7:7; 28:62; Prov. 16:8); *harbēh* (2 K. 10:18; Eccl. 5:11[12]; Jer. 42:2; Hag. 1:6,9). In Ps. 37:16, the parallel noun is *hāmōn*, "abundance." In addition, the fundamental meaning of *m'at*, "little, few" as opposed to "much, many," emerges clearly in what is apparently a fixed expression put into the mouth of Jonathan: "For nothing can hinder Yahweh from saving by many or by few" (1 S. 14:6; cf. also Eccl. 5:11[12]).

The noun can be used absolutely as in Dt. 28:38: "You will gather little in," or in tandem with another noun, as in 1 S. 14:29,43: "a little of this honey." An intensification is expressed by the typically Isaianic expression *m'at miz'ār*, "a very little," i.e., a very little while (Isa. 10:25; 16:14; 29:17).

Although the noun is combined with *b'e*, "by," in 1 S. 14:6, and with *l'e*, "to," in 2 Ch. 29:34; Hag. 1:9, in the majority of instances it is used with *k'e*, "how." Here, too, the various semantic nuances of *m'at* emerge, since this combination can be taken temporally with the meaning "quickly, almost, just about, soon" (2 Ch. 12:7; Job 32:22; Ps. 2:12; 73:2 [here par. *k'e'ayin*]; 81:15[14]; 94:17; 119:87; Prov. 5:14; Cant. 3:4; Ezk. 16:47), plerophorically (*kim'at-rega'*) with the meaning "a brief moment" (Ezr. 9:8; Isa. 26:20), quantitatively with the meaning "few, little" (Isa. 1:9; perhaps also Gen. 26:10; 2 S. 19:37[36]; Ps. 105:12 par. 1 Ch. 16:19), or qualitatively with the meaning "little worth" (Prov. 10:20).

The verb exhibits the basic meaning "to be few, small."

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Idiomatic Expressions.* There were apparently several idiomatic expressions in Hebrew using *m'at*. They are consistently embedded in direct discourse. In 4 instances a guest expresses upon arrival the request: "Give me a little water to drink" (Gen. 24:17,43; Jgs. 4:19; 1 K. 17:10). The formulas of greeting probably also include Abraham's order that a little water be brought for washing his guests' feet (Gen. 18:4).

Yet another, similarly fixed expression seems to be that which refers to the brevity of life. Thus Jacob pronounces before Pharaoh: "Few and evil have been the days of the years of my life" (Gen. 47:9), and Job inquires: "Are not the days of my life few?" (Job 10:20); a similar wish is directed to the wicked, namely, that "his days be few" (Ps. 109:8).

Finally, mention should be made of the apparently popular idiomatic expression *ham'at min* + suffix/noun, "is it too small a thing for you (sg. or pl., your harlotries)" (Nu. 16:9; Job 15:11; Isa. 7:13; Ezk. 16:20; 34:18; without *min* in Gen. 30:15; Nu. 16:13; with *l'e* + suf. Josh. 22:17).

2. *Wisdom Language.* From this perspective the use of *m'at* in the language of wisdom is also not surprising. The stylistic device of comparison (*tōb min*, "better . . . than") is used in Prov. 15:16; 16:8 in connection with *m'at* and corresponding antithetical expressions: "Better is a little with the fear of Yahweh than great treasure

imminent conquest Yahweh promises that "little by little" (*m'at m'at*) he will drive out the inhabitants of Canaan (Ex. 23:30; Dt. 7:22).

Hos. 8:10 should be understood temporally, and refers to imminent judgment.⁵ In Ps. 105:12 par. 1 Chr. 16:19, one cannot determine unequivocally whether *kim'at* is to be interpreted temporally⁶ or quantitatively;⁷ for it is asserted that Yahweh did not allow the Israelites to be oppressed during the patriarchal period, since they were "still few in number (*kim'at*, 'had been in the land for only a short while' or 'were only a small group, a minority'), and were sojourners in it." In comparison with similar statements that also justify Yahweh's compassion and protection with reference to a lesser party,⁸ the latter alternative seems more probable.

Finally, brief reference should be made to Ps. 2:12; Job 32:22, where righteous behavior is prompted by the belief that God's wrath is quickly or easily inflamed, or that the creator God could soon put an end to Elihu.

2. *Quantitative Aspect.* The quantitative aspect of *m'at* emerges in the conclusion to Deuteronomy. One of the consequences of disobedience to the commandments is that Israel will sow much seed but gather little in (Dt. 28:38). Hag. 1:6 asserts the same thing, stimulating thereby the temple reconstruction. And Hag. 1:9 reveals the discrepancy between the people's high expectations and paltry results. Just as a smaller quantity is understood here in a general fashion as the consequence of curse, so are increase and multiplicity understood as the consequences of blessing (Ps. 107:38f.).

The theme of the increase or decrease of a people as the result of divine blessing or curse occurs relatively frequently. Yahweh's compassion toward the exiles is expressed in the fact that he does not diminish their number (Jer. 30:19; cf. 29:6). Although not uttered by Yahweh *expressis verbis*, the statement in the small historical credo nonetheless clearly refers to him, namely, that the patriarch sojourned in Egypt as a stranger with few men, and became a great nation (Dt. 26:5). In a reverse fashion, God's punishment consists in only a few men remaining from Israel, although it was once as numerous as the stars of heaven (Dt. 28:62; similarly Lev. 26:22). Applied to a foreign people such as Egypt, such divine judgment again means a reduction in number (Ezk. 29:15). In all these statements, however, a direct relationship obtains between quantity and quality. A great nation is "strong" (*'āšûm*, Dt. 26:5), while a lesser nation is so weak that it is no longer able to rule over others (Ezk. 29:15; also Nu. 13:18). Dnl. 11:23 asserts the unthinkable, namely, that someone with only a small people shall become strong.

Regarding Yahweh's attitude toward Israel within the context of Israel's size, two considerations are of importance. Even when not expressed by the root *m't*, the substance of, e.g., Jgs. 7:1-8 remains in effect: Gideon is to diminish drastically the number of warriors with him so that Israel will be unable to boast before Yahweh that it delivered

5. So Wolff, 144.

6. As does the Zürcher Bible.

7. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 306; Rudolph, 122.

8. Cf. II.2 above.

itself. This notion is then given a precise theological formulation in Dt. 7:7f.: not because Israel was the greatest nation did Yahweh choose it — since, in fact, it is the fewest (*hamm^e'at*) of all peoples — but because he loved Israel. Thus Yahweh's compassionate election can find no justification in Israel itself. Here the idea is carried to the extreme that was sketched, e.g., in the plea made by Amos that Israel be spared: "Jacob is so small" (Am. 7:2,5). The smallness of a people, like the helplessness of an infant, evokes the gentleness, concern, and caring love of its God. Such a notion is also expressed in the plea to the prophet Jeremiah made by the confused forces after the murder of Gedaliah, namely, that he pray to Yahweh on behalf of this remnant: "for there are only a few of us left out of many" (Jer. 42:2). This dependent clause again appeals to one's sense of compassion, either that of the prophet⁹ or of Yahweh himself.

Finally, statements concerning small quantity are also associated with notions of a remnant; here the idea of divine judgment can be reflected. When Isa. 16:14 asserts that the remnant of Moab will be "very few," this simultaneously implies complete weakness and subjection to contempt. Similarly, the announcement that the glory of Kedar will come to an end is explicated by the assertion that "the remainder of the archers will be few" (Isa. 21:16f.). The idea of the small remnant of Israel, however, despite the attendant reality of judgment, can nonetheless express an element of forbearance and preservation, and of Yahweh's steadfast love for his people, whose further history he will renew. Because Yahweh has left his people a few survivors, it is far better off than Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa. 1:9). The symbolic act Ezekiel is instructed to perform consists in taking only a small number of hairs from the final third of his shorn hair and beard, and binding them into the skirts of his robe (Ezk. 5:3), a reference to the preservation of a small remnant of people who will stay alive. And Jeremiah entreats Yahweh to correct him, although not to do so in anger, but rather in his divine moderation so that Yahweh not "bring him to nothing" (Jer. 10:24), i.e., he entreats Yahweh to preserve him and to keep him alive. Ezr. 9:8 renders this as *mihyâ m^e'at*, "a little reviving," the basis of which is similarly Yahweh's compassion.

3. *Much or Little as a Term for "Enough."* When one person gathers much nourishment but has nothing over, and the other gathers less but has no lack (Ex. 16:17f.), this is an expression of Yahweh's grace and compassion for the people wandering in the wilderness. "Little or much" thus points out that each receives enough from Yahweh. One receives what he or she needs. The same idea lies behind 1 S. 14:6: Jonathan is convinced that it is easy for Yahweh to help "by many or by few." 2 S. 12:8 recalls that Yahweh also generously compensates David: if that which you have already received were too little, Yahweh would add much more as well.

4. *Prayer.* Such references to small quantity are also embedded in prayers, laments, and indictments. Thus Moses cries to Yahweh: "They are almost (*m^e'at*) ready to stone

9. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 25,15–52,54. ATD, XXI* (81983), 368.

me" (Ex. 17:4). Similar formulations are found in Ps. 73:2; 119:87; Prov. 5:14: My feet almost stumbled, they (godless men) have almost made an end of me, I was almost in utter ruin. This reference to "almost" or "nearly" always expresses the conviction that God came to the petitioner's aid at just the right time (Ps. 94:17). And in the great prayer of confession the congregation asks that all its hardships not seem little to God (Neh. 9:32). Finally, knowing that the days of his life are few, Job asks at least that they be a bit brighter (Job 10:20).

5. *Accusations.* The interrogative *ham'at* represents a typical formulation expressing indictment and indignation. It expresses Israel's murmuring in the wilderness (Nu. 16:13), or is directed as an indictment against the company of Korah (Nu. 16:9), against those building an altar by the Jordan (Josh. 22:17), or against Job (Job 15:11). This figure of speech is also appropriated by Isaiah (Isa. 7:13) and Ezekiel (Ezk. 16:20; 34:18) in order to accuse the house of David of rebellion against God, the "unfaithful wife" of harlotry and child sacrifice, and the animals of the flocks of lack of consideration toward one another. The skeptical question "is it not enough" drastically evokes the enormous intensification of sinful behavior: not only rebellion against human beings, but even against God; not only harlotry, but even human sacrifice; not only eating the grass of the pasture, but treading down what is left over as well. This makes the indictment so grievous that no doubt can remain concerning the verdict. The interrogative formulation challenges the addressee to respond, who can but confirm and secure the indictment.

6. *Ps. 8:6(5).* Ps. 8:6(5) makes a special assertion. The dignity of human beings as the most excellent of God's creatures is rendered in the prayer assertion: "Yet you have made him little less than God" (*h̄sr [piel] m'e'at min*). Whether the sense is that "human beings have their station, given to them by God in creation, immediately below the heavenly beings,"¹⁰ or that, more likely, one must interpret the statement thus: "Thou hast made him lack but little of the divine,"¹¹ is in this context less significant, since here, too, *m'e'at* refers to something slight, little, infinitesimally small.¹² The LXX understands the expression temporally: *brachý ti* (cf. He. 2:7,9).

7. *Ezk. 11:16.* For the sake of completeness, let us refer in conclusion to Ezk. 11:16. Yahweh speaks: "Though I removed them far away among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries, yet I have been a sanctuary to them in small measure (*l'e'miqdaš m'e'at*)." Here *m'e'at* again evokes the element of hope. Although Israel had to go into distant exile, it is "not a place abandoned by God,"¹³ since there, too, Yahweh became a sanctuary to them, granting them thus his continued presence.

10. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 183.

11. H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974).

12. → חָסֵר *hāsēr*, V, 89f.

13. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 262.

The lesser element associated with such a sanctuary probably resides in the fact that such worship in a distant land was only a shadow of the services conducted in the Jerusalem sanctuary. Thus Yahweh's salvific will manifests itself in this expression even in the midst of judgment over his people, guaranteeing his loyalty in determining Israel's future.

Zobel

מַעֲיִם *mē'im*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Usage. III. LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The Hebrew term **mē'im*, "inner parts, entrails" (the absolute form is not attested in the OT; Modern Hebrew also attests the dual *mē'ayim*) corresponds etymologically to Aram. *m'ā'*, *m'ayyā'* (Syr. *ma'yā'*), Arab. *ma'y*, *mi'ā*, and Ethiop. *'amā'ūt* with the same meaning; an element of uncertainty attaches to the Akkadian form *amūtu*, "sheep liver, liver omen."¹

The word occurs 30 times in the MT of the OT, as well as once in Sirach. The distribution pattern of occurrences is unremarkable.

II. Usage. In some cases the word refers concretely to "entrails": Joab struck his sword into Amasa's body, causing the entrails to flow out onto the ground (2 S. 20:10); Joram is struck by a disease that causes his bowels to fall out (2 Ch. 21:15, 18f.). The reference can even be to the external part of the body, as in the descriptive song Cant. 5:14.

In an extended sense *mē'im* refers to what is filled with food, i.e., the "stomach": Ezekiel fills his stomach with the scroll, i.e., he eats it (Ezk. 3:3); on the day of the wrath of Yahweh the people are able neither to satisfy their hunger nor to fill their stomachs (Ezk. 7:19); Zophar says that the wicked person's food turns to poison in his *mē'im* (Job 20:14, par. *qereḥ*); Jon. 2:1f. (Eng. 1:17–2:1) is comparable: Jonah is in the *mē'im* of the fish. According to Nu. 5:22, the water of execration brings a curse into the *mē'im* of the woman.² In Ps. 22:15(14), *mē'im* refers to the inner parts of the body in general: "my heart is melted within my insides."

The term *mē'im* refers further to the body or to the inner parts of the body as the

mē'im. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*. *AnAcScFen*, B, 7/1 (1911); H. W. Wolff, "The Inner Parts of the Body," *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 63-66.

1. *AHw*, I (1965), 46; cf. Holma, 88. Concerning the topic in general, cf. F. Rundgren, "Semitische Wortstudien. 8: Ge'ez *'amā'ūt* 'Eingeweide,'" *OrSuec*, 10 (1961), 121-27.

2. → *בטן* *beten*, II, 98; cf. G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel שבע* "schwören." *Eine semasiologische Studie zum Eid im AT*. *BBB*, 56 (1981), 124-132.

seat of origin of a person, "the internal sexual organs."³ In this sense it often parallels *beten*, e.g., in Gen. 25:23: "Two nations are in your [Rebekah's] body (*beten*), and two peoples from your womb (*mē'im*) shall be divided"; Isa. 49:1: "Yahweh called me from the *beten*, from my mother's womb (*mē'im*) he named my name" (Yahweh's servant is appointed to his task even before birth; cf. Jer. 1:5⁴); Ps. 71:6: "Upon you I have leaned from the *beten* on; from the womb on (*mē'im*) you have been my protection" (cf. Ps. 22:10f.[9f.] with different vocabulary). Reference is often made to a son or heir who goes forth from the *mē'im* of his father (Gen. 15:4; 2 S. 7:12; 16:11; perhaps also 2 K. 20:18; Isa. 39:7 [conj.⁵]; Isa. 39:7, where 1QIs^a reads *mimmē* instead of *mimmē*). 2 Ch. 32:21 emphasizes how Hezekiah is slain by "his own sons" (*yēšî'ē mē'āw*). In Isa. 48:19, the terms *zera'*, "offspring," and *še'ēšā'ē mē'eykā* are parallel. Finally, Ruth 1:11 also belongs in this context: "Have I yet children in my *mē'im*?"

In the figurative sense *mē'im* refers to a person's inner parts as the seat of the emotions. Here it stands in 5 of 8 occurrences together with *hāmā*, "to surge, rush, get excited" (or *hāmôn*). The context can be that of love, as in Cant. 5:4: the bride is inwardly thrilled by her love for the groom; and in Sir. 51:21, where the relationship with wisdom is described in the terminology of love⁶ (the Hebrew text has "*yeh^emû mē'ay* like an oven," which leads to the reading represented by the Peshitta; the LXX presupposes the Hebrew text, although without "oven"). In other occurrences the reference is to divine compassion. Thus in Isa. 63:15 God is implored to look down from heaven, and the question is raised: "Where are the yearning of your heart and your compassion (*rah^amîm*)?" In Jer. 31:20, God characterizes Ephraim as his favorite son and says: "My heart is stirred; I will surely have mercy (*rah^m*) on him." In Isa. 16:11, we read: "Therefore my soul moans [or 'is agitated,' *hāmā*] for Moab, my *qereb* for Kir-heres." In one instance *hāmā* occurs not with *mē'im*, but rather with par. *lēb*, namely, in the temperamental outcry in Jer. 4:19: "*mē'ay mē'ay* [NRSV 'My anguish! My anguish!']! I writhe in pain! Oh, the walls of my heart! My heart [or 'soul']⁷ is beating wildly (*hāmā*); I cannot keep silent." This verse evokes Jeremiah's profound anguish in the face of the coming catastrophe.

In contrast, twice in Lamentations the verb is *h^emarmar*,⁸ and the verses employ several synonyms: "I am in distress (*šar-lî*), my soul is in tumult, my heart (*lēb*) is wrung within me (*b^eqirbî*)" (Lam. 1:20); and: "My eyes are spent with weeping (*kālû*), my soul is in tumult, my liver (*kābēd*) is poured to the ground because of the destruction of the daughter of my people" (Lam. 2:11). Both cases evoke the grief caused by the great catastrophe of the year 586. Yet another image is used in Job 30:27: the heart is in turmoil (*rth*) and is never still.

3. Wolff, 63.

4. L. Schmidt, "Die Berufung Jeremias (Jer 1,4-10)," *ThVat*, 13 (1975/77), 189-209, esp. 205f., suspects that the Judean ideology of kingship provides the background for this formulation; cf. already O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht. FRLANT*, n.s. 52[70] (1959), 57.

5. HAL, II (1995).

6. See H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 113.

7. See BHS.

8. → חמר *hmr* (V, 1-4).

alone. All occurrences are late: Ezekiel, Deuteronomistic history, Holiness Code, Priestly Code, Chronicler's history, Daniel (Prov. 16:10; Job 21:34 are difficult to date).

Words that accompany *mā'al* include *ḥṭ'*, *'āwōn*, *'āšam*, *mārad*, *mārâ*, and *rš'*.

III. LXX. The LXX does not have a consistent translation for *mā'al*, translating instead according to context. Thus the following paronomastic expressions are used for *mā'al ma'al*: *lanthánō* — *lēthē* (Lev. 5:15; Nu. 5:27), *plēmmelēō* — *plēmméleia* (Josh. 7:1; 22:16,20,31; Dnl. 9:7), *parapíptō* — *paráptōma* (Ezk. 14:13; 15:8; 18:24; 20:27), *adikéō* — *adikía* (Ezk. 39:26), *anoméō* — *anomía* (1 Ch. 10:13), *aphístēmi* — *apóstasis* (2 Ch. 28:19), *athetéō* — *athétēma* (2 Ch. 36:14), *paroráō* with participle (Lev. 5:21[Eng. 6:2]; Nu. 5:6; Nu. 5:12 even has *eán parídē autón hyperidoúsa*). When *mā'al* stands alone, it is also variously rendered by *adikéō*, *anoméō*, *aphístēmi*, and *athetéō*, as well as *apeithéō*, *asynthetéō*, and *hamartánō* (2 Ch. 12:2; Ezr. 10:2). The noun is rendered in several instances by *anomía*, and in isolated cases by *apostasía* and *apóstasis*, and by circumscriptions such as those in Nu. 31:16; Josh. 22:22.

IV. OT Usage. The act of *mā'al* can direct itself either toward human beings or toward God.

1. *Unfaithfulness Toward Human Beings.* The law concerning the so-called jealousy offering (Nu. 5:11-31) describes the presupposed case as follows: if a woman leaves her husband (*šāṭâ*) and acts unfaithfully against him (commits a *ma'al*) and has sexual relations with another man . . . (v. 12). Verse 27 describes the same case as *niṭmā'*, "to defile oneself," and as *mā'al ma'al*. The reference is thus to marital infidelity; from a different perspective the verb could be circumscribed by the expression "to deprive someone of something to which he is entitled."

The sacrificial laws of Lev. 5 require an *'āšām* offering when a person sins (*ḥāṭā'*) and commits a *ma'al* by deceiving another person in a matter of deposit or security (v. 21[6:2]). On the one hand, the person deprives someone of something rightfully his, and on the other hand he shows unfaithfulness. Nu. 5:6 seems to presuppose a similar case: when a person commits a sin (*ḥaṭṭa'î*), a *ma'al* against Yahweh, becoming guilty thereby (*'āšam*), he is to make restitution regarding the object which led to that guilt. Although strictly speaking this disloyalty is directed against a person, the act itself is simultaneously judged as disloyalty toward God. In contrast, in Lev. 5:15, which requires an *'āšām* offering, the *ma'al* is expressly associated with God when someone unwittingly (*bišgāgâ*) sins (*ḥāṭā'*) regarding any of the gifts consecrated to Yahweh (*qodšê YHWH*); even if this has occurred unwittingly, Yahweh nonetheless has been deprived of something rightfully his.

2. *Unfaithfulness Toward God.* This marks the transition to unfaithfulness toward God. A concrete example is found in Josh. 7:1: by misappropriating some of the devoted things (*ḥērem*), Achan deprives God of what belongs to him. This event is then recalled in Josh. 22:16,20,22 (here + *mārad*) and in 1 Ch. 2:7 (verb only).

Ezekiel uses the term *mā'al* in the general sense of religious disloyalty toward God.

מַעְלָל *ma'alāl* → עָלַל *ʿll*

מַעֲשֶׂה *ma'āśeh* → עָשָׂה *ʿāsâ*

מֶזֶז *mōš*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Usage.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The term *mōš*, “chaff,” is a primary noun corresponding etymologically to Arab. *mauṣ*, “straw.” It occurs 8 times in the OT, always metaphorically in poetical texts. The LXX usually translates it with *chnoús*, although occasionally with *ánthos* and *koniortós* (dust).

II. Usage. The metaphor derives from the practice of threshing. After threshing with the threshing sledge¹ the grain was winnowed onto the threshing floor, the wind blowing away the chaff and the seeds falling to the floor.²

The most extensive use of this metaphor is found in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:15f.): “Now, I will make of you a threshing sledge . . . you shall thresh the mountains and crush them, and you shall make the hills like chaff. You shall winnow them and the wind shall carry them away, and the tempest shall scatter them.” The objects “mountains” and “hills” do not really fit with the metaphor, which otherwise is used to refer to the destruction of the enemies. These mountains and hills are probably the same as in 40:4, i.e., obstacles standing in the way of the returning exiles. These obstacles are thus to disappear like chaff in the wind.

Isa. 17:13; 29:5, on the other hand, speak about the annihilation of enemies. The first passage describes the storm of nations against Zion; as soon as God intervenes, however, this storm collapses: “He will rebuke them, and they will flee far away, chased like chaff on the mountains before the wind and whirling dust before the storm.” The second passage also speaks of the hostile attack on Zion and its repulsion: “But the multitude of your strangers (NRSV ‘foes’) shall be like small dust, and the multitude of the ruthless like flying chaff.” Every attack against Zion will founder, the enemies will be blown away like chaff over the threshing floor when Yahweh intervenes in defense of his holy city.

Hos. 13:3 blends the metaphor of chaff with other imagery in its portrayal of

1. → דָּוָשׁ *dûš* (*dûsh*) (III, 182-86).

2. *AuS*, III (1933), 126-139.

I. Derivation, Meaning, Occurrences. The OT concept articulated in the various forms of *mš'* makes use of a common Semitic root which occurs as such or in a similar form in virtually all the older and more recent Semitic languages. An element of motion similar to that inherent in Heb. *mš'* also manifests itself in Ugar. *mgy, mš', mz'*,¹ "to come, come to someone, arrive at, reach to something," OSA *mṭ', mz'*, "to arrive," Arab. *mšy*, "to go away, depart," and Aram., Biblical Aram. *mṭ', mty*, "to come, meet, arrive at, reach to." The same is true of Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic,² Palmyrene, Mandaic, Ethiopic, Tigre, and Amharic. As a verb indicating condition, Akk. *mašû*, "to suffice, be enough,"³ probably does not belong together with the transitive Hebrew verb *māšā'*. One meaning attested everywhere except in Akkadian is "to find."⁴

The English equivalent "to find" constitutes the primary meaning of Biblical Heb. *mš'*, whence the multiplicity of semantic extensions attested in the OT can easily be derived. The element of movement already mentioned precedes the act of finding and to that extent is always implied. The occasional stronger emphasis on this element is a secondary manifestation from which one can frequently enough get back to the original meaning. The act of finding is the result of conscious effort or intentional endeavor, in a great many cases the result of seeking, as well as the result of unintentional encounter, of a chance discovery or meeting. The act of "seeking," which in connection with *mš'* is rendered in the majority of instances by → *בָּקַשׁ* *bqš* piel, less often by → *דָּרַשׁ* *drš* (or occasionally a verb of hoping or anticipation, → *קָוָה* *qwh* piel), should not be characterized as an oppositional or antithetical term, but rather as a corresponding or complementary term. The opposite is actually "to lose," "to have gotten lost," "to hide," and "to be hidden." The second semantic field of "to find" mentioned above (in the sense of unintentional finding) also presupposes an element of action or movement.

The root *mš'* occurs 449 times in the OT.⁵ The OT attests only verbal forms in the stem modifications qal (302), niph'al (140), and hiph'il (7). The distribution in the OT is widespread, with occurrences in almost every OT book (except Joel, Obadiah, Nahum, and Haggai). Even the Hebrew portion of Daniel attests 4 occurrences of *mš'*, while Biblical Aram. *mṭ'* occurs 8 times in Daniel. A certain concentration of occurrences emerges in the narrative texts (e.g., 56 times in Genesis; 38 in 1/2 Samuel; 41

Languages (Ramat-Gan, 1980), 18-25 [Heb.], LVI [Eng. summary]; R. Kümpel, *Die Berufung Israels: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Hosea* (diss., Bonn, 1973), esp. 18-32; H. Preisker, "εὐρίσκω," *TDNT*, II, 769f.

1. *WUS*³, no. 1627, 1634, 1649; *UT*, no. 1520, 1524; cf. M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job," *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. M. J. Gruenthaner Memorial Volume. St. Mary's Theology Studies*, 1 (New York, 1962), 57, esp. on Job 11:7ab.

2. *DISO*, 164; cf. J. Blau, "Marginalia Semitica II," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 2 (1972), 67-72.

3. *AHw*, II (1972), 621b.

4. Cf. *HAL*, II (1995), 714.

5. According to G. Lisowsky; 462 occurrences according to *KBL*³; 454 according to *THAT*; 455 according to A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the OT* (Jerusalem, 1983), 694-98.

in 1/2 Kings; 38 in 1/2 Chronicles) and in the Wisdom Literature (25 times in Proverbs; 17 in Ecclesiastes; 19 in Job; 9 in Canticles). Astonishingly few occurrences are found in the prophetic writings (most frequently in Jeremiah, with 26 occurrences; Jeremiah does, of course, contain extensive narrative passages). Heb. *mš'* is a commonly used term employed both in theological and in secular contexts. No special factors affecting its use are discernible. Depending on the context, a broad range of meanings emerges which can usually be traced back without much difficulty to the equivalent "to find." This is confirmed by the observation that the LXX translates the overwhelming majority of *mš'* passages with *heuriskein*, although one does encounter numerous additional equivalents as well.⁶ The Qumran texts also attest the use of *mš'*, with approximately 35 occurrences thus far (qal and niphāl).

II. Finding as the Result of Seeking. The story of Saul's accession as king in 1 S. 9:1–10:16 vividly illustrates the matrix of getting lost (or having become lost), seeking, and finding (or not finding). The asses of Kish, Saul's father, were lost (1 S. 9:3, *wattō'badnā*). He tells his son to go and look for them with the aid of one of the servants (*w^eqûm lēk baqqēš*, v. 3), whereupon the two pass through long stretches of land without finding what they are seeking (*w^elō' māšā'û*, v. 4). The element of movement preceding the actual finding is indicated verbally. This story portrays how Saul "meets up with" the "kingmaker" Samuel (circumscribed again with *mš'*⁷). The fact that the asses have nonetheless been found is repeated several times in the course of the story (1 S. 9:20, *kî nimšā'û*; cf. 10:2,16), a motif woven like a red thread through the narrative fabric. According to another version of Saul's accession, at Mizpah he is taken by lot, sought, but not found (1 S. 10:21, *mš'* niphāl). The OT often tells how someone is sought by others and is either found or not found: the spies by their pursuers in Josh. 2:22; the priests of David by Absalom's servants (2 S. 17:20); a young maiden for David, Abishag the Shunammite (1 K. 1:3, here as previously always with *bqš* piel and *mš'* qal); Elijah (on Ahab's orders) by Obadiah (1 K. 18:10,12); Elijah by members of the prophetic order after he is taken up to heaven (2 K. 2:17); the lover by the beloved (Cant. 3:1,2,4; 5:6, where seeking can be circumscribed by calling [*qr'*], and finding by answering [*'nh*]). Of course, besides persons, objects can also be the object of seeking and finding, e.g., the cup hidden in the brothers' "baggage" in the story of Joseph (Gen. 44:12, with *hpš* piel for "searching"; cf. the context), and the *t^erāpîm* Rachel steals and hides from Laban in the cycle of legends surrounding Jacob (Gen. 31:32–35, in v. 35 again *hpš* piel for "searching"). The harlot seeks and finds her lover as well as the path to him, unless Yahweh obstructs both, as in the case of adulterous Israel (Hos. 2:8f.[Eng. vv. 6f.]). In all these examples (which can represent many others), *mš'* is a common word that can be applied to a multitude of objects.

The metaphorical figure of seeking and not finding can proverbially refer to the fact

6. Cf. Preisker.

7. See IV below.

that a given danger is no longer a threat, or that God has eliminated it. This is the vision of salvation of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:12), according to which the adversaries and opponents of the chosen people of God will be put to shame (*bôš*) and become as nothing (*k'e'ayin*), *t'baqq'ešēm w'elō' timšā'ēm* (cf. the context), "you shall seek them but you shall not [be able to] find them [any longer]." Wisdom Literature ultimately views the *rāšā'*, despite his apparent well-being, as precarious and doomed to perish: "he will not be found" (Job 20:8; cf. Ps. 1:5).

That which is sought and then found can be a plethora of different abstractions, e.g., the *m'ēnûhâ* which Naomi's two widowed daughters-in-law are to seek and find in the house of the men they will marry (Ruth 1:9; in view of 3:1 the mother-in-law helps with the search). Cant. 8:10 might be referring to the same thing when it describes the ultimate union of the lovers as the bride "finding *šālôm*." According to Jer. 6:16, those persons will "find rest" in the theologically fulfilled sense who inquire about the proven paths to the good (*linṭibôt 'ôlām 'ê-zeh derek haṭṭôb*) and then walk in those paths. In inquiry, in asking about the good path, and in walking in that path those whom Jeremiah is addressing will find *margôa' l'napš'e'kem* (*miš'û* as the final in a string of imperatives, lit., "and find rest for your souls!" Jer. 6:16). The word of consolation to Baruch addresses his lament that he, Baruch, is unable to find rest (*m'ēnûhâ*) in the oppressive present (Jer. 45:3). What Jeremiah laments for Baruch as an individual, Lamentations laments for exiled Judah as a collective (Lam. 1:3). "Rest" is sometimes understood concretely as a "resting place" which is either found or not found. The dove flying around outside the ark finds no *mānôah* (Gen. 8:9 [J]). In contrast, in the judgment upon Edom the nocturnal demon Lilith will indeed (be permitted to) find a *mānôah* among the ruins of the fortresses and palaces (Isa. 34:14).⁸

In various figures of speech Wisdom Literature extols the wisdom and understanding (*hokmâ*, *t'ēbûnâ*) one seeks and finds (Prov. 3:13, *'ašrê 'ādām māšā' hokmâ*). Inclining one's ear to the sayings of wisdom, and heeding her words, means life for all who find them (4:22; cf. v. 21). Righteousness and truth are promised to those who find wisdom (8:9; cf. the context; wisdom herself is speaking in 8:35: *kî mōš'î māšā' hayyîm*;⁹ see also vv. 12 + 17). Wisdom will open the future (*'ah'arîṭ*) and grant well-being to a person, but that person must first seek her diligently (8:17, *šhr* piel) and "find" her (24:14). According to Elihu, Job's friends have obviously not found it in regard to Job himself (Job 32:13).

The abstractions attested as objects of *mš'* in the OT also include the solution to a riddle (Jgs. 14:12,18, *hîdâ*) and the answer to a question, however posed (Job 32:3, *ma'aneh*; see also v. 13, where "answer" is equated with *hokmâ*; cf. also Neh. 5:8, *māšā' dābār*, "to answer"). An even more general object is *tôb*, which can be found or missed; only the wise person, the person who keeps understanding (*šōmēr t'ēbûnâ*, Prov. 19:8), finds it; the *'iqqēš-lēb* does not find it, but rather falls to evil (Prov. 17:20). The objects found by the person who pursues (*rdp*) righteousness and kindness are

8. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*

9. *Qere*; see *BHS*.

passages, however, do suggest occasionally seeking a more appropriate translation for *mš'*. The intentional finding of one person by another can also be rendered as "to seek out," as might perhaps be the case in the angel's encounter with Hagar at the well in the desert (Gen. 16:7 [E]). The same might apply to the consciously arranged encounter between Elijah and Elisha (1 K. 19:19), in which context we might use the expression "to come across or meet a person." Elijah is sent by God to Ahab, and "seeks" the latter out in Naboth's vineyard (1 K. 21:20). Such conscious encounter between two persons can certainly also occur in the hostile sense. Cain, who has been driven from his field, laments that his existence is now threatened by every person who comes upon him (who encounters him) (Gen. 4:14,15 [J], *kol-mōš'î yahargēnî*). This refers first of all to the anticipated blood avengers from the slain person's family, but is then consciously expanded to refer to Cain's complete defenselessness in the face of every potential enemy after his banishment. The same expression is used once more in retrospect concerning the defeated people of God during the time of Nebuchadnezzar: "All who encountered them (in hostility) have devoured them" (Jer. 50:7, *kol-mōš'êhem 'akālûm*). During the conquest involving the tribe of Judah the "Judeans" come upon Adoni-bezek (*wayyimš'û*) and fight against him (Jgs. 1:5). The Chronicler's account of a battle between King Jehoshaphat and the Ammonites and Moabites uses *mš'* in the hostile sense (2 Ch. 20:16); the same applies to Jehu's battle against the Judean collaborators of Ahab (2 Ch. 22:8; the Deuteronomistic version in 2 K. 10:13 speaks only of a chance encounter between Jehu and the Judeans). Saul is astonished that David finds his enemy, namely, Saul himself, and nonetheless spares him (1 S. 24:20[19], *w'kî-yimšā' 'îš 'et-'ōy'êh w'sill'êh b'derek tōhâ*). Of course, an unintentional meeting with a personal counterpart can also ultimately be translated as "finding," though the expressions "to meet, encounter" also suggest themselves, e.g., for Jacob's servant, whom Jacob instructs how to behave if the servant should encounter Esau (Gen. 32:20[19]); or for the man gathering sticks on the sabbath day in the wilderness, whom the Israelites come upon and take into custody (Nu. 15:32,33); or, finally, for the Egyptian servant of an Amalekite whom David's mercenaries come upon and seize in the Negeb after the Amalekite raid upon Ziklag (1 S. 30:11). It is difficult to say whether Jehu's meeting with Jehonadab the son of Rechab occurred by chance, though the formulation in 2 K. 10:15 at least allows for this possibility. The same uncertainty attaches to the account of the designation of Jeroboam by Ahijah the Shilonite, who (by chance?) meets Jeroboam on the road outside Jerusalem and performs the symbolic act on him (1 K. 11:29). One might also imagine that Ahijah lay in wait and watched for Jeroboam (*wayyimšā' 'ōtô . . . badderek*).

This example leads us to a group of passages in which *mš'* is used the sense of an intentional, positive or neutral encounter with another person. As Saul and his servant are looking for the seer Samuel, who is to tell them where the lost asses are, they chance upon young maidens coming out of the city to draw water; the maidens advise them to go up to the city in order to meet the *rō'eh* (1 S. 9:11,13). The signs confirming Saul's designation by Samuel include meetings. In one instance Saul will himself encounter two men at Rachel's tomb, and in another instance three men going up to Bethel with sacrifices

will meet him at the oak of Tabor (1 S. 10:2,3). Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah set out to meet Jehu in order to ascertain why he is coming (2 K. 9:21).

V. Niphal “To Be Found, Detected, Caught.” In casuistic law *mš'* niphal is used in the sense of being detected or caught. The Book of the Covenant uses the niphal to describe the detection, finding, and seizing of a thief (Ex. 22:1,6,7[2,7,8]); according to the Deuteronomic version of the crime of kidnapping, *mš'* niphal is used to refer to the seizing of the thief, and in the recension of the Book of the Covenant for the discovery in the thief's possession of what has been stolen, Dt. 24:7; Ex. 21:16). In one of his judgment oracles, Jeremiah refers to the shame of the thief who has been caught and exposed (Jer. 2:26; cf. 48:27). According to Prov. 6:31, adultery is worse than theft. The thief who is caught can at least make recompense (sevenfold compensation); the adulterer cannot. Deuteronomy prescribes quite detailed regulations for marital law. Here, too, the point of departure is the adulterer who is “caught” (handed over, detected, circumscribed with *mš'* niphal) (Dt. 22:22). If a man lies with a virgin who is not betrothed and this becomes “known” (found out; v. 28, even the meeting with the young woman is described with *mš'* qal), he is to pay the usual brideprice and marry the girl. Nor can he ever divorce her. The expression “to be discovered,” “to be happened upon,” also occurs outside legal regulations, e.g., in the story of the five Canaanite kings who have hidden from Joshua and his victorious Israelite army in the cave at Makkedah and are discovered (Josh. 10:17, *nimšē'û*). Similarly, according to one Jeremianic judgment oracle Yahweh discovers *r^ešā'îm* among his people (Jer. 5:26), and according to another oracle he finds, as an expression of criminal activity on the part of the people, the blood of innocent poor people (on their hands, 2:34, perhaps following the LXX and Peshitta reading *b^ekappayik* instead of *biknāpayik*; see BHS). Furthermore, he uncovers *qešer* among the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Jer. 11:9). This passage is part of the Deuteronomistic discourse; following upon Jeremianic proclamation and picking up on prophetic forms of speech, it justifies with vv. 9 + 10 the following announcement of disaster (v. 11). The extensive, detailed oracle against Babylon contains a sentence foretelling that the former world power will itself also be “found,” and that it, too, will one day be “caught” and destroyed (Jer. 50:24, *nimšē'î*; the parallel term is *tpš* niphal; cf. v. 23).

VI. Qal and Niphal “To Be Present,” “To Be.” The verb *mš'* niphal is frequently used to refer to the presence or existence of a person, thing, or abstraction at a specific place or in a given situation (cf. Fr. *se trouver* and Ger. *sich befinden*). The qal occurs in this sense in only a very few instances. There is some doubt whether Josh. 2:23 belongs here. The spies sent out by Joshua return and report all that was there (*'ēî kol-hammōš^e'ôî 'ôîām*, where *mš'* still exhibits strong verbal characteristics, and *kōl* is the subject, lit., “what had happened to [encountered] them”). Yahweh's instruction to Ezekiel in Ezk. 3:1 is more unequivocal: “eat what you find” (*'ēî 'ašer-timšā' 'ēkōl*). The passages using the qal increase in number when one considers the figure of speech in which *yād^ekā* (your hand) is the subject of a form of *mš'*. This figure of speech expresses the authorization of action (which itself is to be freely chosen). Abimelech

References to the presence of “things” is equally frequent, generalized, and varied. The money necessary as payment to the seer “is found” in the hand of Saul’s servant (1 S. 9:8). Joseph gathers up all the money present in Egypt and Canaan in order to buy the stored grain in the time of need (Gen. 47:14). According to P voluntary contributions (*t^erûmat YHWH*, Ex. 35:5) were raised for equipping the tent of meeting and its worship service, the people bringing what they had with them (Ex. 35:22,23; cf. 1 Ch. 29:8; *mš'* with suffixed *'ēf*). David, fleeing from Saul, demands from the priest Ahimelech at Nob the holy bread to eat along the way, or “whatever else is at hand” (1 S. 21:4[3], *'ô hannimšā*). Hezekiah showed the Babylonians “all that was present” in his treasure house, armory, and storehouses (2 K. 20:13; cf. Isa. 39:2). Because of the Philistine monopoly on iron during the time of Saul, there were in Israel no swords or spears nor even a smith (1 S. 13:19,22).

Finally, abstractions can also be the references of *mš'* niph'al. Yahweh finds that revolt is present among the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Jer. 11:9, *nimšā'-qešer b^e . . .*), and is thus prompted to intervene. One characteristic of the time of salvation is that Zion will be comforted by Yahweh, its wilderness will be like the garden of Eden, and joy, gladness, praise, and thanksgiving will then be found there (Isa. 51:3). Neither will wild, ravenous beasts molest anyone, since they will not be present there (*šām*) (Isa. 35:9).

VII. “To Find, Deem, Evaluate, Judge.” The OT contains a series of passages in which *mš'* (qal = active; niph'al = passive) is used to designate the results of an investigation or evaluation. Here the term acquires declarative features. In most instances the reference is to the evaluation of circumstances, characteristics, and ethical qualities regarding certain people; in a few instances, however, objects or things are also the focus of the verb. Thus during the time of King Jehoshaphat the need for repairs (*bedeq*) was “found” regarding the temple, necessitating renovations (2 K. 12:6, *mš'* niph'al). After Joab’s campaign against the Ammonites, the Ammonite crown is placed on David’s head, who evaluates it with regard to its gold content and precious stones; the result is: “he found that it weighed a talent of gold . . .” (1 Ch. 20:2, *mš'* qal; according to the LXX possibly niph'al with regards to its weight: “its weight was found . . .”). An entire matter is investigated and found to be just as thought, e.g., the conspiracy discovered by Mordecai which Esther then makes known to the Persian king (Est. 2:23, *way^ebuqqaš haddābār wayyimmāšē*).

As already mentioned, one’s personal mode of behavior toward other persons, toward a collective, and finally also toward God, can be the object of investigation and evaluation. The falsely accused person knows that God will find nothing if he subjects the person to a thorough examination (Ps. 17:3, *bḥn*, *pqd*, and *šrp* are followed by *bal-timšā*). It is the ideal and desire of the righteous person that no evil (*rā'ā*) be found in him (1 S. 25:28, *mš'* niph'al with *b^e*), but that God find his heart to be faithful, as was that of Abram in the version of Neh. 9:8 in the historical summary from v. 6 on. Contexts are more concrete that take the loyalty of one person to another or to an entire group as the object of such investigation and evaluation. David’s loyalty to the Philistine king Achish of Gath is confirmed by the latter in the face of suspicions involving David’s participation in a

behalf of her people, which is threatened by *rā'â* resulting from Haman's pogrom (Est. 8:6). A summary term for the afflictions and hardships of the exodus and wilderness wanderings, and in general for the arduous ups and downs of history, is *lā'â*, which has come upon the people (Ex. 18:8; Nu. 20:14; Neh. 9:32, variously with *mš'* as predicate and an object in the form of a verbal suffix). The psalmist who has been delivered from fear and distress offers his song of thanksgiving in which he recounts his own catastrophe. "Snares of death" and the pangs of *š'ôl* "found" him (Ps. 116:3). In contrast, in Ps. 119:143 the misery of having been struck by *šar-ûmāšôq* is countered by the delight in God's commandments. Finally, Prov. 6:33 warns against adultery, which merely delivers the adulterer over to *nega'-w^eqālôn* (plague and dishonor will find him). Despite being summarized in an abstract negative term, the misfortune itself is then always concrete, e.g., in 1 K. 13:24; 20:36 in the figure of a lion which "finds" and kills the unfortunate person.

IX. Seeking and Finding God. The simple matrix of seeking and finding is also applicable to the relationship between human beings and God. Several passages portray this process from the perspective of the person who is seeking God. This expression is a characteristic element of Deuteronomistic discourse in Dt. 4, which assures us that that person will find Yahweh who searches after him with all his heart (*bqš* piel and *drš*, v. 29). The context speaks of idolatry, pointing out that Yahweh nonetheless does receive back the person who returns to him (v. 30). The announcement of good news in Jer. 29 is also indebted to Deuteronomistic preaching; appended to Jeremiah's letter to the exiles, it similarly assures that a person will find Yahweh if he, Yahweh, is sought with all one's heart (Jer. 29:13f., initially *mš'* in the qal, then understood as a tolerative in the niphal: *w^enimšē'tî lākem*, "and I will let myself be found by you"¹⁴). The preaching of the Chronicler also exhorts a person to seek Yahweh diligently, and promises (or confirms) that Yahweh will indeed let himself be found (1 Ch. 28:9; 2 Ch. 15:2,4,15). On the other hand, it threatens with rejection (*lā'ad*, "forever") the person who forsakes Yahweh (1 Ch. 28:9, *'āzab*). In the older literature, namely, in prophetic proclamation, the disaster attending all predictions of concrete historical and natural catastrophes consists (also as an intensification) in the fact that the Israelites will seek (out) Yahweh (with offerings at the sanctuaries), but be unable to find him (Hos. 5:6; Am. 8:12). In Amos, the *d^ebar YHWH* represents Yahweh himself as the object of this seeking and finding (or not finding; in both instances "seeking" is rendered by *bqš* piel; according to Jer. 15:16, Yahweh's words are there [found, *mš'* niphal] as a joy and consolation, indeed even as a source of strength and as food). Material deriving from the tradition of Deutero-Isaiah still focuses on this potentially futile search for Yahweh when it exhorts to seek Yahweh while he may still be found (Isa. 55:6). The parallel stich specifies this more closely by inviting its readers to call upon Yahweh while he is still near (*qārôb*; *diršû YHWH b^ehimmāš^eô*). Trito-Isaiah foresees for the

14. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45*. WMANT, 52 (1981), 15–17.

Hosea appropriates the substantive aspects of this tradition, i.e., for *mš'* the "salvific significance and necessity of an encounter with God for his (a person's) life."²⁵ Thus Yahweh's encounter with Israel is evaluated by the **מָשָׂא** formula on the one hand as deliverance from great distress, and on the other as promise and challenge.

Fabry

XI. Yahweh as Subject. Yahweh's response to Abraham's petition that Yahweh spare the righteous (*šaddîqîm*) of Sodom and Gomorrah from the imminent disaster about to overtake these places is that Yahweh will spare the city and its people if he does indeed find the number of righteous persons mentioned by Abraham (Gen. 18:26,28,30, *'im-ʿemšā' šām* or *bis^edōm*). Abraham's repeated plea is accompanied by the phrase *'ūllay yimmāš^e'ū šām*, and by an ever smaller number of righteous persons (Gen. 18:29,30,31,32, "suppose one finds there"). Yahweh's forbearance would be based on his forgiveness (*nś'*) for the sake of the righteous (*ba^aḥūrām*). Von Rad is probably correct in pointing out that this piece (Gen. 18:20-33) derives not from an older saga, but rather from the theological reflection of the Yahwist.²⁶

It is impossible to say whether a prophetic intercession preceded the divine directive in Jer. 5:1, according to which Jerusalem was to be traversed to see whether an *ʾiš ʾōšeh mišpāt m^ebaqqēš ʿmûnâ* might be found (*'im-timš^e'ū*), so that Yahweh might pardon Jerusalem (*w^eeslah lāh*). In any event, the passage strongly recalls Gen. 18. Ezk. 22:30 can probably be included in this series even though the formulation and point of departure are different. Yahweh is seeking a "mediator" who might stand in the breach before him for the land, which is itself characterized by injustice and violence, so that he, Yahweh, will not have to devastate it. Yahweh, however, finds none. Only once is direct reference made to what is said indirectly in the previous passages, namely, that Yahweh finds nothing but transgression (*ʾāwōn*) where he hoped to find faithfulness. This passage, however, sounds like a proverb (Gen. 44:16). It describes God's omniscience, before which even hidden and concealed transgressions are revealed (found). Furthermore, an element of divine judgment attaches to the context of this passage. Joseph's brothers genuinely believe that Joseph's missing cup is not in their baggage. Joseph, however, had it secretly hidden in Benjamin's possessions and then ordered these to be checked. The ones thus "convicted" exclaim: God has found out the *ʾāwōn ʾāḥādeykā*.

XII. Hiphil. The causative meaning "to cause to find" provides the point of departure for understanding the few hiphil occurrences within the OT (only 7 total). The individual contexts determine the more specific meaning of the verb, e.g., in the account of the various acts involved in the ceremonial sacrifices which according to Lev. 9 Aaron and his sons perform. Twice it is said that after Aaron slaughters the sacrificial animal, his sons bring ("deliver") the blood to him, which they have apparently

25. P. 31.

26. *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), *in loc.*

2. *Qumran*. The approximately 35 occurrences of *mš'* in the texts of Qumran offer nothing new regarding the understanding and use of the root. Here, too, *mš'* appears only in its verbal manifestation with the usual OT meanings. It refers to persons and objects finding or being found (CD 9:14-16; 1QM 15:11; 11QT 55:15; 60:17; 62:7), whereby "objects" actually usually refer to abstractions, the matter a person investigates and finds (1 QS 8:11, *dābār*), the *śēkel*, understanding (1QS 9:13), everything a person finds to do in the law of Moses (CD 15:10), or in general everything there is to do (1QS 9:20), fraud, transgression, deception and abominations on the tongue, where praise of God's righteousness should be on one's lips (1QS 10:22,23). However, the general indication that persons "are present" at a certain place is also attested as a meaning for *mš'* (1QS 6:2). The same applies to legal language, which stipulates that a person caught (found) to have made false statements concerning his property is to be subjected to certain rules of punishment (1QS 6:24; cf. the legal stipulations taken over from Dt. 22 concerning the case of "rape" in 11QT 65:9,12; 66:4,7,10; compare also 11QT 60:17 with Dt. 18:9-13). As a result of God's judgment, all "men of lies" and "seers of error" will no longer be present (i.e., will no longer be found; 1QH 4:20). The same will happen to the wicked (4QpPs37:2,7; cf. Ps. 37:10).

Wagner

מצבה *maṣṣēbā*

Contents: I. Term and Object. II. Ancient Near East: 1. General Considerations; 2. *nšb/yšb*; 3. Basic Meaning. III. OT: 1. Archaeological Evidence; 2. Literary Evidence; 3. Related and Substitute Terms; 4. Verbs; 5. Topography and Setting. IV. Theological Background: 1. Acceptance; 2. Theological Doubts: a. Gen. 28:18,22 and Related Texts; b. Land Conquest and Israel's Nationhood; 3. Rejection: a. Destruction of Pre-Israelite Cultic Massebahs; b. Prohibition; 4. Reflections in Deuteronomistic and Later Literature. V. Priestly Concerns Regarding the First Commandment.

maṣṣēbā. A. Aharoni, "Chronique archéologique: Lakish," *RB*, 76 (1969), 576-78; *idem*, "Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple," *BA*, 31 (1968), 2-32; W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT*, 4 (1957), 242-258; W. B. Barrick, "The Funerary Character of 'High-Places' in Ancient Palestine: A Reassessment," *VT*, 25 (1975), 565-595; *idem*, "What Do we Really Know about 'High-Places'?" *SEÅ*, 45 (1980), 50-57; G. Beer, *Steinverehrung bei den Israeliten. Schriften der Strassburger Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, n.s. 4 (1921); K. Budde, "Zur Bedeutung der Mazzeben," *OLZ*, 15 (1912), 248-252; J. V. Canby, "The Stelenreihen at Assur, Tell Halaf, and *Maṣṣēbôt*," *Iraq*, 38 (1976), 113-132; É. Cothenet, "Onction," *DBS*, VI (1960), 701-732; W. G. Dever, "Chronique archéologique: Gezer," *RB*, 76 (1969), 563-67; *idem*, *et al.*, "Further Excavations at Gezer, 1967-1971," *BA*, 34 (1971), 94-132; H. Donner, "Zu Gen 28,22," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 68-70; K. Elliger, "Chamanim = Masseben?" *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 256-265; J. P. Fokkelmann, *Narrative Art in Genesis*.

I. Term and Object. In the OT, the term *maṣṣēbā* refers to a stone erected by human hands, though not conceived as serving architectonic purposes. Since neither the form nor the function is ever specifically described, and at best can only be surmised, the word is for normal purposes not translated ("massebah").

Although the LXX uses the term *stēlē* in 32 of 36 instances to render *maṣṣēbā* (only in 4 instances does the word render Heb. *bāmā*), modern scholarship prefers to reserve the word "stela" for "artistically" worked columns or raised stone plates with inscriptions and/or pictures.¹

SSN, 17 (1975); V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt*. WMANT, 47 (1977); K. Gallig, "Erwägungen zum Stelenheiligtum von Hazor," ZDPV, 75 (1959), 1-13; C. F. Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," BA, 35 (1972), 34-63; *idem*, *Studies in Maṣṣēbôt* (diss., Harvard, 1969); R. J. Griffeth, *Maṣṣēbāh* (diss., Yale, 1938 [unavailable to author]); J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes*, Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT, 114 (1975); Z. Herzog, "On the Meaning of Bama in the Light of Archaeological Data," BethM, 73 (1978), 177-183 [Heb.], 254 [Eng. summary]; K. Jaroš, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaänischen Religion*. OBO, 4 (1974); C. A. Keller, "Über einige alttestamentliche Heiligtumslegenden," ZAW, 67 (1955), 141-168; 68 (1956), 85-97; K. M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (New York, 1967); A. Lemaire, "Les Inscriptions de Khirbet El-Qôm et l'Ashérâh de YHWH," RB, 84 (1977), 595-608; J. L'Hour, "L'alliance de Sichem," RB, 69 (1962), 5-36, 161-184, 350-368; *idem*, "Les interdits to'eba dans le Deutéronome," RB, 71 (1964), 481-503; G. Lilliu, "Betilo," *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, II, 72-76; V. Maag, "Zum Hieros Logos von Beth-El," *Asiatische Studien*, 5 (1951), 122-133 = *idem*, *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* (Göttingen, 1980), 29-37; Z. Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort?" BAR, 5/2 (1979), 24-35; T. Mettinger, "The Veto on Images and the Aniconic God in Ancient Israel," *Religious Symbols and their Functions*. SIDA, 10 (1979), 15-29; D. Neiman, "PGR: A Canaanite Cult-Object in the OT," JBL, 67 (1948), 55-60; M. Ottosson, *Temples and Cult Places in Palestine*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 12 (1980); J. Pirenne, "Sud-Arabe: QYFQF/MQF: De la lexicographie à la spiritualité des 'idolâtres,'" Sem, 30 (1950), 93-124; A. de Pury, *Promesse divine et légende culturelle dans le cycle de Jacob*. ÉtB (1975); A. Reichert, "Massebe," BRL², 206-9; M. Rose, *Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes*. BWANT, 106[6/6] (1975); G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes*. BWANT, 91[5/11] (1970); Y. Shiloh, "Iron Age Sanctuaries and Cult Elements in Palestine," in F. M. Cross, ed., *Symposia*. ZRFP, 1f. (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 147-157; E. Stockton, "Sacred Pillars in the Bible," ABR, 20 (1972), 16-32; *idem*, "Stones at Worship," AJBA, 1 (1970), 58-81; *idem*, "Phoenician Cult Stones," AJBA, 2/3 (1974/75), 1-27; S. Swiderski, *Megalithische und kultische Objekte Palästinas und die monotheistischen Ideen Israels im AT* (diss., Vienna, 1960); S. du Toit, "Aspects of the Second Commandment," OuTWP, 12 (1969, ed. 1971), 101-10; P. H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of "bāmā" in the OT*. SOTSMon, 3 (1974); R. de Vaux, "Chronique archéologique: Jérusalem," RB, 71 (1964), 253-58; P. Welten, "Stele," BRL², 321-25; *idem*, "Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," ZDPV, 88 (1972), 19-37; G. E. Wright, "Samaria," BA, 22 (1959), 67-78; W. Zimmerli, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des alten Israel," *Schalom. Festschrift A. Jepsen*. ArbT, 1/46 (1971), 86-96 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 2. ThB, 51 (1974), 247-260; *idem*, "Das zweite Gebot," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 550-563 = *Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 1. ThB, 19 (1969), 234-248; G. Zuntz, "Βαίτυλος and Bethel," "Classica et Mediaevalia," *Revue Danoise de philologie et d'histoire*, 8 (1947), 169-219.

1. Cf. Welten, 322; Reichert.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *General Considerations.* In the ancient Near East intentionally raised stones are much more widely attested in various forms and roles within religious and cultic contexts² than is the etymon *maṣṣēbâ*.³ Despite all variety, the common element is their erect position, the intentional result of human activity. They can be crude and unhewn, or more or less intentionally worked, with varying height and form, with or without inscriptions and pictures.

2. *nšb/yšb.* The verbal base *nšb* (including in Hebrew the root variation *yšb*⁴) is widely attested in the West Semitic sphere (including EA, as a loanword), though otherwise Akkadian does not even attest any derivations in any meaning related to the present discussion.⁵ The nominal forms (with or without preformative: *nšb*: Old South Arabic, Punic, and Aramaic; *nšyb*: Nabatean; *mšb*: Nabatean, Palmyrene, also Ugaritic, though in the sense of "frame, stand"⁶; *mšbt* and *mnšbt*: Phoenician and Punic; *nšbt*: Ugaritic, Arabic⁷) evoke the meaning of (physical) erection or erect position. Figurative usage does not seem to occur.

3. *Basic Meaning.* Pictures and inscriptions, i.e., stelae, offer especially promising clues to functional modes and concrete meaning. However, apart from the frequent uncertainty regarding interpretation, one cannot presuppose that all possibilities have been articulated, so that questions remain regarding these silent stones.

Regarding the stone massebahs without images or inscriptions attested in the OT, the ancient Near East offers three salient points: a) Although the concrete meaning of a given massebah depends on its actual founder (an office holder, a private individual, a collective), this original intention is not necessarily understood and transmitted without alteration later; that is, one must reckon with both conscious and unconscious reinterpretations and rededications. b) The fundamental intention or common denominator of all the various concrete functions might have been the visible perpetuation (or creation?) of an aspect that endures beyond temporary acts and events, applicable in many different dimensions, not least the religious and cultic. To this extent the massebah can portray or represent the worshiper, and not always (merely) the venerated deity.⁸ c) Similar to the evidence for writing and language, the many semantic possi-

2. Cf. M. Eliade, "Sacred Stones: Epiphanies, Signs and Forms," *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Eng. trans., New York, 1958), 216-238; H. Möbius, "Stele," *PW*, III A/2, 2307-2325; K. Latte, "Steinkult," *PW*, III A/2, 2295-2305.

3. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Die Religionen des Alten Orients. ATDSond* (1979), 190; *idem*, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1973), 159.

4. Cf. *HAL*, II (1995), 427.

5. Cf. *AHW*, II (1972), 755, 756f.; R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBL Diss.*, 32 (Missoula, 1978), 219f.

6. Cf. *WUS*, no. 1831; *KTU*, 1.65; *HAL*, II, 620.

7. Cf. Tomback, 193f., 219f.; *DISO*, 164, 184; M. Broshi, "מצבה," *EMiqr*, V (1968), 221-23.

8. De Pury, 2, 415.

bilities are concretized in varying contexts, contexts which can, however, be all the more puzzling the more complicated and archaeologically well-preserved they are. Approximately from the Middle Bronze Age onward one encounters stones lacking pictures or inscriptions grouped with one bearing a picture, with a statue, or with both (e.g., at Hazor⁹), with a horizontal stone plate (Hazor¹⁰), or with a stone cube (e.g., Gezer¹¹); several massebahs are often concentrated at a single locale (e.g., Byblos, Ashur¹²). Scholarship has hardly addressed the question of the external form of the individual massebahs.

III. OT. 1. Archaeological Evidence. As far as the environment of the OT itself is concerned, archaeological evidence is limited almost exclusively to inscriptionless massebahs.¹³ These were customary among the preceding Canaanite population of Palestine.¹⁴ From certain massebahs there emanated in fact a kind of sacral aura that endured beyond the various changes in understanding and perception. Thus massebahs were respectfully "buried" in Lachish, apparently toward the end of the 8th century, and perhaps during a reform as a result of which they were to be withdrawn from cultic usage as illegitimate objects.¹⁵ In Arad, in the Holy of Holies of the temple dating from Israelite times, a massebah with traces of paint was found *in situ* with others outside its original position.¹⁶ The cultic interpretation of two juxtaposed monoliths from the period of the monarchy found by K. M. Kenyon in northeast Jerusalem (on the slope of the Ophel)¹⁷ is disputed.¹⁸

2. Literary Evidence. The word *maṣṣēbā* occurs 34 times in the OT unequivocally in this form, and additionally once in the variation *maṣṣebet* in the absolute state (2 S. 18:18).

In Isa. 6:13 the terms *maṣṣebet* and *maṣṣabtāh* apparently have as little to do with massebahs¹⁹ as do several other rare nominal constructions from the same base (*maṣṣāb*, *muṣṣāb*, *maṣṣābā*, *miṣṣābā*).

9. Reichert, 208, pl. 49, 4.

10. *Idem*.

11. *Ibid.*, 207, pl. 49, 2.

12. Cf. Stockton, *AJBA*, 1 (1970), 58-81; Graesser, *Studies in Maṣṣēbôt*; *idem*, *BA*, 35 (1972), 34-63; Canby. Regarding the difficulties involved in the "Canaanite dogmatics," cf. Ottosson, 40.

13. Regarding the single small fragment of an inscription stela from Samaria, cf. Welten, 322; Wright, 77.

14. Cf. Reichert, 206-9.

15. Cf. Fritz, 84.

16. M. Wüst, "Arad," *BRL*², 11f.

17. Kenyon, 65, and pls. 33-35.

18. Cf. Ottosson, 105; B. Mazar, "Jerusalem," *EAEHL*, II (1976), 589; Graesser, *BA*, 35 (1972), 54f.; de Vaux, 253f.

19. Cf. the comms.; see also G. W. Ahlström, "Isaiah vi.13," *JSS*, 19 (1974), 169-172; contra F. F. Hvidberg, "The Masseba and the Holy Seed," *Interpretationes ad VT pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel NTT*, 56 (1955), 97-99; S. Iwry, "maṣṣēbāh and bāmāh in 1Q Isaiah 6₁₃," *JBL*, 76 (1957), 225-232.

3. *Related and Substitute Terms.* Related terms seem to be *ṣiyyûn*, “gravestone” (2 K. 23:17), a kind of signpost (Jer. 31:21) or funerary sign (Ezk. 39:15) that cannot be determined more specifically; *yād*, “monument” (1 S. 15:12; 2 S. 18:18; cf. 1 Ch. 18:3; Isa. 56:5). Apparently early, perhaps as early as the Yahwist²⁰ (see also Dt. 27:2,4), reservation and ultimately complete rejection resulted in an avoidance of the word “massebah,” which in given instances was replaced by other terms, above all by → אֶבֶן *’ēben* (Dt. 27:2,4; Josh. 4:9,20; 24:26-27; cf. Gen. 31:45), → מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbēaḥ* (Gen. 33:20; 35:1), *gal* (Gen. 31:46,48,51f.), *miṣpâ* (Gen. 31:49), perhaps by reading the ptc. *muṣṣāb* (Jgs. 9:6b; cf. Gen. 28:12). Other constructions are used for architectonic columns (with the possible exception of Ezk. 26:11) and for naturally occurring forms (e.g., Gen. 19:26: *nṣyb*). Attempts to interpret *miktāb*, *peger*, and *ḥammānîm* as massebahs can only be viewed as unsuccessful.

4. *Verbs.* Verbs with the meaning “to erect, set up” are used to indicate the standard vertical position effected by human beings as applied to every physical, naturally occurring, or artificial artistic form: especially the *figura etymologica* with *y(n)šb* hiphil (Gen. 35:14,20; 2 K. 17:10; cf. 2 S. 18:18), then also *rwm* hiphil (Gen. 31:45), *qwm* hiphil (Dt. 16:22; Lev. 26:1; cf. Josh. 4:9). Less characteristic verbs include *šym* (Gen. 28:18,22), *’sh* (2 K. 3:2), *bnh* (Ex. 24:4, probably only because of the [secondary?] zeugma with *mizbēaḥ*; cf. 1 K. 14:23 with the tripartite formulation *bāmôt ūmaṣṣēbôt wa’āšērîm*). The verb *ṭwb* hiphil suggests artistic formation (Hos. 10:1; cf. Mic. 5:12[Eng. v. 13]). Negative verbs refer to the crushing or comminution of hard and brittle material: *šbr* piel (Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Dt. 7:5; 12:3; 2 K. 18:4; 23:14; 2 Ch. 14:2[3]; 31:1; Jer. 43:13), *ntš* (2 K. 10:27), *krt* hiphil (Mic. 5:12[13]), *yrd* (Ezk. 26:11: to fall over); defacement: *šdd* poel (Hos. 10:2); or probably removal in general: *yš’* hiphil (2 K. 10:26), *swr* hiphil (2 K. 3:2).²¹ Any stone (*’ēben*) can serve as the material (Gen. 28:18,22; 31:45; cf. 35:14; Jer. 2:27; 3:9).

5. *Topography and Setting.* Except in those exceptional cases of what are better described as secular signs (such as Absalom’s personal monument in the “King’s Valley” [2 S. 18:18; cf. 1 S. 15:12] or Rachel’s tomb [Gen. 35:20]), massebahs in stories and other accounts are located at already existing sanctuaries, where they function less as the basis or expression of that sanctuary’s fundamental holiness, than as documentation of a concrete (additional) dedication; such is the case at Bethel in the Jacob narratives (Gen. 28:18,22 and ancillary references, cf. v. 11), the temple in Samaria (2 K. 10:26; cf. 3:2), and in the vicinity of Jerusalem (2 K. 23:14). In given instances massebahs are mentioned after altars (Ex. 24:4; Hos. 10:1f.; Isa. 19:19; cf. Dt. 16:22) or (from the hand of the Deuteronomist) at the end of a tripartite series along with the Asherim (Ex. 34:13; Dt. 7:5; 12:3). Probably as a result of the uncomfortable fact that altars maintained their legitimacy in Israel, and were not simply to be dismissed

20. Cf. de Pury, 2, 557 and *passim*.

21. On *šrp* in 2 K. 10:26, cf. J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (1970), 558 (1977).

or condemned completely (cf. 1 K. 19:10,14), they were replaced by the term *bāmôt* and incorporated into the not quite logical series *bāmôt ûmaṣṣēbôt wa'āšērîm* (1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 18:4; cf. 23:13f.).²² Hence in this sort of fixed expression the *bāmôt* does not necessarily indicate the actual location of the massebahs (cf. 2 Ch. 14:2[3]; 31:1, and the other expression "on [every] mountain/[high] hill and under [every] green tree": 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10; cf. Dt. 12:2). The double expression *maṣṣēbôt wa'āšērîm* occurs only once (2 K. 17:10). The attitude of condemnation is especially emphasized in later texts by the proximity to consistently despised or forbidden cultic symbols: *pesel/*pāsîl* (Dt. 7:5; 12:3; Mic. 5:12[13]), *ʿēlîlîm*, and *ʿēben maškîṭ* (Lev. 26:1).

IV. Theological Background. The change attested here in use and theology regarding the massebahs remains unclear and uncertain. It does not seem likely that we are dealing with a clearly differentiated sequence of developments; differing, even contradictory notions can coexist.

1. *Acceptance.* In the older traditions, the legitimacy of massebahs is not called into question. Jacob marks and honors Rachel's grave with a massebah (Gen. 35:20 E; cf. 2 S. 18:18). The massebah erected by Jacob marks the place of encounter with YHWH (Gen. 28:11-22), an encounter both rich in consequences and richly commemorated (cf. Gen. 31:13; 35:24) and that forever lends significance to the location; the massebah functions as a perpetual proclamation of the place's association with God.²³ Even the ardent Yahwist Hosea counts massebahs among the cultic symbols whose temporary removal is to prompt repentance among the people (Hos. 3:4; on 10:1f. see discussion below). In the late period the positive perception occasionally resurfaces in view of the coming age: "In that day there will be an altar to Yahweh in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a *maṣṣēbâ* for Yahweh at its border. It [probably generic, the subject is not clear — probably massebah and altar] will be a sign (*ʾôṭ*) and witness (*ʿēd*) to Yahweh . . . he will send them a savior (*môšîaʿ*) . . ." (Isa. 19:19f.). One recalls the altars built by the patriarchs at the occasion of epiphanies, not for the purpose of sacrifice, but rather probably as enduring signs.²⁴ In contrast: At the defeat of the Egyptians the destruction of their cultic places includes the "massebahs," obelisks of Beth-shemesh (Heliopolis) (Jer. 43:13).²⁵ When no questions of faith arose, perhaps *yšb* hiphil was left unchanged and without commentary (Gen. 35:20 E; 2 S. 18:18; cf. 1 S. 15:12; 2 S. 18:17; 2 K. 17:10 is condemnatory from the outset).

2. *Theological Doubts.* Texts reflecting traditions which in and of themselves are neutral toward massebahs nonetheless betray a certain reservation and independence on the part of their final redactors.

22. → *במה* *bāmâ* (*bāmāh*), II, 142.

23. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 459.

24. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BK, XI/2 (1978), 727-746.

25. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT, XII (1968), 258f.

a. *Gen. 28:18,22 and Related Texts.* In the most extensive passage in the Jacob tradition, Gen. 28:18,22 (E?), the nonspecific verb *šym qal* is used in reference to the massebah, just as in v. 11 (E) and 18 it is used in the non-cultic context for *m^era^ašōtāw*. Furthermore, v. 11 underscores the fortuitous, unintentional nature of this choice: *mē'abnē hammāqôm* (usually *lqh 'eben*: Gen. 31:45; Josh. 24:26; cf. Josh. 4:3,5; 1 K. 18:31; 2 S. 18:18). Any possible sacral associations (incubation) are thus more likely weakened or averted. The contradiction of this tendency immediately thereafter is only apparent: *wayyišōq šemen 'al-rō'sāh* (28:18b). Although this is the only such act performed on an object outside the tent precinct, in contradistinction with P (*mšh*: Ex. 30:26-33; Lev. 8:10f.; Nu. 7:1; cf. Dnl. 9:24b), it is not understood as an act of anointing,²⁶ something which, in contrast, is unequivocally the case in Gen. 31:13 (secondary).²⁷ Interpretations which likely accrued gradually remained in various initial stages. The *bêt 'ēlōhîm* is according to the stelae of Sefire²⁸ probably not a temple structure, but more likely the massebah itself as a kind of indirect symbol of the deity, or more precisely: the deity's earthly dwelling place. If the "house of Elohim" — which is certainly possible — is yet a part of the protasis, the "conditions" of the vow, and the final clause commences only with 22b, then it follows that the real significance of the massebah emerges only in the salvation that has been petitioned and granted, similar to the way Jacob anticipates in 21b that Yahweh will prove to be Elohim (cf. Gen. 17:7).²⁹

In Gen. 35:14 the syntactically repetitious *maṣṣebet 'eben* sounds like a warning against Asherim and images made of wood (Jgs. 6:26; Isa. 45:20) and evokes the notion of an altar made of stones (Ex. 20:25; Dt. 27:5f.; 1 K. 18:31). This is also suggested by the additional mention of the drink offering: *wayyassēk 'āleyhā nesek*. Though this does not constitute a rite of consecration, the altar and making of the "covenant" are its most frequent locus.³⁰ (Concerning the altar in place of the massebah cf. Gen. 33:20; 35:1,7; Josh. 22:10-34.) In a manner somehow contrary to the context, the massebah itself does not receive a name; only "the place" does (Gen. 28:19; 35:15; cf. v. 7). With this gesture the final redaction places the sanctuary as such at the center of attention, perhaps as a corrective to any unwelcome overestimation of the massebah.

b. *Land Conquest and Israel's Nationhood.* Along with writing and the altar, massebahs play a role in cultic events in which Israel's special relationship with God is portrayed or commemorated. This is expressly the case only at Sinai: "And Moses wrote all the words of Yahweh . . . and built (*wayyibēn*) an altar . . . and twelve massebahs, according to (*l'*) the twelve tribes of Israel." The massebahs are incongruous with the verb and are not mentioned again in the course of the narrative, and thus probably constitute a learned requisite, commemorative stones corresponding to the

26. → *פצ'* *yāṣaq*, VI, 255f.

27. Cf. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 492.

28. KAI, 223 C, 2/3,7,9/10; cf. Donner.

29. Fokkelmann, 67-70; Keller, 166.

30. Cf. O. Michel, "σπένδω," *TDNT*, VII, 531-33.

3. *Rejection.* Massebahs are not only reinterpreted, neutralized, or appropriated linguistically and theologically in this fashion, they also encounter rejection (as early as pre-Deuteronomic writings).

a. *Destruction of Pre-Israelite Cultic Massebahs.* In connection with the land conquest, several older texts in the Pentateuch demand the destruction of the massebahs of the country's previous inhabitants (Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Dt. 7:5; 12:3). Most recently, scholars consider Ex. 34:13 (perhaps Deuteronomistic?) to be the earliest witness of this sort: *kî 'et-mizbēhōtām tittōšûn w'et-maṣṣēbōtām t'sabbērûn w'et-'āšērāw (!) tikrōtûn.*³⁸ This stark tripartite formula is a result of pragmatic considerations along with the general prohibition against social contact (*b'rîṭ*), since such contacts would be a temptation and thus a threat to the exclusive worship of Yahweh (Ex. 34:12,14-16).³⁹ The massebahs are to be destroyed as a Canaanite cultic requisite just like altars and Asherim. The prohibition against "molten gods" (Ex. 34:17; cf. Lev. 19:4) is independent and does not constitute an argument for interpreting the massebahs as icons. Ex. 34:13 thus does not contain any elements describing the massebahs more specifically.

In contrast, in Ex. 23:24a the words with which Ex. 20:5a prohibits the worship of such forbidden images (20:4) are addressed directly to "their [the previous inhabitants'] gods" (*hištaḥ'wâ* and *'bd hophal* in the same order), thus subsuming "other," foreign gods and images under the same rubric as far as actual cultic practice is concerned.⁴⁰ The comparison *lō' ta'āseh kema'āšêhem* (Ex. 23:24aβ) might be intentionally construed for multiple interpretation regarding cultic practices and be focusing especially on images,⁴¹ whether appropriated from others or from one's own manufacture.⁴² This perspective also applies to what follows. The unique *kî hārēs t'hār'sēm* (Deuteronomistic?) refers via *ma'āšêhem* to *'lōhêhem*.⁴³ Thus "their massebahs" at the conclusion of the verse (*w'sabbēr t'sabbēr maṣṣēbōtêhem* [Deuteronomistic?], cf. Ex. 34:13) also includes the massebahs of foreigners, since there really are no others, not even if they have been used or manufactured by the Israelites themselves. They are mentioned as the only detail presumably because they were not only easily "set up," but one perceived in them a particular affinity to one's own graphic representation of the deity. This iconic aspect, clearly discernible over against the previously mentioned texts, fundamentally excludes massebahs by alluding to Ex. 20:3-5, not just from the perspective of socio-religious inappropriateness (cf. Dt. 12:2,30).

In Dt. 7:5, a reworking⁴⁴ of Ex. 34:13, the substantively unaltered trio addressed by the commandment of destruction (altars, massebahs, Asherim) has been expanded by a fourth member: "And you shall burn their graven images with fire." This is hardly

38. Cf. Halbe, 116-18; a different view is taken, e.g., by Jaroš, 28.

39. Cf. Schmitt, 24-30.

40. Cf. P. Welten, "Bilder II: AT," *TRE*, VI (1980), 520f.

41. Cf. G. Beer, *Exodus. HAT*, III (1939), 120: "Nor shall you imitate their idols."

42. Cf. Halbe, 490, 491, n. 20.

43. Cf. Zimmerli, *ThB*, 19 (1969), 238-246.

44. Pre-Deuteronomistic according to Halbe, 112; cf. in contrast Jaroš, 31.

motif: *ʾanî YHWH ʾēlōhēkem*. The prohibition is thus directing itself against impermissible cultic liberties. Only in this rhetorical context is the massebah this closely associated with the graven image⁴⁹ under the auspices of a single verb, and also associated even more clearly with the sphere of graphic representation through the final member (*ʾēben maškîṭ*⁵⁰). Whatever specific historical events might have caused the massebah to acquire its bad reputation, here it is subjected to the same verdict as is the worship of graven images and foreign gods (cf. Mic. 5:12[13]; Hos. 10:1f.).

4. *Reflections in Deuteronomistic and Later Literature.* Although the appropriation of this prohibition into Deuteronomy (16:22; Lev. 26:1) may well be a symptom of justified apprehension, the older formula does exhibit a certain theoretical character. In any event, despite such rejection the massebahs do not occupy the central position in Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic or later criticism. Rather, they are actually not mentioned that often. As far as specifics are concerned, although Ahab is accused of erecting a massebah to Baʿal, this accusation is actually only made retrospectively at the reform of his son Jehoram (2 K. 3:3; cf. 1 K. 16:32f.; 2 K. 21:3). Only Jehu is reported, in an independent, non-formulaic remark, of having destroyed the “massebahs of the temple of Baʿal” (2 K. 10:26f.). For the rest, massebahs appear in the summaries, apparently incorporated into the older, threefold, expanded and accommodated formula (1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:9f.; 18:4 and 2 Ch. 31:1; 2 K. 23:13f.).⁵¹ The massebah is not mentioned in 1 K. 15:12, in contrast to the parallel passage 2 Ch. 14:2(3). Even one such as Josiah is tolerant when the cult is not threatened (*šiyyûn*, 2 K. 23:17f.; cf. Gen. 35:20; 2 S. 18:18). Archaeological evidence (in Arad and Lachish) suggests that in reality it may not even have been the massebahs themselves that were targeted; rather, the entire cultic site (*bāmâ*) was to be defiled and made unsuitable for any cult, be it Canaanite (syncretistic) or that of Yahweh.⁵²

V. Priestly Concerns Regarding the First Commandment. The question arises concerning just why the massebahs were ultimately done away with, in principle from the time of the Deuteronomistic writing, and in reality no later than the postexilic period; this was not the case, e.g., regarding altars, which were, after all, closely related to them (though cf. Jgs. 6:25f.). Although their association with Yahweh is positively established, e.g., by Jacob (Gen. 28:11-22), so also is that with Baʿal (2 K. 3:2; 10:26f.). The earlier openness disappeared probably as a result of the Yahwistic reaction to the experience of a very real amalgamation with the Canaanite cult. The occasion was thus probably quite pragmatic. A particular inner proximity to Baʿal, e.g., as a specifically or emphatically masculine symbol, is attested neither by the (formulaic) proximity to the Asherim (1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10; 18:4; 23:14)⁵³ nor by the unprecedented expres-

49. → פסל *pesel*.

50. Cf. HAL, II, 641.

51. Cf. III.5 above.

52. Cf. Rose, 187-192; Vaughan, 12; Boyd Barrick, *SEA*, 45 (1980), 56.

53. → אשרה *ʾāšērâ* (*ʾāshērāh*), I, 443f.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The derivation of the word *maššâ* from the root *mšš*, "to suck,"¹ in the sense that *maššâ* refers to something "which is, as it were, sucked, i.e., eagerly or gladly eaten,"² can hardly be maintained, not least because of the rather distant semantic detour involved. Associations with Heb. *mšh*, "to press or drain out," or with Arab. *muzz*, "sourish, acidulous," *mazza*, "to suck," or Ethiop. *maḍaḍa* (cf. Arab. *maḍaḍ*, "sour milk"), "to drink sour milk," are all "merely expedients designed to aid the word in somehow finding a Semitic father."³ In contrast, one can hardly deny that some connection exists between Gk. *máza* (Hellenistic *máza*, Megarian *mádda*), "barley dough, barley bread/cakes," and Heb. *maššâ*.⁴ However, rather than Gk. *máza* representing a Semitic loanword,⁵ it is more likely that Heb. *maššâ* was borrowed from the Greek,⁶ unless a word from Asia Minor or of Hurrian origin provided the point of departure for both the Greek and the Hebrew.⁷

2. *Occurrences.* The terms *maššâ* and *maššôt* occur altogether 54 times in the OT. In the singular *maššâ* occurs only in Lev. 2:5 in the general sense referring to the regulation that the cereal offering may not contain leaven, and Lev. 8:26 (twice) in the expression *ḥallat maššâ*, "an unleavened cake," and Nu. 6:19 next to *r^eqîq maššâ*, "a thin unleavened wafer." The majority of occurrences (24 total) can be attributed to P. The expression *ḥag hammaššôt* in reference to the feast occurs 9 times. The verb *ʾākal* occurs 18 times in connection with *maššôt*.

Thus far, the Qumran writings attest *maššâ/maššôt* only in the Temple scroll in 3 passages (11QT 15:9; 17:11; 20:12).

(1970); H. G. May, "The Relation of the Passover to the Festival of Unleavened Cakes," *JBL*, 55 (1936), 65-82; O. Michel, "Azyma," *RAC*, 1, 1056-1062; J. Morgenstern, "The Origin of *Maššoth* and the *Maššoth*-Festival," *AJT*, 21 (1917), 275-293; E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal*. *BWANT*, 107[6/7] (1975); S. Ros Garmendia, *La Pascua en al AT. Biblia Victoriensia*, 3 (1978); L. Rost, "Massoth," *BHHW*, II (1964), 1169f.; *idem*, *Studien zum Opfer im alten Israel*. *BWANT*, 113 (1981); G. Sauer, "Israels Feste und ihr Verhältnis zum Jahweglauben," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 135-141; J. Schreiner, "Exodus 12,21-23 und das israelitische Pascha," *Festschrift W. Kornfeld*, 69-90; J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70*. London Oriental Series, 12 (1963); C. Steuernagel, "Zum Passa-Maššotfest," *ZAW*, 31 (1911), 310; B. N. Wambacq, "Les Maššôt," *Bibl*, 61 (1980), 31-54; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, 1927), 82ff.; H. Windisch, "ζύμη, ζυμός, ἄζυμος," *TDNT*, II, 902-6; F. Zeilinger, *Das Passionsbrot Israels* (diss., Graz, 1963); P. Zerafa, "Passover and Unleavened Bread," *Ang*, 41 (1964), 235-250.

1. Still advocated by E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; 6.⁷1937), s.v., and *BDB*.

2. So König.

3. Beer-Holtzmann, 21.

4. Cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Indogermanische Bibliothek*, ser. 2, 2 (Heidelberg, 1970), II, 158f.

5. So E. Assmann, "Zur Vorgeschichte vom Kreta," *Philologus*, 67 (1908), 199.

6. So C. H. Gordon, "Homer and Bible," *HUCA*, 26 (1955), 61; "The Rôle of the Philistines," *Antiquity*, 30 (1956), 24.

7. Cf. Rost, *Studien zum Opfer im Alten Israel*, 19, n. 8.

(*sal hammaṣṣôt*, Ex. 29:23; Lev. 8:2,26; Nu. 6:15,17 next to simple *sal* Ex. 29:3[twice], 32; Nu. 6:19) standing before Yahweh can be viewed as a permanent fixture in the later cult even if more specific information is lacking.¹² From this basket the priest takes the bread and places it into the hands of the priestly candidates in order to complete the wave offering before Yahweh.

Finally, the Nazirite regulations in Nu. 6 also emphasize that the cereal offering required among the offerings for consecration is to be a basket of unleavened cakes and unleavened wafers (Nu. 6:15). As was the case with the priestly consecration in Lev. 8 par. Ex. 29, explicit reference is again made to the basket in which the bread is to be brought. The cakes and wafers are precisely defined with the same formulations as in Lev. 2:4 (also 7:12).¹³

The occurrence of *maṣṣôt* in 2 K. 23:9 is difficult to interpret and thus disputed. According to 2 K. 23:9a, the former priests of the high places are not admitted to sacrificial service in the Jerusalem temple. The following clause (v. 9b), *kî 'im- 'āk' lû maṣṣôt b' tōk 'ahêhem*, "but they ate unleavened bread among their kindred," presents a variety of interpretative difficulties. It is hardly the case¹⁴ that the priests of the high places, just as they were not permitted to participate in the sacrificial services, also had to stay "to themselves," *b' tōk 'ahêhem*, for meals. Similarly off the mark is the interpretation of *b' tōk 'ahêhem* in the sense of "among their previous fellow citizens," i.e., "at their former residences,"¹⁵ since "to eat *maṣṣôt*" is not the equivalent of "to eat bread" in the sense of "to live" (cf. Am. 7:12). Since *maṣṣôt* did not constitute the priests' normal food, nor even an essential part of it, one suspects that 2 K. 23:9 constitutes an observation originally belonging to the portrayal of the Passover celebration in 2 K. 23:21ff. indicating that although the priests of the high places indeed were not admitted to altar service, their participation in the Passover Festival was viewed as a confession of faith to Yahweh;¹⁶ or that v. 9b is pointing out that the priests of the high places had to celebrate "the Passover Festival among and in the same way as the lay people with whom they had come."¹⁷ If one prefers not to take v. 9b as a displaced text referring to the Passover celebration, then it seems likely that this statement is to be viewed as a reference to the regulation of the livelihood of the unemployed rural priests. The suggestion that one must thus repoint *maṣṣôt* to *miṣwôt* with reference to Neh. 13:5, where the tithe for the Levites is called *miṣwat hal' wîyim*, raises doubts because *miṣwôt* or *miṣwâ* cannot be used in connection with the verb *'ākal*,¹⁸ and because in Neh. 13:5, too, the text probably should be emended with the Vulg. (*partes Levitarum*) to *m' nāyôt*. Reading *m' nāyôt* instead of *maṣṣôt* in 2 K.

12. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. HAT, IV (1966), 109.

13. Cf. D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1, bis 10,10*. BZAW, 120 (1970), 91.

14. Cf. O. Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige*. KEHAT, IX (2¹⁸⁷³), 441f.

15. Cf. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889, repr. Osnabrück, 1967), 236f.

16. Cf. R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*. HKAT, V (1900), 301f.; A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige*. EHAT, IX/2 (1912), 345.

17. So H. Schmidt, *Die grossen Propheten*. SAT, II/2 (2¹⁹²³), 177.

18. Cf. B. Stade and F. Schwally, *The Books of Kings*. SBOT, IX (1904), 294.

of the week attested by Yahweh as the Lord of work and rest. The establishment of the "day after the Sabbath" (Lev. 23:11), i.e., the first day of the week, as the beginning of the festival week is probably not part of the original stipulations. However, after this fixing of the seven-day *maššû* festival the feast itself coincided exactly with one week. Later praxis in fact relinquished this connection between the festival and the single week and oriented itself according to the date of the Passover.

After these two festivals had become pilgrimage festivals (at least since Deuteronomy and the reform of Josiah), it seemed plausible to combine the Passover with the *maššû* festival. The *maššû* festival is explicitly called *ḥag* in Ex. 34:18; 23:15; Lev. 23:6; Dt. 16:16; 2 Ch. 8:13; 30:13,21; 35:17; Ezr. 6:22. However, it is noteworthy that according to Dt. 16:7 one's presence at the sanctuary is required only for the Passover, but not for the *maššû* festival. The older prescription requiring the eating of unleavened bread at the Passover (Ex. 12:8) accommodated the combination of the two festivals.

After in this way the secondary calendric dating of the beginning of the *maššû* festival on the fifteenth day of the first month was established,²² it was inevitable that difficulties would arise if as before one insisted on maintaining the connection of the *maššû* festival with the single week (cf. Ex. 23:15; 34:18; and Ex. 12:16; Dt. 16:8; Lev. 23:6,8). In interpreting the expression *mimmoh'rat ḥaššabbāt* (Lev. 23:16) the rabbis availed themselves of the understanding of *šabbāt* here as "festival day," namely, as the first day after the Passover night, while the Boethusians (*bytwsyn*) took the expression literally and reckoned from the first regular Sabbath after the Passover celebration day (Bab. *Menah.* 65a). Thus in actual practice one gave up the connection between the *maššû* festival and the week and oriented the celebration entirely according to the date determined by the full moon of the fourteenth day of the first month (= Nisan) for the Passover. This abolished the connection between the *maššû* festival and the beginning of the harvest. Lev. 23:9-19 shows that the original significance of the festival, namely, as a celebration of the beginning of the harvest, had been forgotten;²³ for in this text the waving of the first sheaf (*'ōmer rē'sīt*, Lev. 23:10; *'ōmer hatt^enûpâ*, v. 15) appears as an independent celebration of the beginning of the harvest completely void of any reference to the *maššû* festival.

An independent *maššû* festival seems to have been celebrated under Hezekiah, as 2 Ch. 30 reveals. The reference to the Passover in this text can be traced back to a redactor associated with the Chronicler's portrayal; this redactor oriented himself according to 2 Ch. 35:1-7 because at his time "a Festival of Unleavened Bread without the preceding passover was unthinkable."²⁴

The Passover papyrus from Elephantine,²⁵ as well as the commentary and emendations suggested for the textual lacunae by Pierre Grelot²⁶ shows that in 419 B.C. both

22. Cf. Kutsch, 14ff.; Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 315.

23. Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 314f.

24. Cf. Haag, *AOAT*, 18, 91.

25. *AP*, no. 21, pp. 60-65.

26. "Etudes sur le 'Papyrus Pascal' d'Éléphantine," *VT*, 4 (1954), 349-384.

a Passover and *maṣṣôt* festival were familiar to the settlement at Elephantine. If Hananiah's instructions from Jerusalem for the Jews in Elephantine are not intended to reintroduce the celebration of the *maṣṣôt* festival, then the preserved portions of the text do indicate clearly that they represent the demand not to celebrate the Passover without also celebrating the *maṣṣôt* week immediately thereupon, and to do so on the fixed date (15-21 Nisan), i.e., in the sense of the Jerusalem priesthood.²⁷ As a festival offering for the Passover-*maṣṣôt* festival at the Jerusalem temple, P stipulates the following in Nu. 28:16-23: on each of the seven festival days two young bulls and a ram as well as seven lambs a year old are to be offered as a burnt offering with the requisite cereal offerings.

The textual evidence available to us associates the *maṣṣôt* festival (Ex. 34:18; 23:15; Dt. 16:3) as well as the Passover (Dt. 16:1,6) or the Passover-*maṣṣôt* festival (Ex. 12:23-27,39; Ex. 12:12,17) with the deliverance from Egypt. Reference to the *maṣṣôt* in Dt. 16:3 as *leḥem ʿonî*, "bread of affliction," recalls the plight of the people of Israel in Egypt (cf. Ex. 3:17, *ʿonî miṣrayim*; Gen. 41:52, *ʿereṣ ʿonî*) and during the exodus. This association with the exodus from Egypt is most extensively treated in Ex. 12, which discusses the two festivals in more detail in its account of the exodus. Both festivals are "historicized," and both are to serve later to recall the decisive event in Israel's salvation history, deliverance from Egypt through Yahweh's intervention. As Herbert Haag observes, "In this way the festival becomes a 'memorial' to the historically tangible salvific acts of God. The singular, one-time historical event becomes a personal, salvific presence for all generations through this commemorative cultic celebration."²⁸

More recent interpretations have yet to prove their merit. Ivan Engnell understands the Passover as a southern Canaanite form of the New Year Festival celebrated in the spring, and the *maṣṣôt* festival as a northern Canaanite form of the same festival, so that the two festivals represent merely different versions of the same celebration. Similarly, Otto Procksch thinks it conceivable that the *maṣṣôt* festival was unique to the tribes of Leah, while the Feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles "belonged to the tribes of Rachel, since references to wheat and fruit suggest a provenance in fertile regions."²⁹

According to Jörn Halbe,³⁰ the *maṣṣôt* festival does not represent an originally Canaanite agricultural festival which was then secondarily reconstituted according to the Yahweh faith; rather, this festival for farmers "originated as the response of the Yahweh faith to settled life."³¹ Its origin can be explained as a result of the *maṣṣôt* element within the older Passover ritual having become independent. In contrast, Eberhard Otto assumes that the Israelites became familiar with the *maṣṣôt* festival in Gilgal, and attempts to trace the eating of the *maṣṣôt* back to the conditions of the wilderness period. In view of both these theories, however, one must not forget that

27. Haag, *SBS*, 49, 95f.

28. *Ibid.*, 59.

29. *Theologie des ATs* (Gütersloh, 1950), 549.

30. *ZAW*, 87 (1975), 324-356.

31. *Ibid.*, 345.

the word *maššâ* exhibits no etymological roots in the Semitic linguistic sphere, so that the suspicion cannot be so easily dismissed that the Israelites appropriated from external sources not only the word itself, but also the custom of eating unleavened bread during the seven-day *maššôt* festival.³²

Kellermann

32. On the literary-critical evaluation of the *maššôt*-festival in Josh. 5, cf. H.-J. Fabry, *BETL* (1984).

מצודה *m^ešûdâ*; מצוד *māšôd*; מצודה *m^ešôdâ*; מצד *m^ešād*

Contents: I. 1. Root Differentiation; 2. Etymology, Occurrences in the Ancient Near East; 3. Occurrences, Meanings. II. Secular Usage: 1. Derivatives of the Root *šwd*; 2. Derivatives of the Basic Form **mšd*. III. Religious Contexts and Figurative Theological-Religious Meaning: 1. Derivatives of the Root *šwd*; 2. Derivatives of the Basic Form **mšd*.

I. 1. Root Differentiation. The various nouns belonging to the word group *m^ešûdâ* probably derive from two different Hebrew roots or basic forms: either from *šwd* = “to hunt,” “to lie in wait for,” “to apprehend,” or from the root **mšd* (cf. Arab. *mašd*, *mašād*, “summit,” “place of refuge”¹). In this connection, the root *šwd* is associated not only with **māšôd* (I), but also with *m^ešûdâ* (I) and *m^ešôdâ*, while derivatives from the basic form **mšd* include *m^ešād* (*m^ešad*, which occurs as such only in 1 Ch. 12:9[Eng. v. 8], can be viewed in light of the LXX as a later addendum and can probably be attributed to scribal error²) as well as **māšôd* (II) and *m^ešûdâ* (*m^ešudâ*) (II..

2. Etymology, Occurrences in the Ancient Near East. Derivatives of both basic forms are attested also beyond Hebrew in other Semitic languages. The root *šwd* derives from Akk. *šādu* as well as Ugar. *šd*, and also appears in Middle Hebrew, Jewish-Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic; the term **māšôd* (I) also attests parallel terms in Christian-Palestinian *mšd* = “net,” while *m^ešûdâ* (I) has related terms in Middle Heb. *m^ešādâ*, Jewish-Aram.

m^ešûdâ. G. Dalman, *AuS*, VI (1939), 328, 335-340, 359-362; D. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht*. *EH*, 23/4 (1972), 96-99; K. Gallig, “Fisch und Fischfang,” *BRL*², 83f.; G. Gerleman, *Contributions to the OT Terminology of the Chase* (Lund, 1946); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); M. Metzger, “Festung,” *BHHW*, I (1962), 475-79; K.-D. Schunck, “Davids ‘Schlupfwinkel’ in Juda,” *VT*, 33 (1983), 110-13; J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT*. *StFS*, 1 (1952), 60-64; H. Weippert, “Festung,” *BRL*², 80-82; Y. Yadin, *Masada* (Eng. trans., New York, 1967).

1. See *HAL*, II (1995), 622.

2. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*. *HAT*, XXI (1955), 104.

m^ešûdtâ, Syr. *mšîdtâ*, and Arab. *mišyadat* = “net,” “snare, trap.” Similarly, not only is the basic form **mšd* taken up again in Arab. *mašd* and *mašād* = “summit,” “place of refuge,” but *m^ešād* finds its continuation in Jewish-Aram. *m^ešādtâ* = “stronghold,” and *m^ešûdâ* (II) in Middle Heb. *m^ešādâ* and Jewish-Aram. *m^ešûdtâ*.

3. a. *Occurrences*. This word group occurs 42 times in the OT and in the extracanonical writings and manuscripts from the Dead Sea and from the Judean Desert. Of these, only 9 occurrences, including several conjectures, are to be attributed to derivatives of the root *šwd*, appearing above all in Ezekiel (3 times), Ecclesiastes (twice), and Sirach (twice including Sir. 26:22, attested only in Greek, where *pýrgos* constitutes the erroneous translation of *m^ešûdâ* II instead of I³). In contrast, nouns deriving from the form **mšd*, including several conjectures, occur 32 times, primarily in Samuel (11 times) and the Psalms (7 times), whereby *m^ešād* originally only occurred in the plural (in 1 Ch. 12:9,17[8,16] *m^ešād* or *m^ešad* is a later insertion; 1 Ch. 11:7 contains an early scribal error resulting from *m^ešûdâ*, as shown by 1 Ch. 11:5 and the parallel 2 S. 5:9), while *m^ešûdâ* (*m^ešudâ*) II (with the exception of Ps. 31:3[2]; 71:3a conj.) was used only in the singular.

b. *Meanings*. Consistent with the original meaning of the root *šwd* = “to hunt,” “to capture,” the derivative **māšôd* (I) from this root has the meaning “snare, net” (Job 19:6; Eccl. 7:26; in Ps. 116:3 read *m^ešôdê*). Similarly, the additional derivative *m^ešûdâ* (I), representing the feminine form of **māšôd* (I), also exhibits meanings derived from notions of the hunt: “hunting net” (Ezk. 12:13; 17:20; Sir. 9:3; 26:22 conj.) and “hunter’s bag, prey” (Ezk. 13:21), while the third derivative of this root, *m^ešôdâ*, again only exhibits the meaning “hunting net” (Eccl. 9:12), a meaning thus common to all the derivatives of the root *šwd*.

In contrast, the fundamental meaning common to the nouns derived from the basic form **mšd* is “place with difficult access.” From this meaning the term *m^ešād* has acquired the specialized meaning “hiding place,” “hideout” (Jgs. 6:2; 1 S. 23:14,19; 24:1[23:29]; 1 Ch. 12:9,17[8,16]; Ezk. 33:27) and “place of refuge” (Isa. 33:16; Jer. 48:41; 51:30); the additional specialized meaning “stronghold” first appears in the manuscripts from the Dead Sea and from the Judean Desert.⁴ Similarly, the derivative **māšôd* (II) also developed the specialized meaning “hiding place,” “hideout” (Prov. 12:12). The third, most frequently occurring derivative, *m^ešûdâ*, in addition to the basic meaning “place with difficult access” (Job 39:28), largely attests the specialized meaning “hiding place,” “hideout” (1 S. 22:4,5; 24:23[22]; 2 S. 5:17; 23:14; 1 Ch. 11:16; 12:9,17[8,16]), and “place of refuge” (Pss. 18:3[2]; 31:3,4[2,3]; in 71:3a read *m^ešûdôt*, 3b; 91:2; 144:2). In contrast, the additional specialized meaning “stronghold,” which is often erroneously understood as the primary meaning,⁵ is limited to 4 passages (2 S.

3. Cf. P. W. Skehan, “Tower of Death or Deadly Snare? (Sir 26,22),” *CBQ*, 16 (1954), 154; *HAL*, II, 622.

4. Cf. P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabb'ât*. *DJD*, II (1961), 164, no. 45; M. Baillet, J. Tadeusz, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*. *DJD*, III (1962), 269, 37; on *m^ešād* in 1 Ch. 11:7, see I.3.a above.

5. So *GesB*, 452; *HAL*, II, 622.

5:7,9; in 1 Ch. 11:5,7 read *m^ešûdâ*), all of which refer to pre-Israelite Jerusalem, conquered by David = Zion = the city of David, and all of which are clearly set apart from the other occurrences of this derivative by the defective orthography *m^ešûdâ*. It is possible that in this way the meaning “stronghold” was first attached to the noun *m^ešûdâ* in connection with David’s conquest of the acropolis or city enclosure of Jerusalem, considered virtually impregnable; later it was then likely also transferred to the noun *m^ešāḏ* as well as other strongholds (cf. also the *n.l.* Μασαδα).

II. Secular Usage. Nouns deriving from the root *šwd* as well as constructions based on the basic form **mšd* are used in secular contexts both in the OT and in extrabiblical writings, usage accounting for approximately half of all occurrences of this word group.

1. *Derivatives of the Root šwd.* In ancient Israel, the *šwd*-derivatives **māšôḏ*, *m^ešûdâ*, and *m^ešôḏâ*, like the Hebrew word *rešet*, were designations for the net used both in hunting and in fishing (Eccl. 9:12), to be differentiated from the casting net or snare net (*mikmār*) and the dragnet (*ḥērem*), also used in connection with fishing.⁶ From this completely concrete point of departure, the terms **māšôḏ* and *m^ešûdâ* serve in wisdom literature as symbols for women and their behavior to the extent that it results in the suspension of the physical and psychological independence of another person. Thus Eccl. 7:26 describes the woman as a being consisting of snares and nets, while Sir. 9:3 warns against the snares of a loose woman, and Sir. 26:22 (conj.) refers to the married woman as a deadly snare for her lovers.

2. *Derivatives of the Basic Form *mšd.* Secular usage of derivatives of the basic form **mšd* in the OT is limited almost exclusively to the historical books. In this connection, the meaning “hiding place,” “hideout” predominates, in several instances associated with *m^eārâ*, “cave” (Jgs. 6:2; 2 S. 23:13f.; 1 Ch. 11:15f.; Ezk. 33:27; compare also 1 S. 22:1 with 22:4f., and 1 S. 24:1,23[23:29; 24:22] with 24:4[3]). Thus in Jgs. 6:2 *m^ešāḏ* refers to the hiding places the Israelite clans made for themselves to be used together with caves as protection from the Midianites; similarly, *m^ešāḏ* or *m^ešûdâ* refers to the cave of Adullam which served as David’s hiding place from Saul (1 S. 22:4f.; 2 S. 23:14; 1 Ch. 11:16), as well as to David’s hiding places in the hill country of Ziph (1 S. 23:14,19) or to his hideout in the caves of En-gedi (1 S. 24:1,23[23:29; 24:22]). David probably finally expanded one of these hiding places into a fixed headquarters in which he also took refuge later (2 S. 5:17). No evidence, however, suggests associating this or David’s other hideouts with the idea of a mountain stronghold.⁷

The derivative *m^ešûdâ* is also used in secular contexts in the basic meaning “place with difficult access”; in Job 39:28 it and the rocky crag refer to the inaccessible resting place of the eagle. Above all, however, *m^ešûdâ* (written defectively) in the meaning “stronghold” exhibits secular character. Such is the case when Zion is so referred to

6. Dalman, 335f., 361f.

7. Cf. HAL, II, 622, and the comms.

in its identity as the pre-Davidic acropolis or city enclosure of Jerusalem, which David renamed the city of David (2 S. 5:7,9; 1 Ch. 11:5,7 [conj.]). Analogously, the writings from the Dead Sea and from the Judean Desert also use *m'šād* as a designation for a stronghold,⁸ including the expression *mšd ḥsdn*, probably a reference to the settlement of Qumran in its character as a stronghold.⁹

III. Religious Contexts and Figurative Theological-Religious Meaning. The OT uses both the derivatives of the root *šwd* and the nouns derived from the basic form **mšd* in religious contexts and with figurative theological-religious meaning.

1. *Derivatives of the Root šwd.* The general meaning “snare, net” occurs first of all in Ezekiel and Job with Yahweh as the subject as a metaphorical expression for Yahweh’s omnipotence and control of human beings. It was Yahweh’s net in which King Zedekiah was captured when he came into Babylonian captivity (Ezk. 12:13; 17:20), and it is Yahweh’s net that closes around Job when Yahweh persecutes and torments him (Job 19:6). Analogously, the netherworld, *š'ôl*, can also be the subject in connection with such a “net” as a metaphor for the mortal threat to human life (Ps. 116:3 conj.). Ezekiel uses the additional meaning “prey,” actually a semantic extension of “net”; in an oracle against the false prophetesses, Yahweh announces that no more will persons become their “prey” whom they have hexed through practices hostile to God, i.e., such persons will no longer fall into their power (Ezk. 13:21).

2. *Derivatives of the Basic Form *mšd.* Use in religious contexts of nouns deriving from the basic form **mšd* is governed largely by the meaning “place of refuge.” This is particularly clear in the Psalms; in passages from laments and thanksgiving psalms (Pss. 18:3[2]; 31:3,4[2,3]; 71:3a[conj.],3b; 91:2; 144:2), among which 2 S. 22:2 should also be included, *m'šûdâ* consistently refers to Yahweh as a place or house of refuge for human beings. In this connection, the association with analogous terms such as *mišgāb*, *mānôš*, *mā'ôn*, *maḥseh*, and *sela'* is noteworthy.¹⁰

Similarly, prophetic literature also largely associates the meaning “place of refuge” with its preferred noun *m'šād*. In Isa. 33:16, within the framework of a little apocalypse, the righteous are assured that at Yahweh’s eschatological judgment over the nations they will dwell on the heights and find refuge in places among the rocks. Likewise, a redactor establishes in Jeremiah’s oracles a connection between Yahweh’s own actions and the seeking of places of refuge. According to Jer. 51:30, after Yahweh has called the nations to war against Babylon, her warriors give up the fight and are now crouching in their places of refuge; and according to Jer. 48:41f., Yahweh himself proclaims that in Moab the cities have been taken and the places of refuge seized, so that Moab has been destroyed as a people because it magnified itself against Yahweh. On the other hand, although Ezekiel ties *m'šād* in with a Yahweh-oracle in Ezk. 33:27, he uses it

8. *DJD*, II, 164, no. 45; III, 269, 37.

9. Cf. R. Meyer, *Das Gebet des Nabonid*. *BSAW*, 107/3 (1962), 9, n. 3.

10. Cf. Eichhorn.

with the general meaning “hiding place,” “hideout” (cf. also the parallel mention of “caves”), which is probably to be explained by the concrete reference in Ezk. 33:24-29 to conditions among the Judeans who were not deported.

In wisdom literature, the form **māšôd* with the meaning “hiding place,” “hideout” similarly serves as a metaphorical circumlocution, e.g., for the heart of the wicked as the hiding place of evil (Prov. 12:12).

Schunck



Contents: I. *mišwâ* as an Expression of Authority. II. 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. Semantic Field, Synonyms. III. *mišwâ* in Human Contexts. IV. God’s *mišwâ*. V. Expressions for Obedience and Disobedience. VI. Qumran.

I. *mišwâ* as an Expression of Authority. The word *mišwâ* is one of the expressions for God’s will and authority, and as such refers to his “order” or his “commandment.” It is thus a term of great significance for understanding the OT’s notion of the relationship between God and human beings. Although we will not deal here with the post-biblical traditions (with the exception of Qumran), it should be pointed out that the term *mišwâ* became centrally important in the practice of Jewish religion and retains this eminent position in Judaism even today.

The concept of a divine command represents the transfer of certain formal relations from the human to the theological sphere. The God of Israel is at once father, judge, and king in the traditional sense of these terms, and it is thus possible to say that he issues orders, though not all biblical traditions understand divine authority in this way.

II. 1. Etymology, Meaning. The etymology of *mišwâ* is unequivocal: It derives from the verb → צוה *šiwwâ*, “to appoint, order, direct,” and evokes the same connotations. It is a nominal construction of the *miqtāl*-type and means literally “command, order,” though like other nouns of this pattern it designates both the action itself and its consequences or results. It thus means “that which is ordered,

mišwâ. G. Braulik, “Gesetz als Evangelium: Rechtfertigung und Begnadigung nach der deuteronomischen Tora,” *ZThK*, 79 (1982), 127-160; A. Deissler, *Psalm 119(118) und seine Theologie. MThS*, 1/11 (1955); H. Gese, “The Law,” *Essays on Biblical Theology* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1981), 60-92; A. Marmorstein, *Studies in Jewish Theology* (Oxford, 1950); L. Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de nomos dans le Pentateuque grec. AnBibl*, 52 (1973); M. Steckelmacher, “Etwas über die leichten und schweren Gebote in der Halacha und Agada,” *Festschrift A. Schwarz* (Berlin, 1917); G. Wallis, “Torah und Nomos,” *ThLZ*, 105 (1980), 321-332. → קקח *hāqqaq* (V, 139-147).

resulting from the identification of wisdom with the revealed law. God revealed wisdom, and the instructions of wisdom became divine commandments.³

IV. God's *mišwâ*. Relationships based on authority, in both human and divine contexts, permeate OT literature. Here we must pay attention to *how* such authority is expressed. In this connection it should be pointed out that *mišwâ* and *šiwvâ* do not occur with the same frequency in all biblical writings; in some strata of tradition they occur hardly or not at all. This fact should enable us to track down the origin of the *mišwâ*-term in the sense of the divine commandment. Although the terms *mišwâ* and *šiwvâ* involve law and administration (especially royal administration, which includes both military and cultic institutions), *mišwâ* itself occurs only relatively late as a term for formal human relations. In early poetic texts and in the earliest laws *mišwâ* does not occur at all. Neither is it the case that the *miqtāl*-construction only emerges late, since the verb *šiwvâ* attests almost the same distribution. We must conclude that the term "order, command" as an expression of authority emerged later than other terms such as "word," "(written) statute," *tôrâ*, or "legal norm."

Here we must also note that the Israelite understanding of law as directly given by God is virtually unique in the ancient Near East. According to the Mesopotamian laws Shamash as the god of righteousness bestows upon the king a sense for righteousness (Akk. *kettu*), which guides him to a just promulgation of laws.⁴

According to OT understanding, God reveals laws and legal norms; he directly formulates those laws. It was thus only to be expected that sooner or later *mišwâ* and *šiwvâ* would attain the dominant position among expressions for divine authority and, as it were, obfuscate the clear background of prescriptive law visible in terms such as *mišpāt*, *tôrâ*, *hōq*, and so on.

This development can be illustrated by an investigation into the prophetic books.

The term *mišwâ* does not occur at all in the preexilic prophets, and *šiwvâ* only rarely. Jeremiah is the first to use *šiwvâ*. When it does occur in earlier prophetic literature, it evokes specific connotations and does not refer to divine authority in law or administration. Amos reproves the people in one instance for having "commanded" the prophets not to proclaim God's word (2:12). In two other oracles Amos uses the verb with God as subject in what is perhaps its original sense, "to command, order": God will give the command that the house of Israel be smitten into bits (6:11), and he will send out the serpent and the sword to destroy the people (9:3f.), or will order the people's banishment (9:9).

Similar meanings are found in Isa. 5:6 and 10:6: God commands the forces of nature or sends Assyria to chastise the people. A late echo of this idea occurs in Nah. 1:14.

Jeremiah is the first prophet to use *šiwvâ* in its full measure, and the term *mišwâ* occurs in his writings at least in human contexts (on 32:11 and 35:14 see discussion

3. Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim*, I (Cambridge, 1927, ²1966), 38, 263f.

4. J. J. Finkelstein, "משפט," *EMiqr*, V (1968), 609f.

The same juxtaposition characterizes the expressions for disobedience. The most simple method is to negate the verbs of obedience: one does not keep or does not heed, and so on. There are, however, other possibilities. A person can “turn aside” (*sûr*, Dt. 17:20) from the commandments, an expression deriving from the notion of turning aside from the correct way (Ex. 32:8; Dt. 31:29; cf. Dt. 28:14 with *dābār*). A person can “break”⁷ the commandments (Nu. 15:31; Ezr. 9:14), an expression originally referring to the covenant. A person can also “forsake” the commandments of God (*ʿāzab*, 1 K. 18:18; 2 K. 17:16; 2 Ch. 7:19; Ezr. 9:10), “transgress” (*ʿābar*, 2 Ch. 24:20; cf. Est. 3:3 referring to the king’s command), “forget” (*šākah*, Ps. 119:176), or “despise” (not used with *mišwâ*; *bāzâ* with *dābār*; Nu. 15:31; *nāʿas* with *ʾimrâ*, Isa. 5:24; *māʿas* with *tôrâ*, Isa. 5:24; Jer. 6:19; with *hōq*, Lev. 26:15; 2 K. 17:15; Ezk. 20:24; with *dābār*, 1 S. 15:23,26; Jer. 8:9; with *mišpāt*, Lev. 26:43; Ezk. 5:6; 20:13,16). In every case *mišwâ* shares the particular linguistic expression with other terms for authority, and it is doubtful whether any verb referred specifically to the reaction to *mišwâ*.

This interrelation emerges clearly in two psalms that speak of God’s law and commandments, Pss. 19 and 119. Whereas Ps. 19 speaks more about the characteristic features of the commandments, Ps. 119 describes primarily the attitude of the believer toward the commandments. In Ps. 19 *mišwâ* is one of six expressions for authority, including *yirʾâ*, “fear” (if the text is correct; cf. *BHS*). In Ps. 19 as well as in Ps. 119 yet another term is used which is actually younger than *mišwâ*, namely, *piqqûdîm*, “directions, orders,” like *mišwâ* a military-administrative term which in later writings can replace *mišwâ*.

Ps. 19:8-10(7-9) says the following about the value of the commandments:

The teaching (*tôrâ*) of Yahweh is perfect, reviving the soul;
 the testimony (*ʿēdût*) of Yahweh is sure, making wise the simple;
 the precepts (*piqqûdîm*) of Yahweh are right, rejoicing the heart;
 the commandment (*mišwâ*) of Yahweh is pure, enlightening the eyes;
 the fear (*ʾyirʾâ*) of Yahweh is clean, enduring for ever;
 the ordinances (*mišpāṭîm*) of Yahweh are true and righteous altogether.

Ps 119 uses ten different terms for the expression of authority, including also *piqqûdîm* and *yirʾâ*, combined with various expressions denoting the attendant reactions, some of which transcend simple obedience and designate emotional attitudes such as love, rejoicing, the desire to learn, and so on. Both psalms share the concern that the commandments might be transgressed as a result of oversight. In this respect these psalms reflect the priestly regulations concerning carelessness (cf. especially Lev. 4–5). Here the most important term is *mišwâ*, and the laws reflect the spirit of the Deuteronomic prologue. In general, the verb *šiwvâ* occupies the central position in the Priestly laws of the Pentateuch, something shown not least from the frequent use of the formula *kaʾašer šiwvâ YHWH ʾet-mōšeh*, “as Yahweh commanded Moses.” Whereas the older law collections only rarely attest *mišwâ* or *šiwvâ*, the Priestly laws increasingly use *mišwâ* in addition to the older terms for expressions of divine authority.

7. → פָּרַר *pārar*.

its laws is *mišwôt* 'ēl, which a person either “keeps,” “fulfills,” or “holds fast to,” or from which a person “turns away” by despising them, or against which one preaches rebellion or conspires (CD 2:18,21; 3:2,6,8,12; 5:21; 8:19, etc.). The Temple Scroll contains only a few occurrences of *mišwâ* and *šiwwâ* (55:13; 59:14-16, etc.).

Two passages deserve special attention:

1. CD 7:2 says that a person should correct his brother “according to the commandment,” a clear reference to Lev. 19:17, which remarks that one should correct one’s brother if he transgresses the law. What is important here is the use of the specific form *hammišwâ* to refer to the Torah as a whole. In later rabbinic usage one would read *kakkātûb*, “as it is written,” i.e., in the Torah.

2. CD 10:2f. says that no man shall be declared a trustworthy witness who “has wilfully transgressed something (‘a word’) of the commandment (*’ôbēr dābār min hammišwâ*).” A similar expression is found in 1QS 8:17: “who deliberately, on any point whatever, turns aside from all that is commanded (*’āšer yāsûr mikkōl hammišwâ dābār*).” Here *hammišwâ* means the same as *hattôrâ*; rabbinic language even attests the expression *dābār min hattôrâ*.

The Qumran writings thus represent a transition from the OT understanding to later Jewish understanding of *mišwâ* as law, a transition prefigured by Deuteronomistic and Priestly usage.

Levine

מצולה *m^ešûlâ*; מצולה *m^ešôlâ*; צולה *šûlâ* II; צלל *šālal* II

Contents: I. 1. Distribution, Etymology, Occurrences; 2. LXX. II. Semantic Field. III. Theological Contexts: 1. Cosmology; 2. The Exodus; 3. Anthropology.

I. 1. *Distribution, Etymology, Occurrences.* The term *m^ešûlâ* occurs 12 times in the OT, almost exclusively in postexilic texts (the single exception being Ps. 68:23[Eng. v. 22]). Its distribution (5 times in the Psalms, twice in Zechariah, once each in Exodus, Nehemiah, Job, Jonah, Micah) shows that it does not really belong in narrative, but occurs rather almost exclusively in poetically structured literature. It is probably an artificial word constructed deverbally — but from which root?

a. Franz Zorell¹ suggests the root *šwl. It occurs only in Arab. *šāla*, “to spring, leap, attack,” II “to soften (with water),” “to wash” (grain, gold), “to clean a threshing-floor.”² This group probably also includes Middle Heb. *m^ešûlôt*,³ “grain dust” (like Arab. *šuwālat*) and Arab. *mišwal*, a basin sunk into the ground for cleansing grain.⁴

1. *LexHebAram*, 465.

2. Wehr (⁴1979), 621.

3. *WTM*, III, 209.

4. *AuS*, III (1933), 257f., 278; on Aram. *šwlh*, “depths of the sea,” see III.1 below.

Hebrew to “depths” in general. In this respect the term can easily take on cosmological features, especially in the later period,²² something attested by the fluctuation characterizing its rendering in the LXX.

2. *LXX*. The *LXX* translates 6 times with *bythós*, “depth, depth of the sea,” and 3 times with *báthos*, “depth,” a term referring to the “overarching dimension, both of the world and of life,” the “totality of the dimension named,” though also to that which is inexhaustible and unfathomable.²³ The translator renders *m^ešûlâ* (Job 41:23[31]) and *šûlâ* (Isa. 44:27) with *ábyssos*, evoking on the one hand a cosmological-mythological aspect of the kind normally attaching to → תהום *t^ehôm* and *rahāb*; on the other hand, he transposes the word into the contextual horizon of Hades or the Netherworld, the “prison for the powers opposed to God.”²⁴ Twice the *LXX* interprets the Hebrew word as a formative of *šēl*, “shadow” (Ps. 88:7[6]; Zec. 1:8), and translates *šālal* II (Ex. 15:10) with *dýein*, “to sink down, go under.”

The Vulg. does not make these distinctions, translating consistently with *profundum* and reserving the cosmological-mythological term *abyssus* for *t^ehôm*. In Ps. 88:7(6), it follows the mistaken reading of the *LXX*: *umbra mortis*.

II. Semantic Field. The semantic field of *m^ešûlâ* is influenced by the fact that the word belongs to poetic language and exhibits obvious affinity with mythological notions. Parallel constructions show *m^ešûlâ* next to *t^ehôm*, “primeval ocean,” *yām*, “sea,” *mayim*, “waters,” *mayim rabbîm*, “great waters,” *mayim ’addîrîm*, “powerful waters,” *mayim ’azzîm*, “mighty waters,” *gallîm*, “waves,” and *nah^arôt*, “floods.”

In anthropological contexts the semantic field shifts, and now includes *bôr taḥtiyyôt*, “lowest pit,” *maḥ^ašakkîm*, “darkness,” *mišbār*, “breakers of the seashore,” *ḥîṭ*, “mud,” *ma^amaqqê-mayim*, “deep waters,” *šibbōleṭ mayim*, “torrent of water,” *b^e’ēr*, “well,” *ḥ^amôt yammîm*, *za’ap yammîm*, “raging of the seas,” and *š^e’ôl*, *’abaddôn*, “netherworld.”

These semantic fields clearly show that an exact definition of the term *m^ešûlâ* is not possible, and there is certainly no indication that the translation “depth” should necessarily evoke some sort of vertical dimension.

III. Theological Contexts. The word *m^ešûlâ* is not one deriving from the secular language of everyday life, for it occurs in the OT and in 1QH exclusively in theologically relevant contexts. Here the themes “Yahweh’s cosmic power,” “exodus,” and “theological anthropology” can be taken as focal points.

1. *Cosmology*. The earliest and only preexilic occurrence is found in Ps. 68:23(22). This psalm is a witness to the harsh confrontation between Canaanite and Israelite

22. Cf. H. F. Weiss, *Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinensischen Judentums*. TU, 97 (1966).

23. Cf. A. Strobel, “βάθος,” *EDNT*, I, 190.

24. Cf. O. Böcher, “ἄβυσσος,” *EDNT*, I, 4.

to accommodate the Song of Moses to historical tradition. Ex. 15:10 says that the Egyptians sink (*šll*) like lead (*ʿôperet*) in the mighty waters.

Zec. 10:11 (text?) portrays the homecoming of the exiles with the colors of the exodus motif, colors which unequivocally try to render the actual events transparent in the sense of a typological interpretation. That is, postexilic Israel should view this homecoming as "its" exodus, and should recognize in it the cosmic power of its God Yahweh. Zechariah does not delineate the transition from typology to a cyclical understanding of history as strongly as does the Priestly source³³ or R^p.³⁴ What is also of significance here is the pointed emphasis on Yahweh's omnipotence, which brings about Israel's liberation simply by means of a whistle signal (v. 8). Zechariah's portrayal of the *m^ešûlôt y^eʾôr*, or "depths of the Nile," drying up at Yahweh's signal might simultaneously constitute an ironic religio-polemical response to a boastful citation from the Assyrian king Sennacherib passed down in 2 K. 19:24.

3. *Anthropology*. In anthropologically textured laments the chaotic, threatening powers of the *m^ešûlâ* predominate along with the motif of answered prayer, according to which God exercises his power over these forces as well. Jon. 2:4(3) might serve as a *locus classicus*: "You cast me into the *m^ešûlâ bilbab yammîm*, and the flood (*nāhār*) surrounded me; all your waves (*mišbārîm*) and your billows (*gallîm*) passed over me." Considering this concentrated terminology reflecting distress at sea, this entire psalm (Jon. 2:3-11[2-10]) was probably composed as an independent literary unit based on an earlier Jonah narrative and then subsequently inserted here.³⁵ In the process, the author combined through association several motifs familiar to individual psalms of lament (cf. Ps. 69:3,16[2,15]; 88:7[6], where *m^ešûlâ* is also mentioned). As a text-critical consideration one cannot overlook that *m^ešûlâ* without a preposition is syntactically problematical. Yet even as a subsequent interpretation of the possibly ambiguous *l^ebab yammîm*³⁶ it is completely consonant with the spirit of the passage and corresponds well with *t^ehôm* (Jon. 2:6[5]). The subjective disposition of the person in distress — evoked by the image of the shipwrecked person — is objectified into the disposition of any person over against the primeval cosmic powers. To the extent, however, that God does indeed exercise power over these forces, the petitioner's own present distress turns into a crisis of faith (v. 5[4]). This is also how 1QH 3:6,14; 8:19 are to be understood. Here the *m^ešûlôt* are taken as metaphors for uncertainty and danger in the larger sense, and are reckoned to the sphere of *š^eʾôl* and *ʾabaddôn*. For the petitioner in 1QH there is no need for any special act of deliverance on the part of God, since he knows that his own membership in the congregation fundamentally removes him from such dangers.

33. Cf. esp. N. Lohfink, "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977*. SVT, 29 (1978), 189-255, esp. 213ff.

34. H.-J. Fabry, *BETL* (1984).

35. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 131f.

36. → לב *lēb* (VII, 399-437).

Mic. 7:19 is to be understood as a syndrome of cosmological and anthropological notions taken into association with the exodus motif: "He will again have compassion upon us; he will tread our iniquities under foot. You will cast all our [?] sins into the *m^eṣulôt yām*." Hans Walter Wolff is probably correct in his assertion that this unique passage is comparing the act of forgiveness with Israel's liberation at the exodus.³⁷

Fabry

37. *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 231.

מִצְרַיִם *miṣrayim*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Table of Nations (Gen. 10); 2. Ideological Considerations; 3. Egyptian Religion. III. Historical Relationships Between Israel and Egypt. IV. 1. The Joseph Story; 2. The Exodus: a. The Exodus Narrative; b. Evaluation of the Exodus in the Psalms, Prophetic Texts, etc.; c. The Exodus in the Wisdom of Solomon; d. The Exodus in the Prophetic Books. V. Egypt in the Prophetic Oracles Concerning Foreign Nations: 1. Isaiah; 2. Jeremiah; 3. Ezekiel. VI. Qumran.

miṣrayim. A. Alt, *Israel und Ägypten*. BZAW, 6 (1909); P. Barguet, *La stèle de la famine à Séhel*. BdÉ, 24 (1953); A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Egypte*. BdÉ, 33 (1962); J. Bergman, "Atonhymn och skaparpsalm," RoB, 39 (1980), 3-23; L. Boadt, *Ezekiel's Oracles Against Egypt*. BietOr, 37 (1980); H. Brunner, "Gerechtigkeit als Fundament des Thrones," VT, 8 (1958), 426-28; G. E. Bryce, *A Legacy of Wisdom: The Egyptian Contribution to the Wisdom of Israel* (Lewisburg, 1979); B. Couroyer, "Amenemopé, XXIV, 13-18," RB, 75 (1968), 549-561; *idem*, "L'origine égyptienne de la Sagesse d'Amenemopé," RB, 70 (1963), 208-224; *idem*, "Quelques égyptianismes dans l'Exode," RB, 63 (1956), 209-219; H. Donner, *Die literarische Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Josephsgeschichte*. SHAW, 1976/2; E. Drioton, "Le Livre des Proverbes et la Sagesse d'Aménémopé," Sacra Pagina, I, BETL, 12f. (1959), 229-241; E. Erman, "Eine ägyptische Quelle der 'Sprüche Salomos,'" SPAW, 15 (1924), 86-93; G. Gerleman, "Die Bildsprache des Hohenliedes und die altägyptische Kunst," ASTI, 1 (1962), 24-30; I. Grumach, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope*. MÄSt, 23 (1972); H. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* ÄgAbh, 5 (1971); S. Herrmann, *Israels Aufenthalt in Ägypten*. SBS, 40 (1970); *idem*, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel," WZLeipzig, 3 (1953/54), 51-62; P. Humbert, *Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale d'Israël* (Neuchâtel, 1929); O. Kaiser, "Der geknickte Rohrstab," Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT, 18 (1973), 99-106; *idem*, "Zwischen den Fronten," Wort, Lied, und Gottesspruch. Festschrift J. Ziegler, FzB, 2 (1972), II, 197-206; C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1-9*. WMANT, 22 (1966); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); *idem*, *Yahwes Entgegnung an Ijob*. FRLANT, 121 (1978); *idem* and U. Winter, *Vögel als Boten: Studien zu Ps 68, 12-14, Gen 8, 6-12, Koh 10, 20 und dem Aussenden von Botenvögeln in Ägypten*. OBO, 14 (1977); F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953); K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1972); B. Mazar, "The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine," Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT, 4 (1957),

I. Etymology. The Hebrew name for Egypt, *mišrayim*, corresponds to Ugar. *mšrm*,¹ Phoen. *mšrym*,² Egyptian Aram. *mšryn*, Syr. *mešrēm*, Akk. *Mušur/Mušru/Mišri*, Old Persian *Mudrāya*, Arab. *Miṣr*; the word is not, however, attested in Old Egyptian. The Egyptians themselves called their land *km.t*, the "black (land)" (Copt. *kēme*, *khēmī*), *t3.wy*, the "two lands" (referring to Upper and Lower Egypt), occasionally also *idb.wy*, the "two shores" (of the Nile). The Greek term *Aígyptos* derives from Egyp. *ḥ.t-k3-ptḥ*, "chapel of Ptah" (central sanctuary in Memphis during the Amarna period, cuneiform *ḥikuptaḥ* as the city's name), thence also the designation "Coptic." The Talmud attests the term *gipṭūt* for "Egyptian."³ If *mišrayim* constitutes a genuine dual form, and if it is connected with Akk. *mišru*, "border, region,"⁴ and Arab. *miṣr*, "border, land, capital city," it might be a translation of *t3.wy*, although this explanation is extremely uncertain. Meir Fraenkel's derivation of *mišrayim*, associating it with *māṭār*, "rain," "water," is untenable.⁵

The singular form *māšôr* also occurs in the OT (Mic. 7:12; 2. K. 19:24 par. Isa. 37:25; Isa. 19:6), and the gentilic form *mišrî* is richly attested.

II. OT.

1. *Table of Nations* (Gen. 10). In the Table of Nations in Gen. 10 (J and P), *mišrayim* appears as the son of Ham together with Cush (Nubia), Put (Libya), and Canaan (v. 6 [P]). Since the Table of Nations likely reflects politico-historical groupings rather than racial-linguistic relationships, it provides a picture of the political situation in pre-

57-66; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*. CB, 5 (1971); P. Montet, *Egypt and the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1968); S. Morenz, "Ägyptologische Beiträge zur Erforschung der Weisheitsliteratur Israels," *Les sagesses du Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris, 1963), 63-71; *idem*, "Die ägyptische Literatur und die Umwelt," *Ägyptologie. HO*, I/2 (1952), 194-206; G. Nagel, "A propos des rapports du Psaume 104 avec les textes égyptiens," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 395-403; S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer*. CB, 9 (Ger. trans. 1977); T. E. Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia* (London, 1931); G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 222-231; D. B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37-50)*. SVT, 20 (1970); E. Ruprecht, "Das Nilpferd im Hiobbuch," VT, 21 (1971), 209-231; S. Ö. Steingrimsson, *Vom Zeichen zur Geschichte*. CB, 14 (1979); J. Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1936); J. A. L. M. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*. OrBibLov, 3 (1959); W. A. Ward, "The Egyptian Office of Joseph," JSS, 5 (1960), 144-150; H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes, Gen 1,26-30," ThZ, 21 (1965), 245-259, 481-501; *idem*, "Die Thronnamen des Messias, Jes 9,5b," ThZ, 16 (1960), 314-332 = *Jahwe und Sein Volk*. ThB, 66 (1979), 56-74; R. J. Williams, "Ägypten und Israel," TRE, I (1977), 492-505; *idem*, "A people come out of Egypt': An Egyptologist looks at the OT," *Congress Volume, Edinburgh 1974*. SVT, 28 (1975), 231-252; E. Würthwein, "Egyptian Wisdom and the OT" (Eng. trans.), in J. L. Crenshaw, ed., *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (New York, 1976), 113-133; A. S. Yahuda, *The Language of the Pentateuch in its Relation to Egyptian* (London, 1933); J. Zandee, "Egyptological Commentary on the OT," *Travels in the World of the OT. Festschrift M. A. Beek* (Leiden, 1974), 269-281.

1. WUS, no. 1645.

2. KAI, 5, 2; 49, 34.

3. A. Erman, ZÄS, 35 (1897), 109.

4. AHw, II (1972), 659.

5. "Zur Deutung von biblischen Flur- und Ortsnamen: *Miṣrajim*," BZ, N.S. 5 (1961), 86.

Israelite times, and the “brothers” of *miṣrayim* represent regions dependent on Egypt. The names of the “sons” of *miṣrayim* (Gen. 10:13f. [J]) are all plural gentilic forms and thus refer to ethnic units: *lûḏîm* (Jer. 46:9; Ezk. 30:5), ^a*nāmîm*, *l^ehābîm*, *naptuhîm*, *patrusîm*, and *kasluḥîm*, “whence came the Philistines and the *kaptōrîm*.” Besides the Philistines and Caphtorim, only *naptuhîm* (Lower Egypt) and *patrusîm* (Upper Egypt) can be identified with certainty.

2. *Ideological Considerations.* Ideologically, the OT associates Egypt primarily with the land of slavery (“house of bondage,” *bêṭ ^abāḏîm*: Ex. 13:3; 20:2; Dt. 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6,11[Eng. vv. 5,10]; Jgs. 6:8; Jer. 34:13; Mic. 6:4 — almost exclusively Deuteronomistic material) from which Israel was delivered (see discussion below). Otherwise, Egypt was also viewed as a rich, fruitful land where one could find refuge in times of drought and famine (Gen. 12:10; 42:1ff.; 43:1f.). In the stories of the murmuring in the wilderness, Egypt is remembered as the land where the people had plenty to eat (Ex. 16:3: “when we sat by the fleshpots and ate our fill of bread”; Nu. 11:5: “we remember the fish we used to eat in Egypt for nothing, the cucumbers, the melons, the leeks, the onions, and the garlic”). Only in exceptional instances are references made to the harsh work of artificial irrigation in Egypt in contrast to Canaan, which receives its water from rain (Dt. 11:10).

The Egyptians are a foreign people with an incomprehensible language (*‘am lō’ēz*, Ps. 114:1; cf. also Dt. 28:49; Isa. 28:11; 33:19; Jer. 5:15), a people whose customs are strange and must be explained (Gen. 43:33; 46:34; cf. Ex. 8:22[26]).

According to 1 K. 5:10(4:30), Solomon’s wisdom “surpassed the wisdom of all the people of the east, and all the wisdom of Egypt.” The reference in v. 13(33) to his familiarity with the “trees . . . animals, birds, reptiles, and fish” is often taken as a counterpart to what has been called the Egyptian “wisdom of lists.”⁶ Indeed, the preeminent position occupied by wisdom within Egyptian literature is well known,⁷ and the various relationships between Egyptian and Israelite wisdom literature are quite multifarious. Prov. 22:17–23:14 seem to exhibit literary dependence on the Egyptian teaching of Amenemope,⁸ and Prov. 1–9 share extensive structural and ideological agreement with Egyptian wisdom.⁹

3. *Egyptian Religion.* Surprisingly, the OT says very little about Egyptian religion, and only indirectly might one conclude the presence of Egyptian influence on Solomon. 1 K. 3:1; 7:8; 9:16,24 report that Solomon married a daughter of the Pharaoh and built her a house — for political reasons, of course. This is also mentioned in 1 K. 11:1 in a gloss dealing with the king’s foreign wives. Since 11:4 asserts that “his wives turned

6. G. von Rad, “Job xxxviii and Ancient Egyptian Wisdom,” *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 281–291.

7. Cf. H. Brunner, “Die Weisheitsliteratur,” *Ägyptologie. HO*, I/2 (1952), 90–110; H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD*, XVI/1 (31980), introduction.

8. Cf. Ringgren, *in loc.*

9. See Kayatz.

away his heart after other gods," at least the redactor's opinion seems to be that Solomon also worshipped the gods of Egypt, although nothing concrete is reported about such worship.¹⁰

Ezk. 8:10 is also often adduced as a reference to the cult of Egyptian gods. The abominations the prophet finds in the Jerusalem temple include "portrayals of all kinds of creeping things and loathsome beasts" etched on the walls. Considering the animal forms of most of the Egyptians gods, several scholars take this as a reference to Egyptian idols¹¹ (cf. also Ezk. 20:7f.; 23:19-21,27).

The first thorough critique of idolatry in general and of the Egyptian cult of animals in particular is found in Wis. 13-15.¹² The Egyptian *ḥarṭummîm* are mentioned in the Joseph story and in the plague narratives as soothsayers and magicians.¹³ The word also occurs in Akkadian as a loanword, and then in Daniel as well.

Historical considerations prevent the acceptance of older theories of the monotheism of Akhenaten having influenced Israelite religion. The question remains, however, concerning the striking agreement between certain sections of Ps. 104 and the great sun hymn ("Hymn to the Aton") from Amarna. Since the solar religion of Akhenaten was forgotten shortly after his death, it is difficult to determine the path such influence might have taken. One possibility would be a continued transmission of the older Amon hymn which underlies this sun hymn;¹⁴ another would be the fact that both the sun hymn and Ps. 104 exhibit a certain similarity with the wisdom of lists.¹⁵ The fact remains, however, that the agreements are in part almost verbatim (esp. Ps. 104:20-30).

An additional example of Egyptian influence is alleged for the titles of the coming king in Isa. 9:5(6). At his enthronement, the Egyptian king received a document known as the royal protocol (*nḥb.t*) with his five royal names. If the *'ēdūt* of 2 K. 11:12 and the *ḥōq* of Ps. 2:7 reflect similar usage, the four (!) royal names in Isa. 9:5(6) might have been influenced by such a protocol.¹⁶ The content of the names, however, more likely suggests polemic against the titles of the Assyrian kings.¹⁷

III. Historical Relationships Between Israel and Egypt. Over the course of time, diverse relationships quite naturally developed between the neighboring lands of Egypt

10. On the Yahwist's criticism of the infiltration of Egyptian religion during the Solomonic age, cf. W. von Soden, "Verschlüsselte Kritik an Salomo in der Urgeschichte des Jahwisten?" *WO*, 7/2 (1973/74), 228-240; M. Görg, "Die 'Sünde' Salomos," *BN*, 16 (1981), 42-59.

11. So A. Bertholet, *Hesekiel*. *HAT*, XIII (1936), *in loc.*; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, ²1946), 166f.; cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I*. Herm (Eng. trans. 1979), 240f.

12. Cf. V below.

13. → חרטום *ḥarṭōm* (V, 176-79).

14. A. Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. trans., New York, 1927; repr. 1971), 138f..

15. See Bergman, with additional bibliog.

16. G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, 229.

17. R. A. Carlson, "The anti-Assyrian character of the oracle in Is. IX 1-6," *VT*, 24 (1974), 130-35.

and Canaan. As already seen,¹⁸ the Table of Nations in Gen. 10 mentions Canaan among the brothers of *miṣrayim*, reflecting political relationships during the pre-Israelite period. The Amarna Letters and other sources testify to these relationships in the 14th century B.C.

The Joseph story as well as the stories of the emigration of Jacob's family to Egypt reflect events which, although not historically verifiable, nonetheless can be viewed as fairly typical and thus cannot be dismissed as completely unhistorical¹⁹ (we will speak later about the deliverance from Egypt). It is reported that during the Solomonic age a certain (unnamed) Pharaoh undertook a military campaign against Gezer (1 K. 9:16); the city was captured and given to Pharaoh's daughter (who became Solomon's wife) as a dowry (*šilluhîm*). We also hear of the importation of chariots and horses from Egypt and Kue (Cilicia) (1 K. 10:28f.; cf. 2 Ch. 1:16f.; 9:28). The wording seems to imply that Solomon had acquired a kind of monopoly in this trade, although this seems improbable. Different explanations have been advanced: either one identifies *miṣrayim* with the region *Muṣru* in the Taurus Mountains, where horses were indeed bred, or one assumes with Kurt Gallinger²⁰ that "horses were bought up in Cilicia, and at the same time experienced horse teams along with chariots were already being acquired from Egypt."²¹ In any case, passages such as Dt. 17:16 (an apparent allusion to Solomon); Isa. 30:16; 31:1 testify to the fact that one was accustomed in Judea to associating Egypt with horses. Finally, T. N. D. Mettinger has shown that Solomon's administration was probably largely organized according to an Egyptian model.

Egypt also plays a role as a place refuge for Jeroboam (1 K. 11:40); after Solomon's death Jeroboam returns from Egypt and becomes king in northern Israel (1 K. 12:2f.). Just five years later, according to 1 K. 14:25, Pharaoh Shishak (or Shushak, Egyp. *ššnq*) I of the twenty-second dynasty attacked Rehoboam, acquiring rich booty from Jerusalem as a result. As a matter of fact, he also penetrated into the northern kingdom and into Transjordan.

2 Ch. 14:9-14(10-15) reports a renewed attack under Asa: a certain "Zerah of Cush (NRSV 'the Ethiopian') (an Egyptian field general?) attacked Judah, but was defeated by Asa. Nothing more is known of this event.

Egypt does not reenter biblical purview until the time of Isaiah. In approximately 715 B.C. the Ethiopian prince Shabaka was able to bring all Egypt under his rule, founding the twenty-fifth dynasty. Egypt, thus newly strengthened, emerged as a counter to the great Assyrian power, renewing the hope of the Palestinian princes for deliverance from the Assyrian yoke. 2 K. 17:4 reports that in the northern kingdom King Hoshea made contact with Pharaoh So (*sw*, either = Egyp. *ṯsy*, "vizier," or an

18. See II.1 above.

19. Herrmann.

20. *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemiah*. ATD, XII (1954), 81.

21. See the discussion in E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*. ATD, XI/1 (1977), *in loc.*; cf. also H. Cazelles, "מצר" (1 Reg 10,28," *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 17-26; P. Garelli, *ibid.*, 37-48.

abbreviation of the name Osorkon IV [730-715]²²) and ceased paying tribute to Assyria. The mention of ambassadors from Ethiopia (Cush) in Isa. 18:1ff. is generally taken to refer to this situation (see below). Statements such as those in Isa. 20 and 30, warning against trust in Egypt, clearly derive from this situation.

Yet another "king of Ethiopia" appears in 2 K. 19:9. During his own military campaign to Palestine (701), Sennacherib learns that Tirhakah (Taharkah) had "set out to fight against him." It is not clear whether this report had anything to do with Sennacherib's unexpected withdrawal (1 K. 19:36). Because of the historical and chronological problems attaching to this event, the reader should refer to the more comprehensive works on the history of Israel.

The power struggle between Egypt and Assyria continued, and was made even more complicated by the emergence of the Babylonians as adversaries of Assyria. In 2 K. 23:29, we find Pharaoh Neco II (twenty-sixth dynasty) marching "toward Assyria" (likely to the assistance of Assyria against the Babylonians); Josiah confronts him and is defeated and killed at Megiddo (609 B.C.; 2 K. 23:29). Neco's expedition was unsuccessful, although while returning he did claim dominion over Syria-Palestine, installing Josiah's son Jehoiakim as an Egyptian vassal prince in Jerusalem (2 K. 23:34). A few years later (605), Neco was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish (Jer. 46:2), and 2 K. 24:7 reports briefly that "the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken over all that belonged to the king of Egypt from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates."

During Zedekiah's reign plans seemed to have developed for an anti-Babylonian coalition with the aid of Egypt. Jeremiah opposed it, although without success. According to Jer. 37:5,7, Egyptian troops did indeed appear in Judah, forcing the Babylonians to give up their siege of Jerusalem temporarily (cf. Jer. 34:21). After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 and the murder of the governor Gedaliah, many Judeans fled to Egypt (Jer. 42f.), taking Jeremiah along with them against his will (43:6).

IV. Two great OT narrative complexes use Egypt as their setting: the Joseph story (Gen. 37–50) and the Exodus story (Ex. 1–15). However, both Egypt's role and the traditio-historical problems involved are in each case completely different.

1. *The Joseph Story*. From a composition-technical perspective, the Joseph story functions as a connecting link between the patriarchal stories and the Exodus Narrative, explaining why and how the Israelites came to Egypt. Its literary genre is generally characterized as a novella. Although post-Wellhausen scholars usually identify the two sources J and E at work here (with short insertions by P), the criteria for source differentiation are extraordinarily weak,²³ which is why many scholars are now inclined to understand the Joseph story as a unified composition. According to Herbert Donner,

22. See *TRE*, I, 495; D. B. Redford, "A Note on II Kings, 17,4," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, 11 (1981), 75f., suggests that So is actually = *s3w*, "Sa'idic."

23. Cf. recently Donner.

only 41:50-52; 46:1-5; 48; 50:23-25 might contain material possibly deriving from the traditional Pentateuchal sources.

As a whole the narrative is permeated by elements testifying to a fairly close acquaintance with Egyptian conditions (some scholars suggest it reflects the conditions around 1200 B.C.²⁴); names such as Potiphar and Potiphera (Gen. 39:1ff.; 41:45,50; both *p3-dy-p3-r*), *ṣāp^enaṭ-pa'nēah* (41:45)²⁵ (the last portion of which in any case contains the word *'nh*, "life"), Asenath ("belonging to the goddess Neith"), as well as several details concerning courtly life and Egyptian customs. The only problematical element attaches to the cup divination (44:5), which thus far has not been attested with certainty in Egypt.²⁶ In contrast, the interpretation of dreams (ch. 40) is well-attested in Egyptian sources.²⁷ Neither is the east wind (41:6) quite Egyptian, since in Egypt it is actually the south wind which is known as the searing wind. Thus Egypt and Egyptian conditions are described here from the perspective of a foreigner, although a perspective for the most part well acquainted with those conditions.

Of particular interest are the Egyptian parallels to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39:6-20) and of the seven years of famine (41:53-57). In the first instance we can refer to the *Tale of Two Brothers*, and in the second to an inscription from Siheil which tells how the Nile inundation failed to occur for seven years during the time of Djoser (third dynasty); although the inscription derives from the Ptolemaic period, it might well preserve an older tradition.²⁸ Although the connection with the *Tale of Two Brothers* is clear, most commentaries merely mention it rather than fully exploit it. Claus Westermann,²⁹ e.g., points out that the continuation of the tale deviates from the Joseph story. Precisely this continuation, however, might provide the key to solving the problem, since it exhibits a striking similarity with the circle of myths surrounding Osiris. At issue is the indestructibility of (Osiric) life and the miraculous procreation of a new ruler, motifs also found in the Joseph story. The purpose of the whole is given in Gen. 50:20 as "to preserve a numerous people." Osiris is the god of grain, and Joseph becomes the provider for his people through his grain trade. Joseph's path to eminence leads through dangers designated by the word *bôr* (37:22,24, "pit, well"; 40:15; 41:14, "dungeon"); the same word is also used to refer to the netherworld. This does not mean, however, that Joseph is a disguised fertility god (Tammuz, Adonis, etc.),³⁰ but rather only that fertility motifs permeate the story and apparently have contributed to its formation. One should also note that against this Egyptian backdrop Canaanite-Israelite features also emerge: *bôr*, "I shall go down to Sheol" (37:35), *qādîm* (see above). (The Potiphar episode also has a Canaanite parallel in the myth of the storm-god and the goddess Ashertu,³¹ although this myth has a different focus.)

24. So Vergote.

25. For several possible interpretations, see Vergote, 141ff.

26. Despite Vergote, 172ff.

27. → חָלָם *ḥālam* (*chālam*), IV, 432.

28. See *ANET*³, 31f.; for the *Tale of Two Brothers*, see *ANET*³, 23-25.

29. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37-50* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 60f.

30. Cf. Albright; B. Reicke, *Die kultischen Hintergründe der Josepherzählung* (1948).

31. *ANET*³, 519; Westermann does not render this quite correctly.

Pharaoh. The following, rather dark verses (30:6f.) portray Egypt as Rahab, although as useless and inactive (the MT *rahab hēm šābet* has probably been corrupted). Rather than rise up to take part in the battle as he once did, Rahab will remain seated and inactive.⁴⁴

The oracle against Cush (NRSV 'Ethiopia,' Isa. 18:1-7) may derive from the same situation (since Shabaka came from Cush); Egypt is not actually mentioned here, however, and the scarcity of concrete features does make dating the oracle somewhat difficult.⁴⁵

The series of statements in Isa. 19:1-15 is more problematical, and its authenticity is generally disputed based on stylistic considerations. A prediction is made for the dissolution of national order, the collapse of economic life, and the confusion of Egypt's rulers. "A fierce king will rule over them" (v. 4: historical allusion or a prediction for the future?). Isaiah's usual warning against reliance on Egyptian aid is absent. These assertions are followed by a series of statements introduced by *bayyôm hahû* which are doubtlessly secondary and which among other things foretell Egypt's conversion to the worship of Yahweh and a covenant between Egypt and Assyria blessed by Yahweh (a similar universalist prediction is found in Mic. 7:12).

2. *Jeremiah*. Jeremiah mentions Egypt in a variety of contexts. In Jer. 2:6, he recalls Israel's deliverance: the people has forgotten that Yahweh led it out of Egypt, and instead has gone after idols (v. 5). Because of this apostasy Israel has had to live under foreign rule, first Assyria, and now (under Jehoiakim) Egypt. The search for help in Egypt and Assyria is reprimanded in a reproachful double question (v. 18).

Egypt then appears among the nations to whom Jeremiah is to extend Yahweh's cup of wrath (Jer. 25:15-29).⁴⁶ The oracles against foreign nations in Jer. 45-51 appropriately also include a chapter on Egypt (ch. 46). The first part of the chapter (46:2-12) announces Neco's defeat at the Euphrates. Although Pharaoh intends to inundate the entire world just as the Nile overflows its banks each year, and to become ruler of the world, he "has not reckoned with the cosmic lord, the Lord Yahweh of hosts."⁴⁷ Not even Egypt's famous medicinal arts can heal the wounds of this grievous defeat (v. 11). The second section (vv. 13-26) foretells Nebuchadnezzar's imminent entry into Egypt. Here Egypt is portrayed as a beautiful heifer being attacked by a gadfly from the north, as a moaning woman in travail, and as a forest cut down by axes (vv. 20-23). The same theme is struck in 48:8-13 in connection with a symbolic act.

3. *Ezekiel*. Ezekiel's oracles against foreign nations include a whole series of statements concerning Egypt, most of which can be dated (the exception being ch. 30).

The first oracle (Ezk. 29:1-10) describes the king of Egypt as a dragon, full of

44. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 290.

45. Cf. *ibid.*, 90-93.

46. → כֹּס *kōs* (VII, 101-4).

47. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT*, XII (³1968), 233.

מַקְבֶּט *maqqebet*; פַּטִּיֵּשׁ *paṭṭîš*; מַפֵּץ *mappēš*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage. III. Synonyms: *paṭṭîš*, *mappēš*. IV. Later Derivations.

I. Etymology. The noun *maqqebet* derives from the verb *nqb*, which means “to bore a hole” (2 K. 12:10[Eng. v. 9]; Hag. 1:6). The term *n^eqēbâ*, deriving from the same verb, refers to a female, or to something feminine (Dt. 4:16; Jer. 31:22).

The Siloam Inscription refers to the breakthrough in the tunnel with the noun *hnqbh*. In Akkadian the term *naqābu* means “to hollow out,” though it is usually used in the meaning “to deflower (a virgin).”¹ The Akkadian term *maqqabu*, “hammer,”² occurs as a loanword from Northwest Semitic.

Accordingly, the Hebrew word *maqqebet* refers on the one hand to a cavity or hollow, and on the other to an object into which a hole has been bored (or with which one makes such a cavity?). This object was the hammer, which in the early period was made of stone into which a hole was bored for the handle.

II. Usage. In Isa. 51:1 *maqqebet* is used clearly with the meaning “cavity, hollow.” Here Abraham is designated as the “rock” and Sarah as the “cavity of the cistern” (wordplay with *n^eqēbâ*?) from which the people once came. It is uncertain whether this is actually an allusion to mythological notions of the birth of human beings from a rock.³ In any event, the rock does not refer to God.⁴

Otherwise the word always refers to the hammer as a tool, and occasionally as a weapon. The early account in Jgs. 4:21 already tells how Jael used a hammer to kill Sisera by driving a tent peg through his temple.

1 K. 6:7 shows that during the monarchy hammers were made of iron, since no iron hammer was permitted to be used in Solomon’s temple. Since it had been appropriated from the Philistines, it was viewed during Solomon’s time as something alien and thus dangerous. (This might reflect a notion similar to that in Ex. 20:25: Iron profanes the stone.)

The hammer was the tool used by smiths who made idols (Isa. 44:12), a notion also reflected in Jer. 10:4 (men fasten the idol with hammer and nails so that it will not tip

maqqebet. A. A. Bevan, “The Origin of the Name Maccabee,” *JTS*, 30 (1929), 191-93; R. Marcus, “The Name Makkabaios,” *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume. Jewish Social Studies*, 5 (1953), 205ff.; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C.–A.D. 135), I (Edinburgh, ²1973), 158, n. 49.

1. *AHW*, II (1972), 743.

2. *AHW*, II, 607; J. C. Greenfield, “Ugaritic Lexicographical Notes,” *Festschrift A. Goetze. JCS*, 21 (1967), 92, takes this as referring to a different tool, namely, a “trimmer, hedge cutter.”

3. P. Volz, *Jesaja II. KAT*, IX/2 (1932), *in loc.*; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (1969), *in loc.*

4. As suggested by P. A. H. de Boer, *Second-Isaiah’s Message. OTS*, 11 (1956), 58ff.

over). This seems to confirm that the (iron) hammer was still perceived as a foreign tool as late as the exilic period.

III. Synonyms: paṭṭîš, mappēš. The word *paṭṭîš* is used in a similar context in Isa. 41:7 to refer to the hammer used by those who make idols: The image is secured so that it will not totter.⁵ In Jer. 23:29 the same word refers to the power of the divine word: It is like fire and like a hammer that breaks a rock into pieces. Jer. 50:23 offers a picture of Babylon, which once smashed the entire world like a hammer, but now itself lies completely cut down and broken.

The word *mappēš* is also used to refer to the hammer of war in Jer. 51:20, where it parallels *k'lē milḥāmā* in reference (as in 50:23, see above) to Babylon as the instrument with which Yahweh smashes nations and kingdoms.

IV. Later Derivations. It is disputed whether the name *Makkabaíos* (1 Mc. 2:4,66; 3:1, etc.) derives from *maqḡebēṭ*. The objection has been raised that the *maqḡebēṭ* was actually a small hand tool unsuitable as a symbol of war. Furthermore, we have already seen that at least in the earlier period the hammer was not viewed as an Israelite tool, though this may have changed in the later period. The name may also have some connection with Isa. 62:2, which reads: “a new name which the mouth of Yahweh will give (*yiqq' bennû*).” The books of the Maccabees themselves offer no explanation for the name.

Kapelrud

5. → מוט *mwṭ* (VIII, 152-58).

מָקוֹם māqôm

Contents: I. Occurrences: 1. Outside the OT; 2. In the OT; 3. LXX. II. Conceptual and Semantic Field: 1. Local-Adverbial; 2. Related Words and Terms. III. Outside the Cult: 1. Physical-Spatial Notions; 2. Notions of Order: a. The Cosmic Order; b. Mystery; c. Social Standing; d. The Question of Meaning; 3. The Grave; 4. Personification of the World of Life and of One's Surroundings; 5. The Land: a. Neutral Usage; b. The Promised Land. IV. Priestly Rubrics. V. Holy Places of the Preceding Ages. VI. Cultic Sites in the Present: 1. *māqôm* in the Altar Regulations; 2. The *māqôm* of the Ark; 3. The Chosen *māqôm* (Deuteronomistic); 4. “My *māqôm* in *šilô*” (Jer. 7:12); 5. Ambiguity (Deuteronomistic and Later). VII. Metaphorical Usage: 1. Elements of the Earthly Sanctuary; 2. Independent Usage; 3. God Himself. VIII. Qumran.

māqôm. F.-M. Abel, “L'apparition du Chef de l'Armée de Yahweh à Josué (Jos. 5,13-15),” *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia. Festschrift A. Miller. StAns*, 27f. (1951-52), 109-113; P. R. Ackroyd, “Two Hebrew Notes,” *ASTI*, 5 (1966-67), 82-86; S. Amsler, “קום *qūm* aufstehen,”

I. Occurrences.

1. *Outside the OT.* The Hebrew term *māqôm* is a *ma*-noun deriving from → קום *qûm*. Outside the OT, similar deverbal constructions¹ are attested in Ugarit (in a problematical formula concerning gold²), in Aramaic in Zincirli³ and later,⁴ frequently in Phoenician-Punic,⁵ in Hebrew inscriptions,⁶ in both biblical⁷ and nonbiblical texts⁸ (1QapGen XIX 26) from Qumran, and in Old South Arabic⁹ but not in Akkadian.¹⁰ Variations of the basic type cover a wide semantic spectrum: place (location), holy place, cult functionary,¹¹ grave, surface,¹² reserves, supplies,¹³ goods, etc.¹⁴

2. *In the OT.* Among the approximately 400 occurrences in the OT,¹⁵ only about one tenth function as subject and one tenth as object; four fifths constitute amplifications or qualifications of circumstance, a situation testifying to the weakly delineated meaning inhering in the term itself and to its strong semantic dependence on context. With decreasing frequency it occurs above all in narrative and cultic sections of the Pentateuch; in historical works; Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Job, Ecclesiastes, Psalms.

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates almost exclusively with *tópos* (363 times), though occasionally also with *chōra*, *pólis*, *themélion*, *thrónos*, and *hópou*.

II. Conceptual and Semantic Field.

1. *Local-Adverbial.* The generic, local-adverbial meaning occurs quite frequently in formulaic expressions: *māqôm* with a possessive suffix (largely third person singular),

den Jahwe erwählen wird, um dort seinen Namen wohnen zu lassen,' " *BZ*, N.S. 24 (1980), 76-94; P. Welten, "Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," *ZDPV*, 88 (1972), 19-37; C. Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," *Wort-Gebot-Glaube. Festschrift W. Eichrodt. AthANT*, 59 (1970), 227-249 = *Forschung am AT. ThB*, 55 (1974), 115-137; G. Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer. BZAW*, 15 (1908); W. C. van Wyk, "The Translation of מקום in the Temple Speech of Jeremiah," *OuTWP*, 24 (1982), 103-9.

1. Cf. *KBL*³, 592f., 1018; Freedman, 97f.

2. *KTU*, 1.14 II, 1; III, 35; VI, 19; see also W. Johnstone, "OT Technical Expressions in Property Holding," *Ugaritica*, 6 (1969), 314f.

3. *KAI*, 214, 14.

4. *KAI*, 253, 1.

5. R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBL Diss.*, 32 (Missoula, 1978), 195-97.

6. *CIJ*, 974, 1; 1002, 1.

7. Cf. Horgan, 299.

8. See VIII below.

9. ContiRossini, 230.

10. Cf. *AHW*, II (1972), 896b; I (1965), 82b.

11. Tomback, 195-97.

12. *DISO*, 165.

13. *WUS*, no. 2417; cf., however, *CML*², 83, 86, 89.

14. *WTM*, III, 223f.

15. Cf. *THAT*, II, 636.

attached to a usually singular noun, often with a preceding particle (*b^e*, *l^e*, *min*); in relative clauses employing the Masoretic construct form *m^eqôm*,¹⁶ often with retrospective *šām* or *bô*. This local meaning can be generalized to the point of complete dissolution of the reference to any specific point, in the sense of generic “where,” “there,” “everywhere”: *kôl māqôm* (insofar as this expression is not referring to one or several specific places): e.g., Nu. 18:31; Josh. 1:3; Dt. 11:24; Prov. 15:3; Am. 8:3; probably Mal. 1:11; differently in Isa. 7:23: every piece of property (real estate); Dt. 12:13: every pagan cultic place. The expression *m^eqôm p^elônî ’almônî* intentionally leaves the exact location unspecified for narrative reasons (1 S. 21:3[Eng. v. 2]; 2 K. 6:8).

2. *Related Words and Terms*. Poetic and prayer-texts frequently use similar constructions from other roots either instead of or in addition to *māqôm*: on the one hand *māqôm* with *qdš* (Ezr. 9:8; Ps. 24:3; Isa. 60:13; Jer. 17:12), and on the other *mā’ôn* with *qdš* (Dt. 26:15; 2 Ch. 30:27; Ps. 68:6[5]; Jer. 25:30; Zec. 2:17[13]), *mākôn* with *qdš* (Dnl. 8:11); next to *māqôm* with *yšb* (1 K. 8:30; 2 Ch. 6:21) we find *mākôn* with *yšb* (1 K. 8:13,39,43,49 par. 2 Ch. 6:2,30,33,39; Ps. 33:14); on the one hand *m^eqôm kis’î* (Ezk. 43:7), on the other *m^ekôn kis’ekā* (Ps. 89:15[14]), *kis’ô* (Ps. 97:2); as an utterance of God: *’el-m^eqômî* (Hos. 5:15), though also *bimkônî* (Isa. 18:4); the location of the temple is called *māqôm* (Jer. 17:12) and *mākôn* (Ezr. 2:68); cf. Ps. 26:8: *YHWH ’āhabtî m^e’ôn bêtēkā ûm^eqôm miškan k^ebôdekā*. One and the same psalm, in speaking of the creation (*ysd*) of the cosmos, uses *māqôm* and *mākôn* (Ps. 104:8,5). Such alternation is a stylistic device occurring with particular animation in connection with the sanctuary in Jerusalem (see below). In Isa. 45:19 the construct state *bim^eqôm* is hardly saying anything different or more than the *nomen rectum* *’ereš hōšek* alone (Job 10:21), and at most is emphasizing the element of unworthiness: “in a dark corner of the world.”¹⁷

III. Outside the Cult. The semantic spectrum outside the cult is extraordinarily broad.

1. *Physical-Spatial Notions*. In the physical sense *māqôm* can refer to the following: spatial distance (1 S. 26:13); a dwelling place (to be expanded) (2 K. 6:1,2); living space (Isa. 5:8; Ezk. 45:4); lack of space for graves (Jer. 7:32; 19:11); the absence of any clean surface on a table (Isa. 28:8), or of space for a mount to pass through (Neh. 2:14); a locality or city (e.g., Gen. 19:12-14: *hammāqôm hazzeh* par. *hā’îr*; “the men of the place,” Gen. 26:7; 29:22; 38:21,22; Jgs. 19:16; Ezr. 1:4; cf. 1 S. 7:16); the (appointed) place to stay (1 S. 27:5); one’s place at a table (1 S. 9:22); ground given up tactically in battle (Jgs. 20:36); an *’ereš* suitable for pasturing and human settlement (Nu. 32:1; Jgs. 18:9-10); one’s home (Isa. 14:2; Jer. 27:22). In connection with these notions and their attendant legal, social, and emotional content, *māqôm* is often used with a possessive suffix and a verb of movement, e.g., Jgs. 7:7; Nu. 24:11; Job 27:21;

16. GK, 130cd; Synt, §§144, 162.

17. P.-E. Bonnard, *Le second Isaïe*. *ÉtB* (1972), 166; → חָשַׁק *hāšak*, V, 252.

Prov. 27:8; 2 S. 15:19;¹⁸ Sir. 41:19, and elsewhere. In a similar sense, suffixes are usually used with the terms *'ereš* (Gen. 30:25; Ezk. 21:35[30]), *'am* (Nu. 24:14), *naḥ^{al}lā* (Josh. 24:28), *'ōhel* (1 K. 8:66 par. 2 Ch. 7:10; 1 K. 12:16 par. 2 Ch. 10:16; 2 K. 14:12 par. 2 Ch. 25:22; 2 K. 13:5; cf. Isa. 13:14; Jer. 12:15). In the later period the plural form *kol-m^eqômôt* appears in formulaic expressions in reference to the exile and Diaspora (Jer. 24:9; 29:14; 40:12; 45:5; Ezk. 34:12; cf. Neh. 4:6[12]).

2. *Notions of Order.* The term *māqôm* can evoke various notions of order or organization.

a. *The Cosmic Order.* Although the term is attested once in connection with the technology associated with wells (Gen. 29:3), it occurs more frequently in the context of the cosmos. Wisdom understands that each and every thing has its “place” there (Eccl. 1:4-7; Bar. 3:24; cf. Gen. 1:9), so that *māqôm* and *g^ebûl* can stand parallel (Ps. 104:8-9; cf. Dt. 11:24). In an historical-geographical context the *'allûpîm* of the Edomites are enumerated (Gen. 36:15-43) among other qualifications also “according to their *m^eqômôt*” (Gen. 36:40; cf. 10:5,20,31,32).¹⁹ Images of catastrophes (of judgment) include the interruption of stability and violent removal of things from their appropriate *māqôm* (Isa. 13:13; Job 9:6; 14:18; 18:4).

b. *Mystery.* Since order in the larger sense is in many ways unfathomable to human beings, the term *māqôm* can also function as an expression of mystery, of that which is inaccessible to human beings in both the cosmic (Job 38:12,19; cf. Isa. 45:19) and the spiritual realm: “But where shall *hokmâ* be found [v. 20: whence does it come]? And where is [a/the] *māqôm* of *bînâ*?” (Job 28:12,20; cf. v. 14). Positively: “God understands the way to it, and he knows its *māqôm*” (Job 28:23).

c. *Social Standing.* Qoheleth is probably referring to a person’s social station or professional, official position when he warns in 10:4: *m^eqôm^ekā 'al-tannaḥ* (cf. 8:1-4,5-9). The sense of “office,” or better, “official place,” is clearer in 3:16,²⁰ and of “official position” in 1 K. 20:24 (cf. Gen. 40:13; 41:13: *kēn* with possessive suffix²¹).

d. *The Question of Meaning.* In Qoheleth’s lament, the *māqôm 'eḥād* is the end fated for every person (3:20) according to the senseless order of death, probably also referring simply to the netherworld, Sheol (6:6b; Tob. 3:6).²²

3. *The Grave.* In Eccl. 8:10 the expression *m^eqôm (māqôm?) qādôš* refers perhaps to a burial place.²³ Given the context, a reference to an extensive burial place in Ezk. 39:11 (11-16) (*m^eqôm šēm* instead of *m^eqôm šām*?²⁴) is no less probable than other

18. Cf. BHS.

19. KBL³, 52f.

20. Cf. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), *in loc.*

21. See also WTM, III, 223f.

22. Cf. Ackroyd, 84f.

23. Cf. Dahood, *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 349-365; *idem*, *Bibl*, 44 (1963), 230f., and the reference to Phoenician inscriptions in KAI, 14, 4; 214, 14; DISO, 165, 30f.; Sir. 49:10 LXX; cautious: Barr, 292; Lohfink, 62.

24. Cf. BHS.

founded settlements after their God,"³⁹ nor indeed did they even found new *m^eqômôt*, but rather took over those already existing⁴⁰ (cf. *m^eqôm š^ekem*, Gen. 12:6; a similar construction is found in Jer. 19:13a).

The problematical expression *hinnēh māqôm 'ittî* uttered by God (Ex. 33:21)⁴¹ can perhaps be resolved by reference to the notion that on the top of the mountain Moses situates himself next to Yahweh (Ex. 34:2: *nšb* hiphil + *lî* + *šām*; 34:5: *nšb* hithpael + *'immô* + *šām* and the proclamation of Yahweh's name), and Yahweh passes by (*'br*, Ex. 33:19,22-23; 34:6-8; 1 K. 19:11). At the *māqôm*, a piece of land which the authors hardly viewed as an already existing sanctuary, God presents himself to the appointed person. This may also constitute a more moderate interpretation of the harsh principle in Ex. 33:20: *lô-yir'anî hā'ādām wāḥāy* (cf. the — protective? — cleft in the rock, or cave, in Ex. 33:22; 1 K. 19:9,13).

2. The (etiological) names given to the sites of theophanies or of other significant events in the form of fixed formulas,⁴² regardless of whether such sites were already cultic sites according to previous traditions, infuse Israel's identity and tradition, as it were, into the land, and Israel thereby appropriates the land both in an actual and in a theological sense.⁴³ Such "places" constitute memorials, as shown especially by the (later) literary imitations of this procedure (e.g., Gen. 22:14; Jgs. 18:12; 1 S. 23:28; 2 S. 6:8 par. 1 Ch. 13:11; 1 Ch. 14:11; 2 Ch. 20:26). The term *māqôm* often serves as a substitute and reference; it is not used when other landmarks are already known: wells (Gen. 16:14), erected stones (Gen. 31:47,48), Beer-sheba (Gen. 26:33⁴⁴). Or no name may be given at all, e.g., in the case of the oaks of Mamre. In his own polemic, Amos calls the locales by their actual names (5:4-5; 7:9; 8:14), and has no occasion to use secondary reminiscences or *māqôm* (differently in 2 Ch. 3:1⁴⁵).

VI. Cultic Sites in the Present.

1. *māqôm* in the Altar Regulations. In the "altar regulations" of Ex. 20:24-26 the distributive or collective expression *b^ekol-hammāqôm*⁴⁶ approaches the meaning "everywhere," though with qualitative limitations. The word *māqôm* — with article — might have been prompted associatively by the altars (vv. 24a,25). At issue is the legitimate form of altars, not of buildings, a presumably archaic feature (cf. Josh.

39. W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930, Hildesheim, ²1968), 94.

40. Schmidt, 113.

41. Cf. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (1908, repr. Hildesheim, 1968), I: *Genesis und Exodus*, 407; J. Jeremias, *WMANT*, 10 (²1977), 202; *KBL*³, 97f.

42. Cf. Key, 55-59.

43. Cf. H. Köster, "τόπος," *TDNT*, VIII, 195f.

44. On Gen. 21:31, cf. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 349.

45. Cf. R. Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*. *FThS*, 92 (1973), 107.

46. Cf. Conrad, 5-7, 9-11, 212; Halbe, 369-383, 421f., 442; → זכר *zākār* (*zākhar*), IV, 74f.

8:30-31; 22; Jgs. 6:24-32; 13:20; 21:4; 1 S. 14:35; 2 S. 24:18,21,25; 1 K. 18:30); neither is the issue exclusively the initial or one-time “revelation,”⁴⁷ but rather the remembrance or acknowledgment of Yahweh’s “name” (cf. Isa. 26:13; Ex. 23:13; Ps. 16:4).⁴⁸ Thus wherever Yahweh is worshiped and proclaimed at an appropriate altar, Yahweh “comes,”⁴⁹ or is present.⁵⁰ The reference here is not to a selection; rather, a criterion is given for the evaluation of actual *m^eqômôt* and of the actual worship service, though this also, of course, constitutes requirement and instruction. That is, it is not the *māqôm* that makes the cult legitimate, but rather the cult that makes the *māqôm* legitimate. “The question of the true cultic place is here programmatically removed from any administratively decreed solution.”⁵¹

Mal. 1:11 goes even further, especially since one must read this passage against the background of the later centralization of the cult. While the expression *bēkol-māqôm* is adverbial, it is not additive in the cumulative sense, but rather “sweeping” or “all-encompassing.” The quality of cultic capability is delimited. Both *muqtār* and *minhâ t^ehôrâ* will be real without either external spatial delimitation or specific internal determination. The expressions are unusual, and there is no mention of any cultic accoutrements or organization. Every traditional rubrical sense is eclipsed. There is no longer any topographically circumscribed holy precinct. Although the ultimate consequence would be that the entire world would be *māqôm*,⁵² this transcends the word’s possibilities.

2. *The māqôm of the Ark.* The Philistines realize that the ark must leave their land and return “to its own *māqôm*” if the disasters befalling them are to end (1 S. 5:11; 6:2; cf. 5:3). The term *māqôm* is not used in reference to the various stages of return (1 S. 6:19–7:1; 2 S. 6:10–11); only when David finally places it back in the tent (2 S. 6:17; cf. in contrast the par. 1 Ch. 16:1; though cf. also 1 Ch. 15:1,3, material exclusive to Chronicles) or Solomon returns it to the temple (1 K. 8:6,7 par. 2 Ch. 5:7,8) is it said to return to “its *māqôm*.” Although reference is occasionally made to this *māqôm* as if to the ark itself (1 K. 8:7 par. 2 Ch. 5:8), this seems to be a figure of speech prompted perhaps by the concern for preserving certain traditions by means of localization even after the ark itself no longer existed.

3. *The Chosen māqôm (Deuteronomic).* The basic framework of the Deuteronomic selection-formula, the standing relative clause *hammāqôm ’ašer yibḥar YHWH* (Dt. 12:5; 15:20; 16:15,16; 17:10; 31:11) announces God’s (fictional) future act and does not constitute a prescription, not even with its amplifications: *b^e’aḥad š^ebāṭeykâ*

47. Cf. Halbe, 371–76, contra W. Schottroff, “Gedenken” im alten Orient und im AT. WMANT, 15 (1967), 248.

48. KAI, 214, 16, 21.

49. On God’s “coming,” → בּוֹא *bô’*, II, 44–49; → בָּחַר *bāḥar* (*bāchar*), II, 80f.

50. Concerning the unusual 1st person singular of Yahweh, cf. Halbe, 375f., 481f.

51. Halbe, 379.

52. Cf. R. Pautrel, “Malachie,” DBS, V (1957), 743–45.

(12:14) or *mikkol-šibṭêkem* (12:5), *lāsûm šēmô šām* (12:5,21; 14:24) or *l'šakkên šēmô šām* (12:11; 14:23; 16:2,6,11; 26:2; 12:5, *lectio conflata*⁵³). The chosen *māqôm* is the sanctioned and obligatory site for sacrifices, offerings, and joyful repast (12:6-7,11b, 14,18,27; 26:2), for the fulfillment of vows (12:26), the delivery or eating of tithes (14:22-23), of the firstlings, the first-born (15:19-20), for the administration of the portions of the priests and Levites (18:6-8), for the main festivals (16:1-17), for judgment in difficult legal cases (17:8,10), and finally for the regular reading of "this Torah" (31:11). Only sections generally judged as later speak about movement from different places and pilgrimages, especially in the summarizing initial verse: *tiḏrēšû ūbā'tā šāmmā* (12:5; cf. 12:26; 14:25; 16:16; also coll. Ex. 23:14,17; 34:23,26). The inner logic of certain new regulations presupposes that the chosen *māqôm* is not (or no longer) situated at one's own dwelling place; such indications include the permission for sacrificial slaughter at one's own home (12:15-16,21; 15:22); financial provisions for certain cases (14:24-26); and concern for Levites from other places (18:6-8).⁵⁴ Such measures are justified by the fact that the chosen place is too "far" (12:21; 14:24), a situation itself arising from the fact that, following his promise, God "enlarged" the land through his blessing (12:20; 19:8). The singularity of one cultic site for all Israel, i.e., the strict demand for cultic centralization, does not inhere from the very beginning in this formula,⁵⁵ but rather was imbued into it as a result of circumstances.⁵⁶ An inadvertent remark in Dt. 12:3 still shows traces of this process: Although the verse speaks of the *mēqômôt* of the pagans which are to be demolished (only here does the word refer unequivocally to pagan cultic sites⁵⁷ and include a description), it ends with a syntactically problematical reference to a certain *māqôm* (*min-hammāqôm hahû'*). Apparently the notion of the single *māqôm* asserted itself here by sheer force.⁵⁸ The ultimately unexplained fact that the *māqôm* in Deuteronomy was never given a name may be a result of, among other things, the fundamental nature precisely of the incomplete formula itself: Yahweh's selection is the primary issue. According to one series of admonitions the pagan cultic sites are to be avoided (12:8,13,30,31; 2 K. 17:33), and on the other hand they are to be physically demolished (12:2f.). 12:3b interprets this as the destruction of "their [the gods portrayed on the graven images] names" (*'bd piel* as at the beginning, v. 2a). The idea that the "names" of the others are to be removed is not new to this context (Dt. 7:24; Hos. 2:19[17]; Zeph. 1:4; cf. Ps. 9:6[5]; Zec. 13:2). 1 K. 8:27 literally calls into question the older, unaffected notion that Yahweh dwells in the temple and "on the earth" (cf. 1 K. 8:12,13). According to Deuteronomy God chooses the place to "make his name dwell there" (*škn piel*; Dt. 12:11) or to "lie down there" (*šwm*), whereby it remains unresolved whether one must refer here to an actual Deuteronomic "name

53. Cf. Weippert, 93; Halpern, 23f.

54. Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF*, 164 (1982), 118.

55. So Fenton.

56. Halpern, 36f.

57. Reventlow, 177f.

58. Cf. Halbe, 112f.

led there. The reference within the historical overview is to the land itself (1 S. 12:8). In other Deuteronomistic passages it refers to the temple (1 K. 8:30,35), and in Huldah's utterance and its expansions to the temple along with the city, not excluding the land (2 K. 22:16,17,19,20). In Zeph. 1:4 the expression (as a secondary limitation?) is probably concentrating judgment on the temple.⁶⁴ In Hag. 2:9 God proclaims the temple (and Jerusalem?) as the earthly center of worldwide *šālôm*.⁶⁵ In other contexts, too, *māqôm* sometimes hovers between the meanings temple and land (2 S. 7:10 par. 1 Ch. 17:9; Ex. 23:20b). The expression *hammāqôm hazzeh* occurs without any theological connection only in 1 K. 13:8,16 (Bethel) and 2 K. 6:9 (military tactics).

VII. Metaphorical Usage. The term *māqôm* is used metaphorically in various poetic and prophetic contexts to refer to the sanctuary.

1. *Elements of the Earthly Sanctuary.* The expression *tēpillat hammāqôm hazzeh* (2 Ch. 7:15; 6:40; material exclusive to Chronicles) is not really a metaphor, but employs rather the notion of the "house of prayer" (Isa. 56:7; cf. Jer. 7:11). Isa. 18:7c, *mēqôm šēm YHWH šēbā'ôt har šiyyôn*, possibly the source of the Deuteronomic name formula, is a theological confession to Zion (cf. Ps. 68:30[29]; Isa. 8:18⁶⁶). Poetically David seeks a *māqôm* for Yahweh as or for his *miškānôt* (Ps. 132:5; cf. 78:60). Yahweh answers by choosing Zion (Pss. 132:13a; 78:68), spontaneously and as a result of unfathomable "love" (Pss. 132:13b,14b; 78:68b), to be his habitation (*yšb*, Ps. 132:13b,14b) and resting place (*mēnūḥāfî*: Ps. 132:8a,14a; cf. 78:69). This constitutes a development of the notion of Zion as the final *māqôm* of the ark (2 S. 6:1-19; 7:2,7; 1 K. 8:1-13; cf. Ps. 132:7-8; Nu. 10:35-36). Despite the close connection between temple, dynasty, and residence, the term *māqôm* is never used to refer to the latter, even though virtually everything constituting the external, public prestige of that center uses the word for the sake of localization, either because of its dramatic effect or as a syntactical device serving the simultaneous celebration of the greatness both of the temple and of the near God. For Ezekiel, Yahweh's *kābôd* rises *mimmēqômô* (Ezk. 3:12; cf. BHS). Notions of Yahweh's dignity are combined: *mēqôm kis'î . . . mēqôm kappôt raglay* (Ezk. 43:7; cf. Isa. 6:1); *kissē' kābôd . . . mēqôm miqdāšēnû* (Jer. 17:12; cf. 3:17); a more clearly eschatological reference: the return of former glory *lēpā'ēr mēqôm miqdāšî ūmēqôm raglay 'akabbēd* (Isa. 60:13; cf. 14). The term *māqôm* thus becomes a kind of logogram for the Zion theology with its transcendent dimension.⁶⁷

2. *Independent Usage.* Some doxologies and theophanies with no reference to the temple of Zion transcend these parameters. Yahweh's works are exhorted to praise him *bēkol-mēqômôt memšaltô* (Ps. 103:22). This rather weak localization probably results from the hymnic élan that recognizes no conceivable boundaries (cf. Pss. 96:9-13;

64. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephaniah*. KAT, XIII/3 (1975), 262.

65. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1-8, 9-14, Maleachi*. KAT, XIII/4 (1976), 43.

66. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 370.

67. Cf. Mettinger, 24-32.

98:4-9). Only once in Solomon's prayer of dedication is heaven referred as *m^eqôm šibr^ekā* (1 K. 8:30 par. 2 Ch. 6:21; cf. 1 K. 8:39,43,49 par. 2 Ch. 6:30,33,39), influenced perhaps by the two immediately preceding occurrences (?). Do Deuteronomistic ears perceive the term *māqôm* as being too earthbound or limited?⁶⁸ In Isa. 26:21 and Mic. 1:3 God comes forth to judgment: *yōšē' mimm^eqômô*. In Mic. 1:3 the reference can hardly be taken to mean anything other than that he comes forth from heaven, since God enters the world from outside.⁶⁹ Since this is not as unequivocal in Isaiah, some suggest that God comes forth from the temple, Zion,⁷⁰ though without being able to disprove the opposite view.⁷¹ The question is justified whether such attempts at a more precise identification of locale perhaps fail to recognize the intentional ambiguity and poetically suggestive character of the passage.

In Hos. 5:15 God announces that as punishment he will withdraw *'el-m^eqômî* until the people repent. An identification of this place as Zion or the temple is an utter impossibility.

3. *God Himself?* On the whole, the term *māqôm* in its theological usage rarely occurs apart from some connection with the temple theology. As a mediating auxiliary term it relativizes limitations that may seem excessively earthbound or vivid, so that under the influence of altered perceptions new readings are facilitated. To a certain extent it functions as do other various abstract or indefinite, though indispensable terms from our theological language, and lends itself to overcoming the limitations of mere sense perception. From this perspective the interpretation of the famous *māqôm 'ahēr* in Est. 4:14 as God seems in order.⁷²

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VIII. Qumran. The writings of Qumran offer virtually nothing new concerning the use of *māqôm*. We read about the place where ten men are present (1QS 6:3,6; CD 13:12) and about the place where the army is assembled (1QM 19:9; 1Q33 2:4; cf. 1QM 14:3). In a couple of instances *māqôm* parallels *ma^amād* in reference to the place or rank occupied by the individual within the community (1QS 2:23; cf. CD 13:12). In 1QS 8:8 the congregation is described as a plantation and a temple that will not sway (*mûš*) from its place. In 1QM 7:7 and 11QTemple 46:13, as in Dt. 23:13, the *m^eqôm yād* is the latrine. The 23 occurrences in the Temple Scroll include several references to the chosen place (42:9,16; 53:9; 56:5; 60:13), as well as references to places set apart for a particular purpose (*mubdāl*) (15:12; 35:13). In addition, *māqôm* is used in a general sense to refer to places in the temple, outside the city, for burial, and so on.

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68. Cf. Metzger.

69. Cf. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/3, 40.

70. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27. BK*, X/2 (1978), 999.

71. Jeremias, 19.

72. Cf. Ackroyd, 82–84; on this understanding in the Targums, cf. C. A. Moore, *Esther. AB*, VII B (1971), 50; G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK*, XXI/2 (1982), 19.

(*miqweh*, cf. the previous discussion of Sir. 10:13) and a spring (*ma'yān*) of glory (*kābôd*)" (1QS 11:6f.). "My light has sprung from the source of his knowledge" (1QS 11:3; cf. Ps. 36:10[9]), "from the source of his righteousness is my justification (*mišpāt*), and from his marvelous mysteries is the light in my heart" (1QS 11:5). Thus does God emerge as the source of all that is good.

In the thanksgiving hymn 1QH 8:4ff. the singer describes himself as "a fountain of streams in an arid land (Isa. 44:3) and a spring of waters (*mabbûa' mayim*) in a dry land (Isa. 35:7; cf. 41:18)," i.e., his teaching bestows life upon the believers. This metaphor is continued in what follows. All animals find nourishment at the everlasting spring (*m^eqôr 'ôlām*) (8:8), all trees take root, and a new Eden emerges (several allusions, e.g., 8:20: the "everlasting spring as an Eden [*'ēden*] of glory"). In conclusion the singer asserts: "By my hand thou hast opened for them a well-spring" (8:21; on the open well-spring cf. Zech. 13:1). Several references are made to this opening of the spring, e.g., 1QH 2:18: "thou hast put teaching and understanding, that I might open a fountain of knowledge to all men of insight"; 18:10: "thou didst open a fountain in the mouth of thy servant"; cf. 11:19: "a fountain of bitter mourning opens for me" (negative); 10:31: "my heart shall be open to the everlasting fountain"; cf. also 18:12f.

There is also, however, a fountain of uncleanness, as shown, e.g., by 1QH 1:22, which describes human beings as, among other things, *sôd 'erwâ* and *m^eqôr niddâ*. Since *niddâ* refers in the OT to menstruation, it seems logical to interpret *māqôr* against the backdrop of Lev. 20:18 and to understand the real meaning of the expression as "menstrual blood." One is then tempted to read *sôd 'erwâ* as *sôr . . .* and to translate "filth (froth) of shame." We would then have two expressions for sexual impurity as images for human sinfulness. 1QH 12:25 speaks similarly about the "source of uncleanness and of shameful disgrace" (*qālôn*)" in a description of human beings. The War Scroll (1QM 7:6) is clearly referring to sexual uncleanness when it stipulates that no man "who is impure because of his *māqôr*" may take part in battle, since holy angels will be taking part as well.

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מקל *maqqēl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Riding Crop; 2. Shepherd's Staff; 3. As a Weapon of War; 4. As a Symbol of Dominion; 5. The Almond Branch in Jer. 1:11; 6. In Soothsaying; 7. Gen. 30:37-43. III. LXX.

maqqēl. H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926); E. Power, "The Shepherd's Two Rods in Modern Palestine and in Some Passages of the OT," *Bibl*, 9 (1928), 434-442; G. Sauer, "Mandelzweig und Kessel in Jer 1_{11ff.}," *ZAW*, 78 (1966), 56-61; G. von Welsenburg, *Das Versehen der Frauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1899); P. S. Wood, "Jeremiah's Figure of the Almond Rod," *JBL*, 61 (1942), 99-103.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *maqqēl* is uncertain. Earlier scholars derive it from *qll*, "to shake (the staff used during the oracle of the lot)"¹ (cf. Ezk. 21:26) or from a stem *qlw* attested in Arab. *qalā*, "to drive" (thus: "driving stick").² Others associate it with the root *bql* attested in many of the Semitic languages³: Arab. and Ethiop. *baqala*, "to sprout"; cf. Arab. *baql*, "growth, herb, plant," Akk. *baqlu*, "sprout,"⁴ Syr. *buqlā*, "sprout," Ethiop. *baq'el*, "herb, plant"; Akk. *buqlu*, on the other hand, means "malt"⁵ (cf. Ugar. *bql*, "groats[?]"⁶).

Considering, however, that *maqqēl* occurs as a loanword in Egyptian in the form *maqira*,⁷ it should probably be understood as a West Semitic primary noun.

Its semantic field includes → מטה *matteh*, → שבט *šēbet*, and *maš'en*.⁸

II. OT Usage. The term *maqqēl* refers to a somewhat slender branch, though rarely such a branch in its natural condition; that is, it is usually an implement of some sort or is used symbolically.

1. *Riding Crop.* Balaam used a *maqqēl* to drive the ass he was riding (*nāṭā*, Nu. 22). He struck it (*nkh* hiphil, vv. 23,25,28,32) when it refused to obey him, and the context seems to indicate that he used his rod in an unusually harsh manner.

2. *Shepherd's Staff.* When little David set out to meet the heavily armed Goliath (1 S. 17), he was equipped with his *maqqēl*, a shepherd's bag (*yalqūt*, explicated by *k'li hārō'im*⁹) with five carefully chosen stones and a sling (*qela'*). Goliath's remark, "Am I a dog, that you come to me with sticks (*maqlôt*, v. 43)," expresses his disdain for his seemingly weak opponent, and suggests that he took the rod in David's hand to be David's only weapon, in contrast to his own conventional weapons (vv. 5-7,45,47,51; cf. 2 S. 23:21, *h'anit — šēbet*); the remark also presupposes that a *maqqēl* was normally used to drive away attacking animals. This is precisely the situation David presents to Saul with some exaggeration in order to impress him (vv. 32-37; cf. Am. 3:12; Isa. 31:4). David goes into battle with the equipment of a shepherd (on the rod, cf. Zec. 11:7,10,14; on the bag with stones, cf. the pouch [*š'ror*] in 1 S. 25:29;¹⁰ on the sling cf. 1 S. 25:29). In view of the many examples in which a battle is won by means of the cunning of an individual or of a small band, it is likely that the narrator wanted to portray David as cunning (cf. 2 S.

1. F. Schwally, "Miscellen: 2. קלל, מקל," ZAW, 11 (1891), 170f.

2. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen," VT, 8 (1958), 186 = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976).

3. On the interchange of *b* and *m*, cf. S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*. PLO, N.S. 6 (1969), 8, 8.

4. AHW, I (1965), 105.

5. AHW, I, 139.

6. WUS, no. 556.

7. W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*. AOS, 5 (1934), 45.

8. Cf. Sauer, 58.

9. Cf. H. J. Stoebe, "Die Goliathperikope 1 Sam. XVII 1–XVIII 5 und die Textform der Septuaginta," VT, 6 (1956), 409.

10. Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, *Der Beutel der Lebendigen*. BSAW, 105/6 (1960).

(*šāqēd*) — to watch (over the performance of the word)” is the primary one. If, however, that were the only association evoked by the prophet, one would have to ask why the vision is limited to one branch of the tree. It is likely that the notions of shepherding and ruling evoked by *maqqēl* also played a part in the prophet’s psychological process, so that Yahweh’s protection and power also resonate as a presupposition and guarantee of the fulfillment of his word. G. Sauer¹⁴ argues similarly by referring to the origin of the *maqqēl* in divination. It is not the word conjured by the oracle sticks which endures; Yahweh himself will watch over his own word.

6. *In Soothsaying*. Hos. 4:12 reproves the use of a *maqqēl* for divination, though the exact procedure cannot be specified more closely. The parallel *b^e’ēšô yiš’āl* is just as indefinite as *maqlô yaggîd lô*. The first expression might refer to the kind of procedure mentioned in Nu. 17 and Isa. 17:10f., where conclusions are drawn based on whether a rod does or does not blossom. The reference might also be to the techniques of rhabdomancy (cf. Ezk. 21:26f.[21f.]).¹⁵ Perhaps these are two expressions for the same thing.¹⁶ In any case, the mention of *maqqēl* excludes any interpretation as the oracular practice involving holy trees and Asherim.¹⁷

7. *Gen. 30:37-43*. A praiseworthy example of the cunning of a patriarch is recounted in Gen. 30:37-43, which tells how Jacob established a great flock of speckled and spotted animals. During breeding he lay fresh¹⁸ rods (*maqlôt*), which he made striped by peeling white streaks in them, into the watering troughs from which the flocks drank. This is obviously an example of the popular notion of being frightened at the sight of a person or thing during pregnancy, i.e., the notion that the development of a fetus is influenced by what the mother (human being or animal) sees or otherwise experiences at conception and during pregnancy.¹⁹

III. LXX. The LXX usually translates *maqqēl* with *rhábdos*, though occasionally also with *baktēria*. In 1 S. 17:43 the LXX includes the addendum: (*en rhábdō*) *kaí líthois; kaí eípen Daudid ouchí all’ é cheíró kynós*.

André

14. P. 59.

15. → *qsm*.

16. Cf. S. Küchler, “Das priesterliche Orakel in Israel und Juda,” *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift G. von Baudissin*. BZAW, 33 (1918), 292f.

17. T. H. Robinson, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha*. HAT, XIV (21954), in loc.

18. → *lah* (VII, 512-17).

19. Cf. B. Kummer, “Schwangerschaft,” in H. Bächtold-Stäubli, ed., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VII (Berlin, 1927), 1406-1427, esp. 1422.

מִקְלָט *miqlāt*

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. Legal Regulations Regarding Asylum in Israel: 1. Before the Priestly Source; 2. In the Priestly Source. III. Summary. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology, Meaning. The word *miqlāt* derives from the root *qlt*, attested with a double meaning in Middle Hebrew. Based possibly on an original meaning of “to separate, divide, cut off,” in its passive form the verb exhibits the meaning “cut off, not fully developed.” The term *qālûṭ* is used with this meaning once in the Bible (Lev. 22:23). In contradistinction with *śārû(a)** (the stem has the fundamental meaning “to stretch out, extend”), *qālûṭ* probably refers to the malformation consisting in the shortening of a particular bodily part (cf. LXX: *kolobókerkos*, “with a docked tail”). This meaning is also suggested by Arab. *qalaṣa* (change from *t* to *ṣ*), “to contract, shrink, draw in.”

On the other hand, the substantive *miqlāt* attests a root *qlt* suggested by Jewish-Aramaic with the meaning “to take up, harbor.” The verb is used in this sense in connection with rainwater, grafting, and male semen.

The substantive derived from this root, *miqlāt*, occurs 20 times in the Bible, the occurrences being limited to later strata and to only a few chapters: Nu. 35; Josh. 20f.; 1 Ch. 6. The word always refers to the cities into which a person who has unintentionally killed another person can flee and be taken in. Thus in the majority of cases the word occurs in the combination *‘ārê (ham)miqlāt*, “cities of refuge.” The term *miqlāt* thus means “(place of) refuge” or — expressed in legal terminology — “(place of) asylum.” It should be pointed out that in the Bible the term *miqlāt* is not used to refer to every kind of asylum, but rather in a limited fashion only to that involving manslaughter.

II. Legal Regulations Regarding Asylum in Israel. The notion of asylum is rooted in the experience of Israel’s early legal circumstances. The family unit, grounded in the clan-based community, guaranteed both the personal development and legal protection of each individual. When this intact sphere was disrupted, the avenger of blood

miqlāt. M. David, “Die Bestimmungen über die Asylstädte in Josua XX,” *OTS*, 9 (1951), 30-48; L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967); B. Dinur, “The Religious Character of the Cities of Refuge and the Ceremony of Admission into Them,” *Erlsr*, 3 (1954), 135-146 [Heb.], VIII-IX [Eng. summary]; M. Greenberg, “The Biblical Conception of Asylum,” *JBL*, 78 (1959), 125-132; S. Klein, “Cities of the Priests and Levites and Cities of Refuge,” *Qobes JPES* (1934/35), 81-107 [Heb.]; M. Löhr, *Das Asylwesen im AT. SKG.G.*, 7/3 (1930), 177-217; J. Milgrom, “Sancta contagion and altar/city asylum,” *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT*, 32 (1981), 278-310; N. M. Nicolsky, “Das Asylrecht in Israel,” *ZAW*, 48 (1930), 146-175; G. Pidoux, “Quelques allusions au droit d’asile dans les psaumes,” *Maqqél shāqedh. Festschrift W. Vischer* (Montpellier, 1960), 191-97; J. de Vaulx, “Refuge,” *DBS*, IX (1979), 1480-1510; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 160-63; L. Wenger, “Asylrecht,” *RAC*, I (1950), 836-844.

(*gō'el haddām*)¹ was obligated to carry out his responsibility. Accordingly, leaving this community simultaneously meant the loss of legal protection (cf. Gen. 4:14; 12:1). This loss could be ameliorated if in the foreign land a family took up the new arrival as a protected citizen (*gēr*),² thereby accepting responsibility for his legal protection. The same concept is transferred to the divine sphere, where a person could find refuge in the sanctuary of a given deity. In this way the right of asylum, which in Israel and the entire ancient Near East was recognized as a legal institution, imposed limits on blood revenge where the avenger of blood might have exercised his right unjustly. In the course of Israel's history this right of asylum was circumscribed in different ways.

1. *Before the Priestly Source.* Legal prescriptions concerning this legal institution without using the term *miqlāṭ* are found in Ex. 21:13f. and Dt. 4:41-43; 19:1-13.

a. In connection with a number of crimes deserving the death penalty (Ex. 21:12-17), the Covenant Code prescribes as a fundamental rule in Ex. 21:12-14 the death of the murderer (v. 12). The exception involves the person who did not lie in wait for the victim (*ṣāḏâ*), but rather caused the death as a result of God's (unfortunate) providence. The place of asylum God appoints is circumscribed in a general fashion as a "place to which he may flee" (v. 13). In the following verse, which denies the right of asylum to the deceitful person, the place becomes more clearly recognizable as an altar, which is why in this instance this "place" is actually a sanctuary. Just who is to decide whether the circumstances involve "deceit" or "treachery" remains open. Avengers of blood, priests associated with the sanctuary, or community elders are all equally possible.

This corresponds approximately to 1 K. 1:50-53, where Adonijah flees to the altar and is subsequently released home by Solomon, though the incident admittedly does not involve the manslaughter case addressed in Ex. 21:13. In contrast, the case of Joab involves unpunished murder (Abner, Amasa; cf. 1 K. 2:5), which is why his flight to the altar does not save him. Because he refuses to leave the sanctuary, he is killed at the altar (cf. 1 K. 2:28-34). This is the only example corresponding to the sense of Ex. 21:13f.

The place of asylum is left completely undetermined, which might reflect the early conditions in Israel inasmuch as several sanctuaries (as was the case among other peoples of the ancient Near East) could offer the fugitive protection.

b. Dt. 19:1-13 and 4:41-43 describe the places of refuge as "cities to which the manslayer (*rōṣē(a)h* = murderer and manslayer) can flee." The following elucidations emerge in comparison with Ex. 21:13f.:

1. These places are now cities rather than sanctuaries.
2. Their number is limited. Dt. 19 reckons initially with three cities, which in the event of territorial expansion into West Jordan³ (vv. 8f.) are complemented by three more (no names are mentioned).

1. → גֹּאֵל *gā'al* (II, 350-55, esp. 352).

2. → גֵּר *gēr* (II, 439-449, esp. 446f.).

3. Milgrom interprets this as an expansion of West Jordan.

to serve in the sanctuary, it is conceivable that after the judgment of the central congregation P considered the fugitive obligated to the high priest until the high priest's death.⁶

The number and actual significance of the cities of refuge must remain a largely open question. Given the present understanding of biblical sources, one must assume that the number grew from three to six in the course of transmission, since Nu. 35:14 is the first to present the six cities in a linguistically unified form. The enumeration in Dt. 4:43 is probably not dependent on Josh. 20:8, since the formulation of Josh. 20:8 presupposes the notion of appointing (*nāṭan*) Levitical cities from tribal areas, while Dt. 4:43 speaks of setting apart (*hibdîl*) places of refuge for members of specific tribes. On the other hand, concerning the west Jordanian cities Josh. 20:7 attests a similar notion of setting apart (*hiqdîš*) three cities, chosen not according to tribal area, but rather according to geographical location. This is also the only occurrence of the designation *'ārê hammû'ādâ*, "designated cities," for the places of refuge. We are thus dealing here with an independent tradition which was later considerably reworked in light of Nu. 35. All these findings are probably best explained by assuming that two originally independent traditions concerning places of refuge and hence also differing legal customs were later combined and to a certain extent harmonized. The fact that the recognizable elements of legal practice fit relatively easily into the legal institutions of Israel already known to us militates against the opinion that these are merely theoretical legal postulates.

III. Summary. Although the term *miqlāṭ* emerges rather late in the biblical tradition, i.e., in the postexilic period, it nonetheless picks up an older legal institution with which Israel sought to protect from blood revenge the manslayer who acted without malicious intent. Because this situation could involve misuse, the elders as the local bearers of justice and the priestly court of the central sanctuary were called upon to carry out their own responsibility, namely, that of excluding from asylum the intentional murderer and of preventing the avenger of blood from exercising revenge in the case of genuinely unintentional slaying. The biblical traditions offer neither consistent nor contradictory accounts, so that one recognizes less the concrete implementation of these laws than the theological concern with having justice predominate even when it is threatened by human passions.

IV. LXX. The LXX renders *miqlāṭ* with *phygadeutérion* (14 times), and in isolated instances with *kataphygé* and *phygádion*. In Josh. 21:27,32 it translates verbally with *aphorízein*.

Schmid

6. Cf. H. Cazelles, review of *OTS*, 9 (1951), *VT*, 2 (1952), 380.

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